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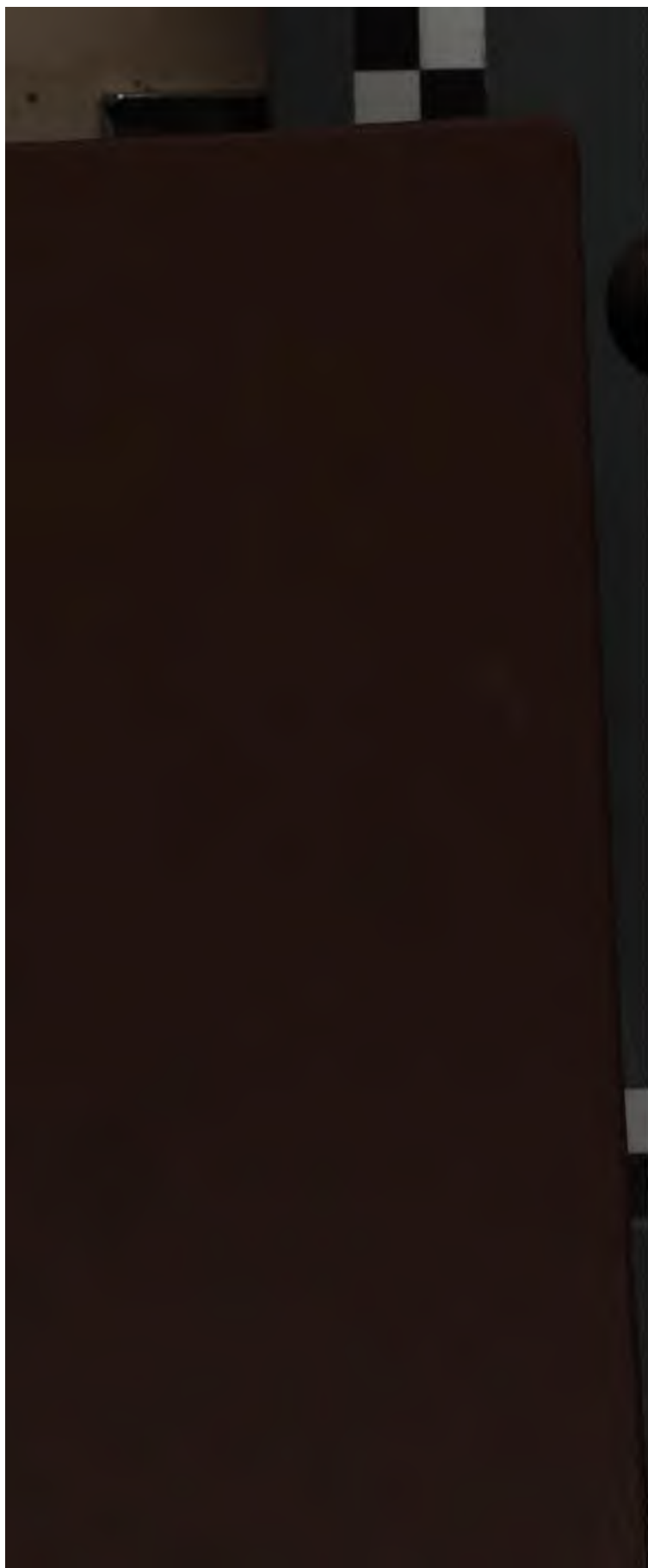
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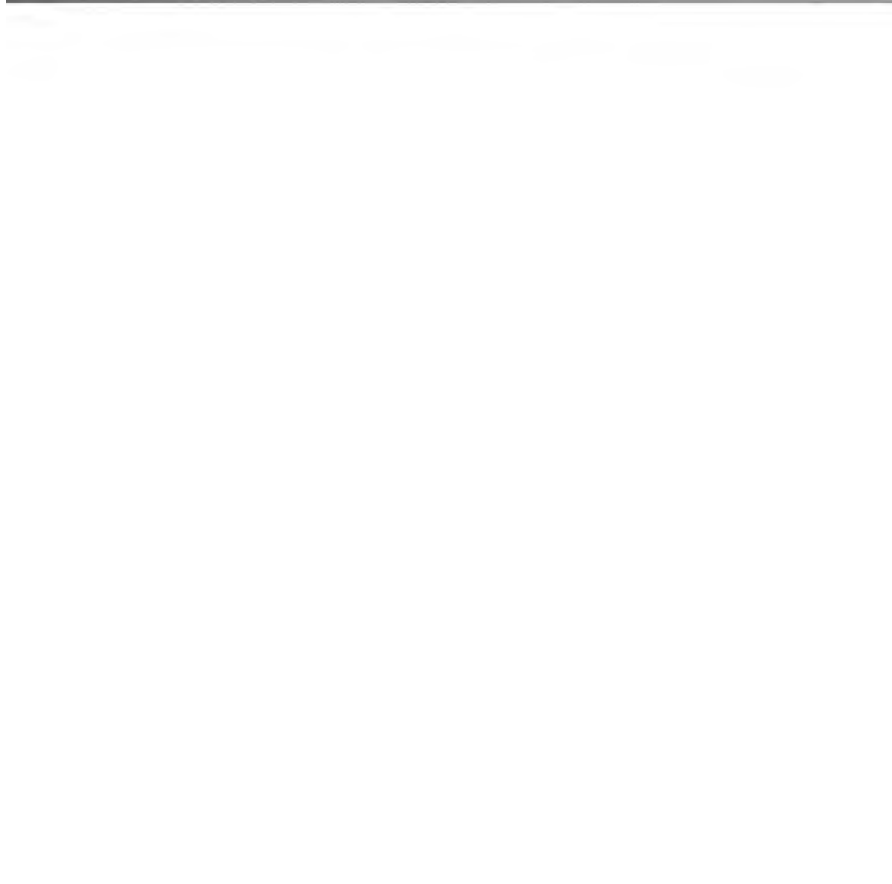
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ARTES SCIENTIA VERITAS











THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW.

MDCCCXLVII.

JULY—DECEMBER.

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Φιλοσοφίαν διὰ τὴν Χρυστὴν λόγῳ, οὐδὲ τὴν Πλατωνικὴν, ἢ τὴν Ἐπικουρείου τε καὶ Ἀριστοτελικήν· ἀλλ' ὅσα αἰσθάνονται κατὰ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν τούτων καλῶς, δικαιοσύνην μετὰ εὐσεβοῦς θεωρήσεως ἐκτελέσκοντες, τοῦτο σύμπαν τοῦ ἙΚΑΕΚΤΙΚΟΝ φιλοσοφίας φημι. — CLEM. ALEX. Strom. I. 1.

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# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR JULY, 1847.

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ART. I.—*Speech of Sir Robert Peel, Bart., June 29th, 1846.\**

Of all the ministerial revolutions that ever occurred in England, there is none which, considered in its causes, in its circumstances, and in its probable consequences, has a better claim on the serious attention of politicians and moralists than the one we have recently witnessed. There is none which imparts more instructive or more important lessons to statesmen, to parties and their leaders, and to all classes of the people: there is none which so forcibly illustrates the national progress in the science of social economy, and prognosticates, with more certainty, the approaching triumph of truth over falsehood, of right over might, of national interests over the interests of castes or classes.

A retrospective glance at a few of the ministerial changes of our own times is a necessary introduction to the remarks which we intend to offer on the downfall of the late administration, and to our surmises on the composition, the system, and the prospects of the present ministry.

\* This article was written in August, 1846, and was intended for our October Number. It expressed our well-considered opinion of the men who had just then been called to the government of the country, and anticipated the results of the restoration of the Whigs to power. Yielding to the fear of appearing hasty and unjust, we kept it back, though by no means shaken in our views, by the almost universal cry of "Give the Whigs a fair trial, and all will be right." Our anticipations have been fully realized. We now give, after "trial," the article as it was written ten months ago. A rapid review of the principal misdeeds of the administration since its formation, would prove that we were not unjust.

Seventeen years ago, towards the close of 1830, popular indignation overthrew the Wellington and Peel cabinet. Blind to the admonitory spectacle of the French revolution of July, and of three generations of a doomed dynasty again wandering as exiles on the British soil, these statesmen had proclaimed their determination to oppose the reforms unanimously called for, and which alone could prevent the outburst of a revolution in England. The result is well known, and is, happily, matter of history. The downfall of that administration was not, like all preceding changes, in compliance with the rules of constitutional practice; it was brought about by the irregular, but just and unanimous, expression of popular hatred; it was, in itself, a sort of revolution to which nothing was wanting, to make it a national convulsion, but the blind obstinacy of Charles x. and the rashness of Polignac, instead of the good nature of William iv. and the prudent forbearance of Sir Robert Peel.

Those who witnessed the scenes of that epoch, who heard the cries of universal reprobation at the sight of the principal Ministers, when leaving the houses of parliament—who saw stones cast at them—the first General of the age compelled to seek, in the Horse-guards, a refuge against the attacks of an infuriated multitude—and the king, so soon after his accession to the throne, obliged to forego the customary festival at the Guildhall, through fear that royalty should suffer from the unpopularity of the Ministers;—those, we say, who witnessed such scenes, could not help admitting, when the resignation of the Ministers was accepted, that the old constitution—king, lords, and commons—had given way to a new principle—the omnipotence of the people.

Ministerial changes resulting from parliamentary warfare, are generally productive of no other result than the substitution of one set of men for another in the management of the affairs of the state. A party temporarily defeated surrenders the stronghold of power to the rival party, and immediately takes a position from which they may besiege it, and render its possession impossible to the new occupants. Thus, both Whigs and Tories, ever since the revolution of 1688, have alternately been besiegers and besieged in the council chamber; sometimes getting in by managing treacherous intelligence within the fortress, or by negotiating for, and agreeing to, a joint occupancy, until one found an opportunity of ejecting the others, who then recruited their strength and re-organised their party for the renewal of the contest.

But when the people, tired and disgusted with this factious warfare and ministerial checkmating, intervene to wrest a long-abused power from the hands that hold it, the struggle assumes

another character. They do not merely discard a few men, and disband their followers. They then dismember—annihilate a party, and render its re-organization impossible; at the same time that they prostrate and crush the leaders. Thus, in 1830, it was not merely the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel that were conquered; it was the party of which they were, not the leaders, not even the representatives, but only the tools. It was the Tory party which was routed and forever disabled, by the just indignation of the people. For more than half a century, that party had been, almost without interruption, in possession of power; and, during that long period, had misled, misruled, and maddened the country. In their unjustifiable attempt to subject a distant and powerful colony to their exactions, under pretence of maintaining the dignity of the crown and the authority of the mother country, they had brought on the crown the humiliation of accepting terms from republican rebels; and changed into a redoubtable rival state the North American provinces, which, but for Tory arrogance, might have remained in brotherly connexion with England. They were equally unprincipled and unsuccessful in their attempt to prevent the French from establishing a form of government which they thought calculated to promote the welfare of their country. The war begun in 1793, and which lasted till July, 1815, completely annihilated, all over Europe, the principles of divine rights of kings, of aristocratic privileges, and of sacerdotal supremacy, which the Tories designed to uphold. Two millions of men butchered in a thousand fields of battle; two thousand millions of pounds expended—a part on credit—leaving the country saddled with a debt of almost one thousand million sterling; the individual and aggregate rights of British subjects invaded; the habeas corpus act suspended; the freedom of the press fettered:—such were, after the fall of Napoleon, the only remaining trophies of the long administration of the Tories. From 1815 to 1830, the party contrived to increase, by their home and foreign policy, the popular hatred so richly deserved by their previous misdeeds.

It was at the shout of "Freedom and national independence," that the sovereigns of Europe raised their people, and led them to the last battles, in the war which they had begun, to re-establish in France the absolute power of her monarch. Constitutional and representative governments were the promises held out to European populations, by their absolute rulers, in order to stir up their energies against the despot who had torn in rags the red cap of republican France, and the royal and imperial cloaks of the mightiest dynasties. Wherever England had



ground to stand and fight upon, as in Spain and Sicily, her Tory government promoted the establishment of constitutions, and guaranteed their maintenance. But no sooner was the victory won—no sooner were the sovereigns delivered from the thralldom of their inveterate foe, and thought themselves safe on their thrones, than they violated all their promises—forfeited all their pledges; divided among themselves the populations to which they were indebted for their safety as so many herds of cattle; subjected them to the most stinging despotism; and, in order to secure its perpetuity, formed that alliance which, in their profane pride, they called HOLY; the object of which was to watch over and repress by military force all attempts of the people to free themselves—anywhere, and at any time.

All this was done with the consent—nay, even more, with the participation—of the Tory government of England. The British people were indignant at these tyrannical transactions, and, in every part of the country, the population met to protest against the violation of engagements, to the support of which the honour of Great Britain was pledged, and to check the arbitrary tendencies of the government, by claiming the reforms which alone could secure to the people a legitimate share of influence in the management of their affairs. The Tory ministry, elated by their previous success, encouraged by the example of their allies—the continental despots—and supported by corrupt majorities in parliament, resolved to silence the just remonstrances of the people, and to arrest their movements. The Six Acts were passed; and the triumvirate of the party—CASTLEREAGH, SIDMOUTH, and PALMERSTON—began to dream, for Old England, the torpid quietude which seemed to reign all over the European continent.

Their dream was short. They were startled from it by the appalling shout of exultation which burst from one extremity of the land to the other at the news of the insurrection of Cadiz; and they soon afterwards beheld the Spanish constitution of 1812, which they had clung to in their adversity, and betrayed in their prosperity, rising over the throne of Ferdinand—subduing Portugal, Piedmont, Naples, and Sicily—invading the rest of Italy, and threatening the tyrants with the liberation of France and Germany from the yoke of the *unholy* alliance.

The autocrats of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, hastened to set their armies in motion against the rebellious subjects who dared to bind their sovereigns to constitutional laws. The Tory diplomacy was no less efficient than the troops of Austria in restoring the kings of Portugal, of Sardinia, and of the Two Sicilies to

their absolute authority ; and in preparing the invasion of Spain, by the French, for the purpose of eradicating the constitutional system. But the people of England, indignant at the shameful connivance of their rulers in the plans of continental despots, expressed their execration of the policy which made their country a consenting party to the annihilation of freedom. The press was equally unanimous in exposing the perfidy and the baseness of the administration. In the two houses of parliament, eloquent voices pleaded the cause of enslaved nations, deprecated the attack meditated against the Spaniards, and hurled patriotic anathemas at the accomplices of European tyranny. All was in vain. The Tory administration had given their assent to the projected invasion ; they, therefore, could not oppose it when, at the Congress of Verona, the mode of execution was to be definitely settled ; and even after Castlereagh's suicide, to escape the consequences of his dastard and treacherous policy, Canning, fettered by the engagements of his predecessor, could do nothing but protest against the decision of the Congress and the march of the French army. Constitutional freedom was destroyed in the peninsula ; and, a few years afterwards, Canning himself was succumbing under, the violence of the Tory party, in his efforts to unfurl the flag of ' civil and religious liberty all over the world.' No one can wonder that, after the revolution of July, 1830, and when all the sovereigns of Europe were meditating another coalition against France, the English people should seize the very first opportunity for rising, as one man, against a party whose predilection for despotism, abroad and at home, had been so long and so successfully displayed.

The advent of the Whigs to power was then hailed with an enthusiasm equal to the execration lavished on their predecessors. During half a century of almost perpetual exclusion from office, the corruption, the faults, the misdeeds of their party, when in power, had been forgotten, and, in some sort, obliterated by the misdeeds of their successors. Ever since the beginning of the wars of the revolution, *freedom everywhere— independence of nations, and extensive reforms at home*, had been advocated by them, as the principles on which the government of the country ought to be carried on. Those who knew anything of Whiggism were not taken in by these opposition tactics ; but the masses of the people are too generally prone to take public men at their words. They are disinclined to doubt their sincerity when, year after year, in parliament, on the hustings, at public meetings, in their books and their pamphlets, they uniformly proclaim those prin-

ciples; and when, at their political festivals, they adopt as their first toast 'The people, the only legitimate source of power.' Thus, the formation of a Whig administration, under Lord Grey, filled every one with most sanguine anticipations of the speedy triumph of freedom, by the enactment of extensive social and governmental reforms, in Great Britain and the rest of Europe.

These anticipations were doomed to be disappointed. The foreign policy of Lord Grey and his colleagues seemed to have no other object, as it had no other result, than to thwart every where the aspirations and movements of the people for constitutional liberty, and to prop up the absolute power of continental despots. As to his domestic policy, its *primum mobile* was the preservation of the paramount influence of the patrician oligarchy, of which he was one of the proudest members. The Parliamentary Reform Act reduced to the smallest dimensions compatible with his retention of office, the just claims of the nation to a large extension of the suffrage, and greater security in the free exercise of their electoral rights. By this act, which was forced upon him, Lord Grey entitled himself to the gratitude, not so much of the people, as of the aristocracy; as, by giving up Poland to the savage Nicholas, and Italy to the idiotic puppet of Metternich, he has deserved the best thanks of continental tyranny.

Beyond the provisions of the Reform Act, Lord Grey would not move an inch—even when the operation of the act was found detrimental to the Whig party, as much as to the popular cause. Hence an opposition, in his own cabinet, on the part of some members of it, who, for party purposes, rather than for national interests, were disposed to yield a little more to the popular demand. This led to the resignation of the Whig premier, and to the dissolution of his administration.

The nation wanted something better than the Whig government, which had disappointed its hopes. Lord Grey, faithful to the worst precedents of pretended constitutional doctrines, recommended the re-installment of a Tory ministry, under the direction of Sir Robert Peel. It was an insult which the people and the House of Commons were not yet prepared to bear. The recollection of the misdeeds of the faction instantly awakened, at the announcement of the proposed change, and brought forth such a universal expression of discontent and alarm, that, in spite of the court intrigue which had paved the way for his resumption of office, Sir Robert Peel found himself under the necessity of resigning the task he had too readily undertaken.

The Whigs, under the leadership of Lord Melbourne, resumed the reins of government.

Party factions are generally selfish, unintelligent, and conceited; they are more particularly so when prosperity dawns upon them; and, if there were still any doubt that those vices pertain to the Whigs, the acts of the ministry of Lord Melbourne must have convinced every one that such is the fact. In the failure of Sir Robert Peel they saw nothing but the continued unpopularity of their rivals—the determination of the country never again to submit to their rule; and they inferred that the nation would bear with anything, provided the Tories were kept out; and that, therefore, they were at liberty to do as they liked. All their former promises were forgotten or denied; all their engagements broken; all the demands of the people unheeded or rejected; and, year after year, they went on struggling against the just exigencies of public opinion; continuing the Tory system in their domestic and foreign policy, in spite of the warnings of their friends and the loud complaints of the liberal and intelligent part of the population: excusing themselves with the former, by saying, We cannot do as we should wish—the Tories are too strong; and frightening the latter, as a nurse does a naughty child, by threatening to let in the Tories. This game could not last for ever. Their friends gradually deserted them; the people would no longer be frightened. General disgust, general contempt, were excited by the cowardice and duplicity of the ministers. Every one said, ‘The Tories cannot do worse; let them come in.’ Defeat after defeat, in parliament and in electoral contests, at last made them aware of their approaching downfall, unless some great measure for the real benefit of the country was immediately resorted to; and they bethought themselves of alleviating the weight of the corn-laws. But the utmost of the reductions meditated and proposed by their aristocratic blindness and *landocratic* cupidity, still maintained a tax of full twenty per cent. on the bread of the people, as a final settlement of the question. This was the Whig war-cry in the electoral struggle of 1841; and they fell amidst the universal contempt of the nation; leaving, as monuments of their skill in governmental and administrative affairs, the disasters of India, a war with China, a long unsettled quarrel with the United States of America, the imminent rupture with France, an empty exchequer, with a large deficit, general distress, and the abominable poor-laws.

If the intellectual capacity of the Whig leaders was too obtuse to seize the real signification of the ministerial revolutions of 1830 and 1835, and to draw from it the wholesome corollaries

which ought to have ruled their official career, their opponents, and especially Sir Robert Peel, proved themselves to be possessed of greater perspicacity and sounder judgment. He was aware that the Tory party had received its death-blow; but his superior mind immediately discerned the cause, and inferred the true consequences of this great fact. He did not attempt to revive the political corpse that laid prostrate under popular odium. On the contrary, he not only coincided in the justice of the fate of the obnoxious party of which he had long been the instrument, but did his best to extirpate its doctrines, and even to obliterate its name. He organized the Conservative party which soon rallied all the intelligent supporters of defunct Toryism; and it was *as Conservatives* that they fought the parliamentary and electoral battles in which, at last, they were victorious.

The new name was little understood by the people; nay, it was generally misunderstood;—many supposing its real meaning to be the maintaining of all things in their present state, without change or alteration. Most of the old Tories had taken Conservatism in this sense, while all the Whigs proclaimed that it was but Toryism under a new denomination. This opinion was so generally prevalent, that, had not the disgust and distrust excited by the Whig treachery and incapacity been paramount to all other considerations, Sir Robert Peel would never have had the opportunity of undeceiving the people, and of elucidating by his acts, as a minister, the true signification of Conservatism, and the real object of the Conservative party of which he is the founder. We admit, and we regret that the right honourable baronet has too tardily and too slowly proceeded in his practical explanation, and that his removal from office has left it incomplete; yet he has done enough to enable us to form a pretty accurate idea of the thing as conceived by its originator, and of its probable operation under his continued direction.

It is now evident that, in the opinion of Sir Robert Peel, Conservatism is the keeping in a proper working order the machinery of the state fabric, which, like all fabrics, must frequently, from wear and tear, be in want of repairs:—the removal of all the worn out parts of the machinery and the substitution of new ones, either of the same material or of some other less subject to deterioration—the adoption of every new process discovered by science, when calculated to give a more powerful action and to increase the produce at less trouble and expense. The right honourable baronet has learned this Conservatism, not at school, not at the universities, but in the paternal house, where he had every oppor-

tunity to convince himself that such Conservatism secures stability, wealth, and prosperity; whilst a contrary system has brought ruin and misery on its partizans. Cases of daily occurrence may have confirmed him in his opinion. Thus, prudent house owners, intent upon the conservation of their dwellings, do not hesitate to suppress an upper floor, if they perceive that the foundations cannot support the weight; or to suspend the whole building in the air whilst they prepare for it more solid foundations; besides making all the necessary alterations and improvements for their own, or their tenants' security and comfort. This is real conservatism, such as sensible men conceive it. No doubt there is a conservatism of another kind, which consists in letting the fabric alone. A splendid specimen of its effects may be seen at the Countess of Jersey's Castle of Rochester; and houses crumbling down, at the dead hour of midnight, and crushing their slumbering tenants, are too frequent illustrations of its wisdom.

No one better than Sir Robert Peel could be aware of the repairs sadly needed in the several component parts of our social and political fabric when, in 1841, he was called upon to undertake the government of the nation. Since then every day of his official life must have strengthened his conviction of their necessity, and have increased his desire for their gradual execution, as the only preservative against the inevitable consequences of long neglected dilapidation. The difficulty was where to begin. He put his hand on every thing, probed every part, and every part was found, and by himself declared, unsound:—the lords, the commons, the church, the law, the courts of justice; in short all the institutions of the country, with only one exception—the Queen.

The immensity of the work, its difficulties, its dangers, justified first the hesitation, and afterwards the reserve of Sir Robert Peel. At last, however, under the pressure of an impending famine, he fairly set to work. The fountain head of the principal evils, the aristocratic privilege of starving the people by the monopoly of food, was, after a hard parliamentary struggle, torn off from the statute book, and the blessings of the millions poured on the high *Conservator*. But, on the very day that, in the stronghold of the aristocracy, a large majority was completing the victory of the right honourable baronet, a disgraceful coalition was wresting from him, in the Commons, the power which he had so beneficially exercised.

Three months before we foresaw and foretold this result of the premier's determination to carry the abolition of the Corn laws; when, after alluding to the lamentable end of Canning,

we said, 'Will Sir Robert Peel be deterred by the fear of retaliation? This would not save him, now, from the distrust and hatred of his former associates, or conciliate his old opponents. His best chance is still to follow, at all hazards, the example of Canning: he cannot, indeed, do otherwise. There are retributions which cannot be averted. Cæsar fell at the foot of Pompey's statue.\*'

Never was a fall more dignified than that of Sir Robert Peel; never could a minister, in the triumph of his power, assume the attitude and the language which the Right Honourable Baronet did, in the House of Commons, when announcing his resignation, in the evening of the 29th of June:—

'I wish to draw no invidious contrasts: I wish to make no unseemly allusions; but I cannot surrender power without making at least this observation,—that, I hope, during the five years for which power has been committed to our hands, neither the interests nor the honour of this country have been compromised. I think I may say with truth that, during that period, the burden of taxation has been equalized, and the pressure which was unjust and severe has been removed from many classes of her Majesty's subjects—that many restrictions upon commerce injuriously affecting the trade of this country have been abrogated—that, without at all paralysing or deranging the credit of the country, stability has been given to the monetary system of this country. I trust also that the stability of our Indian empire has not been weakened by the policy we have pursued, and that the glory and honour of the British arms, both by sea and land, in every part of the world have been maintained. Although there have been considerable reductions, great reductions made in the public burdens, yet I have the satisfaction of stating to the House that the national defences of this country have been improved both by sea and land, and that the army and navy are in a most efficient state. I trust I may also congratulate the House, that, notwithstanding the great reductions in the fiscal burdens of the country, our finances are in a prosperous and buoyant state—that, notwithstanding the great reduction of taxation, the increased consumption of articles of customs and excise, and the general prosperity of the people, have supplied the void which might otherwise have taken place. Lastly, I think I may say, that, without any harsh enforcement of the law, without any curtailment either of the liberty of the subject or the liberty of the press, there has been as much of obedience and submission to the law as there ever was at any period of our history. Nay, I will say more—in consequence of the greater command of the necessaries and minor luxuries of life, in consequence, too, of confidence in the administration of the law, there has

\* Eclectic Review for March, 1846, p. 268 (M'Culloch on Taxation).

been more of contentment, less of seditious crime, less necessity for the exercise of power for the repression of political outrage, than there ever was at any antecedent period in this country. On the subject of our foreign policy, we have our foreign relations in a satisfactory state; our policy has inspired France and other countries with a feeling of confidence, and, though in distant parts of the world, intriguing agents, doubtless jealous of the honour and dignity of their different countries have sought to excite causes of dispute on small matters, I believe that all their efforts will be controlled and overruled by the friends of peace. And, if any thing can be more gratifying than another, it is the fact that, on the very eve of leaving office, the cheering intelligence has arrived that the last effort for peace had been successful. I therefore rejoice that, before I surrender power I have the satisfaction of making this announcement. I feel that I have how executed the task which my public duty imposed upon me. Within a few hours, probably, that power, which I have held for a period of five years, will be surrendered into the hands of another, without repining—I can say without complaint—with a more lively recollection of the support and confidence I have received, than of the opposition which, during a recent period, I met with. I shall leave office, I fear, with a name severely censured by many hon. gentlemen, who, on public principle, deeply regret the severance of party ties—who deeply regret that severance, not from any interested or personal motives, but because they believe fidelity to party engagements—the existence and maintenance of a great party—to constitute a powerful instrument of government; I shall surrender power severely censured, I fear again, by many hon. gentlemen, who, from no interested motive, have adhered to the principle of protection, as important to the welfare and interests of the country; I shall leave a name execrated by every monopolist, who, from less honourable motives, maintains protection for his own individual benefit; but it may be that I shall leave a name sometimes remembered with expressions of good-will in those places which are the abode of men whose lot it is to labour, and to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow—a name remembered with expressions of good-will, when they shall recreate their exhausted strength with abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened by a sense of injustice.

The loud and vociferous cheering which had frequently interrupted this farewell speech and followed its conclusion, in the House of Commons, was warmly re-echoed all over the land, but soon gave way to a still more gratifying tribute—an almost unanimous expression of regret, at the resignation of the very man whom, sixteen years before, equally unanimous maledictions had hurled down from his official elevation.

In the extract which we have given from his parting speech,



the right honourable baronet disclaims all intention of '*drawing invidious contrasts, of making unseemly allusions,*' and we are bound to believe him; yet no one, on reading the admirable retrospective glance on his administration, and on the condition in which he left the affairs of the country, can help seeing in it the most complete contrast with the doings of his immediate predecessors in office, and with the probable results of the policy of his successors. For our part we have no hesitation in saying, that we anticipate nothing else from the present ministry than the counterpart of the intelligent and sound measures which have marked the last two years of the administration of Sir Robert Peel, and a more disgraceful retreat from office than even their preceding shameful sinking down under the weight of their own blunders and misdeeds.

By its own composition, the ministry of Lord J. Russell is incapacitated for anything really equitable, liberal, and patriotic. It comprises, indeed, some men whose political principles and conduct entitle them to the respect and confidence of the people; but they are few, and are outnumbered by men who have gained for themselves a contrary distinction. Lord John Russell is one of the latter. We have no animosity, no cause of personal resentment against his lordship; and nothing but a sense of duty, in the present circumstances of the country, could induce us to express, as we shall presently do, our opinion of the new *Premier*.

Had not Lord John Russell been the son of a duke, in an aristocratic country, had he not begun his political life, at a time of considerable excitement, and as an oppositionist; he would never have been thought or spoken of as a statesman, an orator, a debater, or even as a writer. Having attentively observed his career, for the last twenty-five years, it is evident to us that the frame of his mind is much at par with that of his body. He has read but little, and that little very badly. His party and family prejudices regulated his digest of his readings, and of the impressions made by passing events upon his very slight sensibility. Mistaking the deference to rank, which early pushed him on the first line of the opposition benches, for an acknowledgment of his superiority, and the attention which the son of a duke naturally commanded, when speaking amongst commoners, for admiration, he had no great inducement to increase, by severe studies, his scanty store of acquired knowledge or experience, so as to outstep the boundaries of party politics, and to enter the vast field of national policy. Applauded in his narrow sphere, he acquired a self-confidence,

and spoke with an assurance which himself and, unfortunately, others mistook for conviction and authority. The only result of this training could be to produce a narrow-minded, conceited, and stubborn politician, without skill, without views, and without any of the higher qualifications so requisite in a prime minister. Such is Lord John Russell.

His absolute want of judgment has been illustrated in the selection of the heterogeneous materials with which he formed his cabinet. To entrust the management of our Indian empire to Sir John Cam Hobhouse, after the innumerable proofs of utter incapacity afforded by the right honourable baronet, during his former tenure of the same office, is an outrage to common sense, and an insult to public opinion, for which we were not prepared. Lord Palmerston's return to the Foreign Office was, in our opinion, a still more signal instance of thoughtlessness and indiscretion; and a too certain indication of a return to that blundering, bullying, and recoiling policy which, in 1840, had nigh inveigled Great Britain in an European and American war. Whatever the friends of the noble viscount may say, it is not in their power to screen the object of their adulation from the disgraceful results of his mismanagement of our foreign affairs. The avowed principle and basis of our foreign policy, as settled in the Quadruple Alliance treaty, was, co-operation with France, even by force, to maintain in Spain and Portugal, the change in the order of succession to the crown, and constitutional governments, in opposition to the views and interests of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. In 1840, the policy of England was alliance with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, in opposition to France, and armed interference, for the pacification of Syria.\* The present state of Syria after five years incessant insurrections and massacres, sufficiently proves the absurdity of the settlement of 1840; while the condition of Spain and Portugal, sinking, from revolution to revolution, deeper and deeper under the absolute rule of the depraved tools of the French king, who sets England at defiance, exhibits in all their horror, the

\* Louis Philippe and his ministerial agents Soult, Thiers, and Guizot, have in turn officially proclaimed to the world that, in 1839, Lord Palmerston had proposed to the French government an offensive and defensive alliance against the three great continental powers, and the immediate settlement of the Eastern question in favour of the Pasha of Egypt. Until this accusation of treachery is fully answered, and the fair name of England vindicated, the presence of Viscount Palmerston in the cabinet is a disgrace to it and to the country, and a cause of distrust to Europe.

effects of the diplomatic skill of the former colleague of Castle-reagh and Sidmouth.

The introduction of Lord Grey into the same cabinet with Lord Palmerston, after the exhibition of their mutual antipathy, is another characteristic of the noble premier's want of perspicacity and caution. Any one who is acquainted with Earl Grey, is aware of the extreme difficulty of working with his lordship on any one point, arising from an irritability of temper which soon changes a disagreement into a quarrel. Like Lord John Russell, the noble earl is greatly indebted to his birth for his reputation as an orator and statesman; and, consequently, like him, will stand by the aristocracy—which makes the chance of high lineage a sufficient qualification for the highest offices in the government—against the people, who require another and better kind of superiority. There is, however, a difference in these two statesmen which will not allow them to act in concert for any length of time. Earl Grey's mind is of a more sensitive and active character; he considers himself superior to the premier and to all his colleagues in the practical knowledge of the science of government; he has, indeed, some views, which, though ill digested and somewhat inconsistent with the principles of his order, he is bent on carrying out. To create and to rule with a high hand is the natural disposition of his lordship. Complete independence in his own department, and the right of controlling the others, have been and continue to be his pretensions; and they must be gratified, to avoid dissensions, and avert the breaking up of the cabinet, in which the noble earl is strong. In the administration of Lord Melbourne, it was easy to dispense with his lordship; he was alone: but the case is now different. The Home Department and the Exchequer are in the hands of his family; and the noble earl cannot be resisted or contradicted without danger to the ministry. Lord John Russell has evinced a singular want of foresight in thus strengthening the position of Earl Grey when he formed his administration. The choice of Sir G. Grey for the Home Department may be justified, or at the least excused, by the real abilities and the services of the right honourable baronet; but the appointment of Mr. C. Wood to the Chancellorship of the Exchequer reveals a total want of tact and prudence on the part of the premier. There are few members of the House of Commons who are not better qualified for managing the finances of the country; and there is no doubt that, before long, the country will dearly pay for this blundering concession to the pretensions of the Greys.

Are the Marquis of Lansdown, the Marquis of Clanricarde, the Earls of Auckland and Minto, men of such abilities and in-

fluence as to give to the new administration a character for talent and strength, so much needed in the present state of the country? The Marquis of Lansdown is the only one of them who has any claim to the confidence of the nation. We give him full credit for having, in his long parliamentary career, consistently advocated liberal and even popular principles, within the limits of Whiggism; we are even inclined to think that his lordship has been disposed to go much beyond those limits, and that he is not the champion of finality; but he is now arrived at a period of life when activity of mind gradually declines; and repose, or, at the least, slow, imperceptible movements, are considered as the only safe policy. The Marquis of Clanricarde and the Earl of Auckland can hardly be said to possess a political character. Both belong to that class of politicians to whom high offices are given for their own advantage, and not for that of the public. The best that can be said of them is, that they have hitherto done nothing, and are not likely to do more. The Earl of Minto has, unfortunately for him, done something. As First Lord of the Admiralty in the Melbourne administration he has exhibited a disgraceful incapacity, and discontented the navy by his nepotism.

The Earl of Clarendon is the only peer in the cabinet, or rather the only member of it, whose political career commands unqualified approbation, and the confidence of the people. His proper station would be at the head of the Foreign Office, where his experience, his talents, and his uprightness, would nobly uphold the interests and honour of Great Britain, by rallying all independent nations under the standard of civil and religious liberty. The preference given to Lord Palmerston for this department by Lord John Russell is, in our opinion, strong evidence of his lordship's want of those qualities which his position demands. So strong is our conviction on this point, that we cannot but regret that the noble earl should have been induced to accept office under the present premier, as much as we regretted to see him, in 1840, joining the Melbourne cabinet. We will say more. The character of the noble earl is damaged by his present, as it was by his former connexion. It is as impossible for us to believe that he can approve of the domestic and foreign policy of the Whigs during their former tenure of office, as to imagine that the Whigs can be brought to adopt the sound and liberal principles of Lord Clarendon; and, therefore, his lordship's acceptance of office with them cannot but be considered as a discreditable bargain.

We have little to say of Lord Morpeth. Treading in the path of the Earl of Clarendon, he has on many occasions shown

himself much more liberal than the Whigs, and we did not expect to see him so readily embark in their rotten boat. Young politicians of some talent, in their impatience to play a part on the political stage, frequently rush through the first opening, without considering the company they are going to associate with. This may be excusable in those who have nothing or but little to lose in character, or who are urged by circumstances to get, any how, into a situation ; but there is no excuse for Lord Morpeth ; and we greatly fear that his connexion with the present administration will involve him in the ruin of a party, which nothing can save from its own blindness and dishonesty.

It certainly will not be saved by Mr. Macaulay, who, within himself, and without being aware of it, embodies all the worst characteristics of Whiggism. Book-making and essay-writing are not, in our opinion, the best qualifications for a statesman ; even when the books and the essays have all the merit which cannot be ascribed to his. The right honourable gentleman belongs to that literary school, or rather coterie, which, without reading, without study, without meditation—nay, even more, with the utmost indifference for all that has been said or written before, be it true or false, right or wrong—pretend to know everything, explain everything, decide upon everything, according to rules and authorities of their own making, in philology, poetry, history, philosophy, political economy, and even religion. Mr. Macaulay is the corypheus of that coterie, for no other reason than the superior mobility and inconsistency of his ideas, and, perhaps, a greater command and a more brilliant combination of words, which are mistaken for fecundity and originality of mind. Sophistical, and paradoxical, he is just the man to startle, perplex, and excite admiration in an academy of blue stockings ; but, in the senate and in the cabinet, we want other properties ; and we have no doubt that his vaunted brilliancy and eloquence will materially assist the Whig administration in again exhibiting to the country their laxity of political morality, their solemn and verbose incapacity, and their wonderful ingenuity in the perversion of principles and in the exhibition of apostacy.

Mr. Labouchere deserves a better lot than a seat in a Whig cabinet. He is a well informed, and, we believe, a well meaning man. Two or three subordinate offices in the administration have been given to gentlemen whose public character stands high, and who might do good if they were not out-numbered by the needy transfugitives of Radicalism, who, for the sake of the emoluments and the other advantages of their offices, will blindly follow their leaders wherever

they choose to lead them. Thus, Mr. Gibson is neutralised by Mr. Hawes.

The enumeration which we have given of the members of the cabinet, shows that it is, as nearly as possible, identical with the one which, in 1841, fell so shamefully, after six years of disgraceful tergiversation and mismanagement. The substitution of Lord John Russell for Lord Melbourne as the head of the ministry, far from being advantageous, is a retrograde movement. Lord Melbourne, however objectionable in many respects, was more liberal than Lord John Russell. He was much less of a Whig, much less of an oligarch; and we have some reason to believe, that he, as well as Sir Robert Peel, has long been aware of the utter impossibility of any longer subjecting the country to the will and rule of a party; and that, like Sir Robert Peel, though not so publicly or so eloquently, he abjured his past errors; and, on resigning office, declared that Whiggism could no longer exist.

In fact, it does not exist. We have Whig ministers, but they have no party; there is no Whig party. There is not even a ministerial party. The constitutional elements of parties are community of principles, identity of interests, sameness of purpose, or the commanding superiority of some individual whom men of inferior abilities or energy readily take for their leader, or make their master. There is not such a man among the Whigs. It is well averred, that they have no political, no social principles, and that even the common interests which so long united them, and made them a party during Tory omnipotence, have now given place to individual pretensions, affections, or antipathies. Divided among themselves, they have decomposed the grand Whig faction into three or four Whig cliques, which their vanity, ambition, and cupidity would soon again subdivide into smaller coteries, if some means were not found to conciliate them, and at the same time to disarm the hostility, or even obtain the support, of their adversaries.

Without principles, or with aristocratic and anti-popular principles,—without the authority of uncontested superiority of rank, of wealth, of talents, or of services,—and without even the recommendation of being, at the least, men of calm and sound judgment, and of business-like habits; nay, even more, with the reputation of never having been in office for any length of time, without involving the country in difficulties, both political and financial; the Whigs have no other means of maintaining themselves in power than corruption. No doubt, now-a-days, they cannot, like WALPOLE, avowedly purchase the votes of their opponents, and publicly

boast of their bargains. This was in the infancy of parliamentary corruption, as, in the infancy of electoral corruption, the votes of the electors were bought at so much per head. The thing is better done at present. The example of France has not been lost upon our Whig rulers. There, sixty years ago, flourished an all-powerful and proud aristocracy, an established church not inferior to our own in wealth and influence. They were said, as our aristocracy and our church are now to be, the supports of the throne; though they not unfrequently in France, as they have done here, made war against kings, held them prisoners, and chose other sovereigns. Now, the aristocracy and the clergy are nothing in France; and the supports of the throne are—instead of some ten thousand nobles and their families, with bishops, abbots, and inferior church dignitaries,—hundreds of thousands of officials, who, once appointed by the minister, have the same interest with him, to assist him in crushing the people, the aristocracy, and the clergy.

It seems that, from 1835 to 1841, the Whigs not only studied but also practised the lessons given to them by the French ministers. They had no great difficulty in finding fault with the management of the affairs of most of the parishes in England, which were left entirely to the care of the aristocracy and the clergy, the lord of the manor, and the rector, or their nominees. It was very easy also to substitute something better than the system they found fault with. Every one was convinced that those affairs could not be worse managed than they were, and the ministers easily obtained from an unsuspecting and unenlightened parliament, the substitution of a ministerial paid nominee for the nominees of the aristocratic and clerical authorities. The people, dissatisfied with the first, could not but countenance the change as an improvement; and the Whigs saw progressing, *paro passu*, their popularity and their patronage. Of course they felt encouraged by the approbation given to their measures, and so steadily pursued their career of improvement, that the number of officials of all kinds at the nomination of the ministers or their dependents was, in 1841, twelve thousand more than in 1831.

The Whigs will pursue the same system, the only one which can support an unpopular administration. They will do so under pretence of regulating the different branches of the government and of the administration. This pretence can easily be admitted as a good motive, by many members of parliament, who expect to gather the benefit of their support, and afterwards extend it to their own supporters, at the cost

the country. Officials *in esse* or *in posse*, titular or expectant, will, in both houses, uniformly uphold ministerial measures, while, at the elections, they vote for ministerial candidates, who will repay their suffrages by obtaining a creation of some new office, or the promotion of electors already employed. Such is the system successfully adopted in France, since 1830. The best part of the upper and the middle classes are bound to the government by the tenure of office; and ministerial omnipotence is the result of ministerial patronage.

The House of Commons no longer seems to be accessible to the honourable and generous feelings which frequently burst forth, in former times, as a national sentence of degradation, on depraved statesmen. This House has no energy, no life; it is doomed to desolation; and it is not without intense apprehension that we see, in command of the decrepit assembly, the very men who were discarded at first, as unworthy of confidence. No doubt Whig consciences may be disturbed at the idea of summoning a new parliament at the present moment, but Whig obsequiousness may conciliate old adversaries, and bring about a coalition. Here is the danger for the country; for the only basis of such coalition is administrative centralisation, the creation of innumerable new offices, and their distribution, not exclusively to Whigs, but to all who, by renouncing their former principles, and abandoning their party, prove themselves worthy of patronage. Such is the plan of the new cabinet; the only question is, will the people allow them to carry their plan into execution? We cannot now answer the question. A few months will enable the public to judge of the accuracy of our predictions. May it not then be too late!



ART. II.—*History of the Conquest of Peru, with a Preliminary View of the Civilization of the Incas.* By William H. Prescott. 2 Vols. 8vo. London: R. Bentley.

MR. PRESCOTT comes before us with an established reputation. His previous works have earned him an honourable name amongst the historical writers of his day, and entirely supersede the necessity for any formal introduction. He has been eminently skilful in the selection of his subjects. They are just such as afforded ample scope for his powers, and are rich in the materials of universal and exhaustless interest. The 'History of Ferdinand and Isabella,' deals with a period sufficiently remote to afford play for imagination, yet near enough, both in time and locality, to be identified with the growth of European civilization, and to enter into the complex questions which still pertain to the policy of Europe. The epoch lay on the border line between the middle ages and our times, when institutions were assuming a more definite form, and the types of future good and evil were coming forth from the confusion and darkness in which human affairs had long been enwrapped. Mr. Prescott's success was universally admitted. He wrote in a free, unembarrassed style, with a complete mastery of his subject, and a generous enthusiasm which gave vivacity, life, and power, to his pages. The 'Conquest of Mexico' which followed, increased the number of his admirers, and greatly widened the circle of his fame. The audacity of the Spanish adventurers, their chivalrous bearing, unparalleled sufferings, recklessness of danger and final triumph, their heroism and cupidity, their fanaticism and cruelty, mingled strangely with the fortunes of Montezuma and the subversion of the Mexican empire. The work had all the interest of romance with the truthfulness of history. It pictured scenes which fancy could not exceed, and yet spoke with a sobriety which precluded hesitation or doubt. From a confused and scattered mass, it called forth and arranged in order, the facts which constitute the true materials of history.

The present work has been prepared on the same general plan. The institutions of the Incas are portrayed in an introductory book in order that the reader 'may be acquainted with the character and condition of that extraordinary race, before he enters on the story of their subjugation.' Those who read only for excitement will probably deem this portion of our author's labours uninteresting, but all such as are concerned to understand the subsequent history will thank Mr. Prescott for

the pains he has taken to exhibit the condition, and thus explain the secret of the rapid overthrow of the Peruvian empire. Referring to our own historian, Robertson, of whom he speaks in generous terms, he says, 'It has been my object to exhibit this same story in all its romantic details; not merely to pourtray the characteristic features of the conquest, but to fill up the outline with the colouring of life, so as to present a minute and faithful picture of the times.' Peru, like Mexico, was considerably advanced in civilization at the time of the Spanish expedition. Its population was great; its towns were numerous, and some of them large; its army was well equipped; its monarch was warlike; and yet it fell before a mere handful of adventurers. But we must not anticipate Mr. Prescott's narrative.

At the period of the Spanish invasion, Peru stretched along the Pacific Ocean from about the second degree north to the thirty-seventh degree of south latitude. Its breadth was altogether disproportioned to its length, and the physical characteristics of the country appeared to be, in the highest degree, unfavourable to its cultivation. The sandy strip along the coast, where rain is unknown, was moistened only by a few scanty streams, while the precipitous steepes of the vast mountains which constituted its eastern boundary were still less adapted to reward the labour of the husbandman. The industry and skill of the Peruvians sufficed, however, to master these difficulties. Canals and subterraneous aqueducts were constructed, and terraces were raised on the sides of the mountains. By the former, the waste places of the coast were rendered fertile; and by the latter, the fruits and vegetables of various latitudes were produced. 'An industrious population settled along the lofty regions of the plateaus, and towns and hamlets, clustering amidst orchards and wide-spreading gardens, seemed suspended in the air far above the ordinary elevation of the clouds.'

The origin of the empire is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The traditions which were current at the time of the Spanish invasion are clearly fabulous, nor is it easy to determine the duration of the Incas dynasty. No account assigns to it more than thirteen princes before the conquest, from which Mr. Prescott computes it at two centuries and a half,—'An antiquity,' he observes, 'not incredible in itself, and which, it may be remarked, does not precede by more than half a century, the alleged foundation of the capital of Mexico.'

The supreme authority was vested in the Inca, and descended to his eldest son, by the Coya, or lawful queen, who was selected, at least in later reigns, from the sisters of the monarch. The

government was a mild but pure despotism. Even the proudest of the nobility did not venture into the presence of the Inca, unless barefooted, and with a light burden on his shoulders. 'As the representative of the sun, he stood at the head of the priesthood, and presided at the most important of the religious festivals. He raised armies, and usually commanded them in person. He imposed taxes, made laws, and provided for their execution by the appointment of judges, whom he removed at pleasure. He was the source from which everything flowed—all dignity, all power, all emolument. He was, in short, in the well-known phrase of the European despot, 'himself the state.'

'We shall look in vain,' says Mr. Prescott, 'in the history of the East for a parallel to the absolute control exercised by the Incas over their subjects. In the East, this was founded on physical power—on the external resources of the government. The authority of the Inca might be compared with that of the Pope in the day of his might, when Christendom trembled at the thunders of the Vatican, and the successor of St. Peter set his foot on the necks of princes. But the authority of the Pope was founded on opinion. His temporal power was nothing. The empire of the Incas rested on both. It was a theocracy more potent in its operations than that of the Jews; for, though the sanction of the law might be as great among the latter, the law was expounded by a human lawgiver, the servant and representative of Divinity. But the Inca was both the lawgiver and the law. He was not merely the representative of Divinity, or like the Pope, its vice-regent, but he was Divinity itself. The violation of his ordinance was sacrilege. Never was there a scheme of government enforced by such terrible sanctions, or which bore so expressively on the subjects of it. For it reached not only to the visible acts, but to the private conduct, the words, the very thoughts, of its vassals.'—Vol. i. p. 151.

The Peruvian nobility consisted of two orders, the first and most important, was that of the Incas, who boasted a common descent with their sovereign, and the other consisted of the *Curacas*, or cacciques of the conquered nations. Mr. Prescott says:—

'It was the Inca nobility, indeed, who constituted the real strength of the Peruvian monarchy. Attached to their prince by ties of consanguinity, they had common sympathies, and, to a considerable extent, common interests with him. Distinguished by a peculiar dress and insignia, as well as by language and blood, from the rest of the community, they were never confounded with the other tribes and nations who were incorporated into the great Peruvian monarchy.

After the lapse of centuries, they still retained their individuality as a peculiar people. They were to the conquered races of the country what the Romans were to the barbarous hordes of the empire, or the Normans to the ancient inhabitants of the British Isles. Clustering around the throne, they formed an invincible phalanx, to shield it alike from secret conspiracy and open insurrection. Though living chiefly in the capital, they were also distributed throughout the country in all its high stations and strong military posts, thus establishing lines of communication with the court, which enabled the sovereign to act simultaneously and with effect on the most distant quarters of his empire. They possessed, moreover, an intellectual pre-eminence, which, no less than their station, gave them authority with the people. Indeed, it may be said to have been the principal foundation of their authority. The crania of the Inca race show a decided superiority over the other races of the land in intellectual power; and it cannot be denied that it was the fountain of that peculiar civilization and social polity, which raised the Peruvian monarchy above every other state in South America. Whence this remarkable race came, and what was its early history, are among those mysteries that meet us so frequently in the annals of the New World, and which time and the antiquary have as yet done little to explain.—*Id.* 35.

The fiscal regulations, and laws respecting property, were amongst the most remarkable features of Peruvian polity. The territory was divided into three parts, one for their deity, the sun, another for the Inca, and a third for the people. The proportion differed in the several provinces, and that which fell to the people was divided amongst them, *per capita*, in equal shares, which was renewed every year, the possession of each being increased or diminished according to the number of his family. The people, though endowed only with a third of the land, had to maintain every other order of the state. 'The members of the royal house, the great nobles, even the public functionaries, and the numerous body of the priesthood, were all exempt from taxation.' All the expenses of government fell upon the people, while they were refused any participation in the conduct of its affairs. Their condition was consequently stationary. An artificial state of society was created, which, though it excluded some evils prevalent in Europe, destroyed all the more masculine and noble features of character, and prepared the way for a rapid subversion of the empire.


'No man,' says Mr. Prescott, 'could be rich, no man could be poor, in Peru; but all might enjoy, and did enjoy, a competence. Ambition, avarice, the love of change, the morbid spirit of discontent, those passions which most agitate the minds of men, found no

place in the bosom of the Peruvian. The very condition of his being seemed to be at war with change. He moved on in the same unbroken circle in which his fathers had moved before him, and in which his children were to follow. It was the object of the Incas to infuse into their subjects a spirit of passive obedience and tranquillity, —a perfect acquiescence in the established order of things. In this they fully succeeded. The Spaniards who first visited the country are emphatic in their testimony, that no government could have been better suited to the genius of the people; and no people could have appeared more contented with their lot, or more devoted to their government.'—*Ib.* 57.

The limits of the empire had been steadily enlarged by successive monarchs, who all acted on a uniform plan, so that 'the state seemed to be under the direction of a single hand, and steadily pursued, as if through one long reign, its great career of civilization and of conquest. Tranquillity in the heart of the monarchy, and war on its borders, was the condition of Peru.' The Peruvian empire claimed a Divine origin, and their institutions and wars were alike directed to preserve and propagate their faith. 'Religion was the basis of their polity, the very condition of their social existence. The government of the Incas, in its essential principles, was a theocracy.' The sun was the special object of worship, though inferior deities engaged a portion of reverence; and the most magnificent of their national solemnities was the feast of Raymi, when the population of the empire flocked to the capital, and the monarch, his nobles, and the people, emulated each other in the honour done to their chief divinity. The offerings presented at this festival consisted of animals, grain, flowers, and sweet-scented gums, and, on special occasions, 'a child or beautiful maiden' was sacrificed as a propitiation or thank-offering.

The law of marriage, illustrative beyond most other things, of the civilization and social condition of a people, was at once simple yet artificial. It was a matter of state-regulation, and is thus delineated by Mr. Prescott.

'The great nobles of Peru were allowed, like their sovereigns, a plurality of wives. The people generally, whether by law, or by necessity stronger than law, were more happily limited to one. Marriage was conducted in a manner that gave it quite as original a character as belonged to the other institutions of the country. On an appointed day of the year, all those of a marriageable age—which, having reference to their ability to take charge of a family, in the males was fixed at not less than twenty-four years, and in the women at eighteen or twenty—were called together in the great squares of their respective towns and villages throughout the empire.



'The Inca presided in person over the assembly of his own kindred, and taking the hands of the different couples who were to be united, he placed them within each other, declaring the parties man and wife. The same was done by the curacas towards all persons of their own or inferior degree in their several districts. This was the simple form of marriage in Peru. No one was allowed to select a wife beyond the community to which he belonged, which generally comprehended all his own kindred; nor was any but the sovereign authorized to dispense with the law of nature—or, at least, the usual laws of nations—so far as to marry his own sister. No marriage was esteemed valid without the consent of the parents; and the preference of the parties, it is said, was also to be consulted; though, considering the barriers imposed by the prescribed age of the candidates, this must have been within rather narrow and whimsical limits. A dwelling was got ready for the new-married pair at the charge of the district, and the prescribed portion of land assigned for their maintenance. The law of Peru provided for the future, as well as for the present. It left nothing to chance. The simple ceremony of marriage was followed by general festivities among the friends of the parties, which lasted several days; and, as every wedding took place on the same day and as there were few families who had not some one of their members or their kindred personally interested, there was one universal bridal jubilee throughout the empire.'—*Ib.* pp. 104—106.

Such, in brief, was the condition of an empire towards which Francisco Pizarro led his adventurous countrymen. He had been preceded by Cortes, whose exploits in Mexico had stimulated the courage, as his success had fired the ambition and cupidity, of his less scrupulous and equally daring contemporary. Pizarro was born at Truxillo, a city of Estremadura, in Spain, about 1471. He was an illegitimate child, whose early culture had been neglected, and who found in the new world the only sphere in which he could hope to earn a name or to advance his fortunes. He embodied in himself most of the qualities which distinguished his countrymen at that period. His chivalrous courage and reckless cruelty, his insatiable avarice and heroic endurance of sufferings, his intense perfidy, his restless ambition, his fierce fanaticism, are all characteristic of his age and class. He belonged to a race which has passed away, and which constituted, during a memorable period of human history, a more terrible scourge to the nations they visited, than the fiercest of those northern hordes which precipitated the downfall of Rome. We must understand the character of the Spanish adventurer; half brigand, and half soldier; reckless of slaughter, yet a son of the church; carrying with him both the cross and the sword, holding up the one,

and slaying with the other; proclaiming the mission of mercy while he wrought the deeds of Satan; a Christian in profession, but worse than a Moslem in the fierceness of his fanaticism; before we can comprehend his history, or appreciate his triumphs.

The commencement of the sixteenth century was a marvellous era. The genius of Columbus had opened a new world to European enterprise, while the still higher achievement of Luther had sounded the very depths of human passion, and aroused both the manhood and the virtues of our race. Each was omnipotent in its own direction. The one precipitated on the American continent, the most daring and reckless portion of a haughty and sanguine people; while the other broke up the monotony of Europe, and dissolved the spell by which its intellect had been bound. We have to do at present with the former, and it is difficult to realize its influence. Many of the principal cities of Spain were almost depopulated by the immense number of emigrants who hastened to join the standards of the various adventurers on the American continent. 'It was the reality of romance. The life of the Spanish adventurer was one chapter more, and not the least remarkable in the chronicles of knight-errantry.' The character of the men who engaged in these enterprises is thus sketched by our author:—

'The character of the warrior took somewhat of the exaggerated colouring shed over his exploits. Proud and vainglorious, swelled with lofty anticipations of his destiny, and an invincible confidence in his own resources, no danger could appal and no toil could tire him. The greater the danger, indeed, the higher the charm; for his soul revelled in excitement, and the enterprise without peril wanted that spur of romance which was necessary to rouse his energies into action. Yet in the motives of action meaner influences were strangely mingled with the loftier, the temporal with the spiritual. Gold was the incentive and the recompense, and in the pursuit of it his inflexible nature rarely hesitated as to the means. His courage was sullied with cruelty, the cruelty that flowed equally—strange as it may seem—from his avarice and his religion; religion as it was understood in that age,—the religion of the Crusader. It was the convenient cloak for a multitude of sins, which covered them even from himself. The Castilian, too proud for hypocrisy, committed more cruelties in the name of religion than were ever practised by the pagan idolater or the fanatical Moslem. The burning of the infidel was a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven, and the conversion of those who survived amply atoned for the foulest offences. It is a melancholy and mortifying consideration, that the most uncompromising spirit of intolerance—the spirit of the Inquisitor at home, and

*of the Crusader abroad—should have emanated from a religion which preached peace upon earth and good-will towards man !—Ib. 176.*

Floating rumours of countries in the west teeming with gold and silver, had, from time to time, reached several of the Spanish settlements; but the first distinct notice of Peru was received about 1511, from a young barbarian chief, who perceiving the avidity with which the white man weighed the gold that had been collected, exclaimed, in pure astonishment, 'If this is what you prize so much, that you are willing to leave your distant homes and risk even life itself for it, I can tell you of a land where they eat and drink out of golden vessels, and gold is as cheap as iron is with you.' Vasco Nunez de Balboa, to whom this language was addressed, soon afterwards scaled the mighty rampart of the isthmus which divides the Southern and Pacific Oceans, and received more explicit tidings of the civilisation and wealth of the Peruvian empire. The jealousy of his superiors prevented his availing himself of the magnificent prospect which was thus opened to his ambition. The information, however, which he obtained, survived his power, and being confirmed by the reports of Andagoya in 1522, Pizarro united with Diego de Almagro, a soldier of fortune, and Hernando de Luque, an ecclesiastic, to seek on this new theatre, wealth and renown. Pizarro and Almagro were to contribute their lender stock towards the expenses of the armament, Luque, as the agent of a party, not formally named, was to command the expedition; and the consent of the governor of Panamá having been obtained, two small vessels were purchased, in one of which, with about a hundred men, Pizarro took his departure in November 1524. Almagro was to follow in the other and smaller vessel, as soon as it could be fitted out. Nothing can well be imagined more disproportioned than the means at his command, and the enterprise he was attempting. His knowledge of the region he sought was most imperfect, the men under his command were amongst the most abandoned and reckless inhabitants of the colony he was leaving; his vessel was small and crazy; the seas through which he sailed were unknown, and the coast most uninviting and formidable. Descending the river Birú, he disembarked his soldiers, and proceeded to explore the country, but the land was one vast swamp, and the underwood of the forest rendered his advance impossible. The heat was unbearable, and a scanty supply of food aggravated the misery of his troops. Such was the ominous commencement of the Peruvian tragedy. Pizarro did his utmost to sustain the fainting spirits of his men, but despairing of effecting any thing by remaining longer in such a region,



he reembarked, and proceeded along the coast. A succession of heavy gales drove him out to sea, where 'for ten days the unfortunate voyagers were tossed about by the pitiless elements, and it was only by incessant exertions—the exertions of despair—that they preserved the ship from foundering.' Glad to escape from immediate danger, the Spaniards again sought land, but it was only to change their miseries, not to escape them. They loudly complained of their lot, charged Pizarro with having deceived them, and demanded to be taken back to Panamá. Nothing, however, was further from the thoughts of their commander. 'The present was his only chance. To return would be ruin. He used every argument, therefore, that mortified pride or avarice could suggest, to turn his followers from their purpose,' and having secured their acquiescence, sent back the vessel for provisions. In the meanwhile, Pizarro was not idle, as the following passage shows:—

'On the departure of his vessel, the Spanish commander made an attempt to explore the country, and see if some Indian settlement might not be found, where he could procure refreshments for his followers. But his efforts were vain, and no trace was visible of a human dwelling: though, in the dense and impenetrable foliage of the equatorial regions, the distance of a few rods might suffice to screen a city from observation. The only means of nourishment left to the unfortunate adventurers were such shell-fish as they occasionally picked up on the shore, or the bitter buds of the palm-tree, and such berries and unsavoury herbs as grew wild in the woods. Some of these were so poisonous, that the bodies of those who ate them swelled up and were tormented with racking pains. Others, preferring famine to this miserable diet, pined away from weakness and actually died of starvation. Yet their resolute leader strove to maintain his own cheerfulness and to keep up the drooping spirits of his men. He freely shared with them his scanty stock of provisions, was unwearied in his endeavours to procure them sustenance, tended the sick, and ordered barracks to be constructed for their accommodation, which might, at least, shelter them from the drenching storms of the season. By this ready sympathy with his followers in their sufferings, he obtained an ascendancy over their rough natures, which the assertion of authority, at least in the present extremity, could never have secured to him.'—*Ib.* 198.

Week after week passed, and no relief was obtained. From the highest points of the coast their eyes were daily cast over the mighty waters, in the hope of witnessing the approach of some friendly sail. But their hopes were vain. Not a speck could be discerned; and the bravest amongst them began to lose heart. 'Those who had borne up bravely at first, even

gave way to despondency, as they felt themselves abandoned by their countrymen on this desolate shore. They pined under that sad feeling which 'maketh the heart sick.' More than twenty of the little band had already died, and the survivors seemed to be rapidly following.' In this extremity an Indian village was discovered, whose timid inhabitants at first fled from the Spaniards, but afterwards treated them with much kindness. At length the vessel which had been dispatched, under the command of Montenegro, returned, bringing provisions for his famishing countrymen. 'Great was his horror at the aspect presented by the latter, their wild and haggard countenances, and wasted frames—so wasted by hunger and disease, that their old companions found it difficult to recognise them.' Revived by this timely supply, the Spanish cavaliers forgot their distress, and branding the place of their sojourn with the appropriate name of *Puerto de la Hambre*, the Port of Famine, they re-embarked, and proceeded southward, with a favourable breeze. Had Pizarro struck boldly out to sea, instead of sailing along the coast, he would have saved himself both time and suffering. But his voyage was an exploring one. He was on a sea where no European sail had previously been opened to the breeze, and in such circumstances acted wisely, in the more cautious course he steered. His vessel suffered severely from many gales, but the Spaniards preferred braving the terrors of the deep, to those of an inhospitable and sickly coast. When he did again land, he encountered a hostile and warlike tribe of Indians, whose attacks, though repulsed by the superior tactics of their visitors, added greatly to the difficulties of Pizarro's position. Being joined, at length, by Almagro, it was resolved that he should remain at Chicamá, while his associates returned to Panamá, for reinforcements. This was immediately put in execution, but for a time, it appeared doubtful whether the consent of the governor would be obtained. The influence of Luque, the ecclesiastic, however, at length prevailed, and the confederates, Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, entered into a formal contract, the nature and provisions of which are thus described:—

'The instrument, after invoking in the most solemn manner the names of the Holy Trinity and our lady the blessed Virgin, sets forth, that, whereas the parties have full authority to discover and subdue the countries and provinces lying south of the Gulf, belonging to the empire of Peru, and as Fernando de Luque had advanced the funds for the enterprise in bars of gold of the value of twenty thousand *pesos*, they mutually bind themselves to divide equally among them the whole of the conquered territory. This stipulation is reiterated over and over again, particularly with reference to

Luque, who, it is declared, is to be entitled to one-third of all lands, *repartimientos*, treasures of every kind, gold, silver, and precious stones,—to one-third even of all vassals, rents, and emoluments arising from such grants as may be conferred by the crown on either of his military associates, to be held for his own use, or for that of his heirs, assigns, or legal representatives.

'The two captains solemnly engage to devote themselves exclusively to the present undertaking until it is accomplished; and, in case of failure in their part of the covenant, they pledge themselves to reimburse Luque for his advances, for which all the property they possess shall be held responsible, and this declaration is to be a sufficient warrant for the execution of judgment against them, in the same manner as if it had proceeded from the decree of a court of justice.

'The commanders, Pizarro and Almagro, made oath, in the name of God and the holy evangelists, sacredly to keep this covenant, swearing it on the missal, on which they traced with their own hands the sacred emblem of the cross. To give still greater efficacy to the compact, father Luque administered the sacrament to the parties, dividing the consecrated wafer into three portions, of which each one of them partook; while the by-standers, says an historian, were affected to tears by this spectacle of the solemn ceremonial with which these men voluntarily devoted themselves to a sacrifice that seemed little short of insanity.'—*Ib.* pp. 215—217.

The religious tone of this instrument is remarkable, and affords melancholy evidence of the facility with which men deceive themselves on matters of the greatest moment. 'In the name of the Prince of Peace,' says Robertson, 'they ratified a contract, of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects.' A similar delusion had prevailed throughout Europe at the era of the Crusades, when princes and nobles, under the guidance of the successor of St. Peter, deemed the slaughter of the Mussulman an acceptable offering to heaven. In the present case, however, the object was more sordid, as the adventurers who proposed it were amongst the refuse of the population of Spain. 'It was,' as Mr. Prescott remarks, 'a fiery cross that was borne over the devoted land, scattering and consuming it in its terrible progress; but it was still the cross, the sign of man's salvation, the only sign by which generations, and generations yet unborn, were to be rescued from eternal perdition.' The general character of the priests who accompanied the Spanish soldiers was miserably debased; but there were noble exceptions, and their labours constitute the only object on which the eye of philanthropy can rest with pleasure.

Having at length mustered about one hundred and sixty men, together with a few horses, Pizarro and Almagro sailed from Panamá direct for the utmost limit formerly reached. There

they landed, and began their work of spoilation and murder. Surprising a small village on the coast, they succeeded in carrying off a considerable booty of gold ornaments, together with some of the natives. The former was immediately sent to Panamá, under charge of Almagro, in the hope of drawing more adventurers to their standard, while the pilot Ruiz proceeded in the other vessel to reconnoitre the country towards the south, and Pizarro attempted to penetrate into the interior. The sufferings of the last find their parallel only in the history of these marauding expeditions. Many of the Spaniards perished miserably in this expedition. The boa-constrictor and the alligator joined with the natives and the climate in thinning their ranks, and famine daily stared the survivors in the face. At length their comrades returned, and their spirits instantly revived. 'Their late toils and privations were forgotten, and, with the buoyant and variable feelings incident to a freebooter's life, they now called as eagerly on their commander to go forward in the voyage, as they had before called on him to abandon it.' With this request Pizarro instantly complied, and as they proceeded towards the bay of St. Matthew, they were surprised at the evidences of a higher civilisation which the country presented. 'The villages became more numerous; and, as the vessels rode at anchor, off the port of Tacamez, the Spaniards saw before them a town of ten thousand houses, or more, laid out into streets, with a numerous population clustering around it in the suburbs.' The population, however, was too numerous to be assailed, and the attempts which were made to draw the people into friendly conference failed. The timid, therefore, counselled a return, but the leaders were differently minded. 'To go home,' said Almagro, 'with nothing done, would be ruin, as well as disgrace. There was scarcely one but had left creditors at Panamá, who looked for payment to the fruits of this expedition. To go home now would be to deliver themselves at once into their hands. It would be to go to prison. Better to roam a free man, though in the wilderness, than to lie bound with fetters in the dungeons of Panamá.' It is needless to comment on the light which such an appeal throws on the character of the parties addressed. They felt its force, and it was ultimately arranged that Almagro should again return for recruits, and that Pizarro, with the greater part of the force, should remain till his return, on the island of Gallo. The men complained bitterly, but their captains were inexorable, and sought to prevent any written communications being forwarded to the friends of those who were detained. During the absence of his companion, Pizarro and his followers endured incredible hardships. 'Their

principal food was crabs, and such shell-fish as they could scantily pick up along the shores. Incessant storms of thunder and lightning—for it was the rainy season—swept over the devoted island, and drenched them with a perpetual flood.' At length two vessels, which had been dispatched by the governor of Panamá to bring them back to that colony, appeared off the island, and their only thought was instantly to embark. The same conveyance, however, brought letters to Pizarro from his two associates, beseeching him to persevere, and promising, ere long, to send him the means of prosecuting his design. This was a critical moment in the life of the adventurer. Deserted by his soldiery, who bitterly reproached him for their disappointment and sufferings, and commanded by the Spanish governor to return and render an account of his failure, he might well have surrendered his hopes. But his spirit was too buoyant, his resolution too high-toned for this. He had embarked his all in the enterprise, and if he returned, he would be penniless, and dishonoured. His wealth and reputation were staked, and he now threw life itself into the scale. Referring to the letter of Almagro and Luque, Mr. Prescott says:—

'A ray of hope was enough for the courageous spirit of Pizarro. It does not appear that he himself had entertained, at any time, thoughts of returning. If he had, these words of encouragement entirely banished them from his bosom, and he prepared to stand the fortune of the cast on which he had so desperately ventured. He knew, however, that solicitations or remonstrances would avail little with the companions of his enterprise; and he probably did not care to win over the more timid spirits who, by perpetually looking back, would only be a clog on his future movements. He announced his own purpose, however, in a laconic but decided manner, characteristic of a man more accustomed to act than to talk, and well calculated to make an impression on his rough followers.

'Drawing his sword, he traced a line with it on the sand from east to west. Then turning towards the south, "Friends and comrades!" he said, "on that side are toil, hunger, nakedness, the drenching storm, desertion, and death; on this side, ease and pleasure. There lies Peru with its riches; here Panamá and its poverty. Choose, each man, what best becomes a brave Castilian. For my part I go to the south." So saying, he stepped across the line. He was followed by the brave pilot Ruiz; next by Pedro de Candia, a cavalier, born, as his name imports, in one of the isles of Greece. Eleven others successively crossed the line, thus intimating their willingness to abide the fortunes of their leader, for good or for evil. Fame, to quote the enthusiastic language of an ancient chronicler, has commemorated the names of this little band, 'who thus, in the face of difficulties unexampled in history, with death

rather than riches for their reward, preferred it all to abandoning their honour, and stood firm by their leader as an example of loyalty to future ages.'

'But the act excited no such admiration in the mind of Tafur, who looked on it as one of gross disobedience to the commands of the governor, and as little better than madness, involving the certain destruction of the parties engaged in it. He refused to give any sanction to it himself by leaving one of his vessels with the adventurers to prosecute their voyage, and it was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded even to allow them a part of the stores which he had brought for their support. This had no influence on their determination, and the little party, bidding adieu to their returning comrades, remained unshaken in their purpose of abiding the fortunes of their commander.

'There is something striking to the imagination in the spectacle of these few brave spirits, thus consecrating themselves to a daring enterprise which seemed as far above their strength as any recorded in the fabulous annals of knight-errantry. A handful of men, without food, without clothing, almost without arms, without knowledge of the land to which they were bound, without vessel to transport them, were here left on a lonely rock in the ocean with the avowed purpose of carrying on a crusade against a powerful empire, staking their lives on its success. What is there in the legends of chivalry that surpasses it? This was the crisis of Pizarro's fate. There are moments in the lives of men, which, as they are seized or neglected, decide their future destiny. Had Pizarro faltered from his strong purpose and yielded to the occasion now so temptingly presented for extricating himself and his broken band from their desperate position, his name would have been buried with his fortunes, and the conquest of Peru would have been left for other and more successful adventurers. But his constancy was equal to the occasion, and his conduct here proved him competent to the perilous post he had assumed, and inspired others with a confidence in him which was the best assurance of success.'—*Ib.* pp. 240—243.

Fearing that the natives on the main land, on hearing of his diminished numbers, might assail him, Pizarro constructed a rude boat or raft, on which he transported his little company to Gorgona, a small island, twenty-five leagues north of Gallo. Like a skilful commander, he omitted no means of sustaining the spirits of his men. 'Morning prayers were duly said, and the evening hymn to the Virgin was regularly chanted; the festivals of the church were carefully commemorated, and every means taken by their commander to give a kind of religious character to his enterprise.' In the mean time, his associates at Panamá were not unmindful of their promise. By continued solicitations, intermingled with threats of carrying the matter before the court of Spain, they at length induced the governor

to acquiesce in a small vessel being sent to Pizarro. It was commanded, however, that no more should go out in the vessel than were necessary to work her, and positive instructions were sent to Pizarro 'to return in six months, and report himself at Panamá, whatever might be the future result of his expedition.' The joy of the little band was unbounded, as they saw the white sails of their countrymen approach their wilderness. Pizarro was disappointed at the absence of recruits, but hastening on board, he resolved to push his discoveries to the utmost limit which his slender means allowed. In a few days he crossed the line, and boldly entered on those seas which had, hitherto, been unknown to the European navigator. It soon became apparent, from the appearance of the coast, that imagination had not exceeded the reality of the case. Their intercourse with the natives was at first most peaceful, the Spaniards being unapprised of their character, and the Indians, on the other hand, being ignorant of the aggressive object of their visitors. 'It was manifestly the work of heaven,' exclaims a devout son of the church, 'that the natives of the country should have received him in so kind and loving a spirit, as best fitted to facilitate the conquest; for it was the Lord's hand which led him and his followers to this remote region, for the extension of the holy faith, and for the salvation of souls.' The Spaniards, however, saw ample proof of the abundance of the precious metals which they coveted, and were assured that these existed in still greater quantities in the interior of the country.

'Everywhere he was received with the same spirit of generous hospitality; the natives coming out in their balsas to welcome him, laden with their little cargoes of fruits and vegetables, of all the luscious varieties that grow in the *tierra caliente*. All were eager to have a glimpse of the strangers, the 'Children of the Sun,' as the Spaniards began already to be called, from their fair complexions, brilliant armour, and the thunderbolts which they bore in their hands. The most favourable reports, too, had preceded them, of the urbanity and gentleness of their manners, thus unlocking the hearts of the simple natives, and disposing them to confidence and kindness. The iron-hearted soldier had not yet disclosed the darker side of his character. He was too weak to do so. The hour of conquest had not yet come. In every place Pizarro received the same accounts of a powerful monarch who ruled over the land, and held his court on the mountain plains of the interior, where his capital was depicted as blazing with gold and silver, and displaying all the profusion of an oriental satrap.'—*Ib.* p. 258.

Returning from this expedition to Panamá, Pizarro and his associates were sorely disheartened at the refusal of the governor to afford them further assistance, and at length resolved to make application to the emperor Charles v. For this purpose,

it was arranged that he should proceed to Spain to lay the case before the imperial chamber, and solicit such powers as were needful for the prosecution of their enterprise. The ecclesiastic, Luque, was disinclined to this arrangement, having evidently looked deeper into the heart of Pizarro than their confiding associate Almagro. His consent was given with reluctance. 'God grant, my children,' said he, 'that one of you may not defraud the other of his blessing.' His warning was prophetic, as the result too clearly showed. The envoy proved himself equal to the difficulties of his new position, and when admitted to the royal presence at Toledo, he painted the sufferings and fortitude of his companions in such glowing colours, that the emperor, 'though not easily moved, was affected to tears.' Hernando Cortes, the conqueror of Mexico, was at this time at the imperial court. He was at the close of his career, as Pizarro was at the commencement of his, and now appeared before Charles 'to lay an empire at the feet of his sovereign, and to demand, in return, the redress of his wrongs, and the recompense of his great services.' No other court in Europe presented a similar spectacle, and the subsequent history of Spain, so different from what might have been expected, reads an instructive lesson on the instability of human greatness.

On the 26th of July, 1529, the memorable *Capitulation*, which defined the powers and privileges of Pizarro, was executed. This instrument secured to him the right of discovery and conquest in Peru, for the distance of two hundred leagues south of Santiago, and conferred on him various titles, with an immense revenue. 'He was to have the right to erect certain fortresses, with the absolute government of them; to assign *encomiendas* of Indians, under the limitations prescribed by law; and, in fine, to exercise nearly all the prerogatives incident to the authority of a viceroy.' A very inferior post was assigned to Almagro, and still lower marks of distinction were conferred on the other associates. This accumulation of offices on himself was naturally resented as treachery, and it required the utmost efforts of Luque to prevent an open rupture between the two captains. The disposition of Almagro was however placable and generous, and it was at length resolved that they should proceed together to the accomplishment of their design. Considerable difficulty was experienced in raising the necessary forces, and the adventurers were at length compelled to proceed with only one hundred and eighty men, and twenty-seven horses. The offices of religion were introduced to sanction the enterprise. Her holy name was prostituted by her unworthy ministers, and her peaceful character forgotten in the aid she ministered to ambition, lust, and cruelty. Mass



was performed on the occasion, and the sacrament was administered to every soldier who took part in the expedition. Having thus impiously invoked the blessing of heaven, the confederates proceeded, early in January 1531, on their third and last expedition for the conquest of Peru. Casting anchor in the Bay of St. Matthew, Pizarro disembarked his troops, and advanced along the coast, while the vessels proceeded at a convenient distance from the shore. At length they reached an Indian town, and unscrupulously began the work of slaughter. 'We fell on them sword in hand,' says a Spanish chronicler; 'for if we had advised the Indians of our approach, we should never have found there such store of gold and precious stones.' Large quantities of gold and silver, with many precious stones, were obtained on this occasion; and Mr. Prescott thus explains the mode in which such spoils were divided amongst the victors:—

'The gold and silver ornaments rifled from the dwellings were brought together and deposited in a common heap, when a fifth was deducted for the crown, and Pizarro distributed the remainder in due proportions among the officers and privates of his company. This was the usage invariably observed on the like occasions throughout the conquest. The invaders had embarked in a common adventure. Their interest was common, and to have allowed every one to plunder on his own account would only have led to insubordination and perpetual broils. All were required, therefore, on pain of death, to contribute whatever they obtained, whether by bargain or by rapine, to the general stock; and all were too much interested in the execution of the penalty to allow the unhappy culprit, who violated the law, any chance of escape.'—*Ib.* p. 295.

The result of their violence was quickly seen in the altered disposition of the Indians. Thus it has ordinarily been between civilised and barbarous man. The superiority of the former has usually commanded the reverence and services of the latter, until cruelty and oppression have aroused resistance, and maddened the weak by a sense of wrong. In the present instance, 'the white men were no longer regarded as good beings that had come from heaven, but as ruthless destroyers, who, invulnerable to the assaults of the Indians, were borne along on the backs of fierce animals, swifter than the wind, with weapons in their hands, that scattered fire and desolation as they went.'

The distracted state of the Peruvian empire greatly facilitated the success of Pizarro. He arrived on its borders just at the consummation of an important revolution, which had divided its forces, and dispossessed the lawful heir of the crown. Huayna Capac, 'a brave and magnanimous mon-

arch,' whose death happened about the close of 1525, divided his dominions between two sons, Huascar and Atahualpa, the latter of whom was ambitious, crafty, and daring. Civil war ensued, which ended in the defeat and imprisonment of Huascar, a few months only before the landing of the Spaniards. Such was the state of the country at this critical period, and Pizarro was not slow to take advantage of it. Having obtained information respecting the character of the Inca and the resources of his empire, and established the small colony of San Miguel, he determined to bring the contest to a speedy issue by seeking out his kingly opponent. His resolution wanted only a noble object, to become heroic. In a better cause it would have placed him in the first rank of illustrious men; as the matter stands, it was the heroism of the brigand, seeking to fall on an unsuspecting victim. The means employed corresponded with the rapacity and ambition of his scheme. But at this time, and before the deeper atrocities of his career were perpetrated, there was something dazzling in his policy:—

'Putting himself,' says Mr. Prescott, 'at the head of his troops, the chief struck boldly into the heart of the country, in the direction where, as he was informed, lay the camp of the Inca. It was a daring enterprise, thus to venture with a handful of followers into the heart of a powerful empire, to present himself, face to face, before the Indian monarch in his own camp, encompassed by the flower of his victorious army! Pizarro had already experienced more than once the difficulty of maintaining his ground against the rude tribes of the north, so much inferior in strength and numbers to the warlike legions of Peru. But the hazard of the game, as I have already more than once had occasion to remark, constituted its great charm with the Spaniard. The brilliant achievements of his countrymen on the like occasions, with means so inadequate, inspired him with confidence in his own good star; and this confidence was one source of his success. Had he faltered for a moment, had he stopped to calculate chances, he must inevitably have failed; for the odds were too great to be combatted by sober reason. They were only to be met triumphantly by the spirit of the knight-errant.'—*Id.* p. 333.

Five days after leaving San Miguel, he halted his troops in a delicious valley. They mustered only one hundred and seventy-seven men, amongst whom there were some 'whose countenances lowered with discontent,' and whom he was therefore desirous of sending back. The means adopted to compass this were strikingly characteristic:—

'Calling his men together, he told them that 'a crisis had now arrived in their affairs, which it demanded all their courage to meet.

No man should think of going forward in the expedition, who could not do so with his whole heart, or who had the least misgiving as to its success. If any repented of his share in it, it was not too late to turn back. San Miguel was but poorly garrisoned, and he should be glad to see it in greater strength. Those who chose might return to this place, and they should be entitled to the same proportion of lands and Indian vassals as the present residents. With the rest, were they few or many, who chose to take their chance with him, he should pursue the adventure to the end.'—*Ib.* p. 336.

Nine only availed themselves of this offer. The rest loudly declared their resolution to proceed with their leader, and the spoils quickly gathered, amply repaid their fidelity. 'Cortes had compelled them to go forward heartily in his enterprise, by burning their vessels, and thus cutting off the only means of retreat. Pizarro, on the other hand, threw open the gates to the disaffected, and facilitated their departure. Both judged right under their peculiar circumstances, and both were perfectly successful.' In the meanwhile, the Peruvian monarch was not unobservant of his proceedings. He assembled a large force, with an apparent intention of resisting his progress, yet left the passes of the Andes unguarded, in a manner which awakened the astonishment and suspicion of the invaders. 'The Inca,' said a native, whom the Spaniards subjected to the torture, 'was aware of the approach of the white men, and of their small number, and was purposely decoying them into his own quarters, that he might have them more completely in his power.' If such were really the policy of Atahualpa, he knew little of his invaders, and had speedy occasion to rue his folly. As they approached the royal quarters, the Spaniards were met by an Indian embassy, who brought them the greetings of his master, and requested to know when they would reach Caxamalca, where the Inca was encamped. The tone of the Spaniard was crafty and false:—

'As the envoy,' says our author, 'vaunted in lofty terms the military prowess and resources of his sovereign, Pizarro thought it politic to shew that it had no power to overawe him. He expressed his satisfaction at the triumphs of Atahualpa, who, he acknowledged, had raised himself high in the rank of Indian warriors. But he was as inferior, he added, with more policy than politeness, to the monarch who ruled over the white men, as the petty curacas of the country were inferior to him. This was evident from the ease with which a few Spaniards had overrun this great continent, subduing one nation after another, that had offered resistance to their arms. He had been led by the fame of Atahualpa to visit his dominions, and to offer him his services in his wars; and, if he were received by the Inca in the same friendly spirit with which

he came, he was willing, for the aid he could render him, to postpone awhile his passage across the country to the opposite seas. The Indian, according to the Castilian accounts, listened with awe to this strain of glorification from the Spanish commander. Yet it is possible that the envoy was a better diplomatist than they imagined; and that he understood it was only the game of brag at which he was playing with his more civilized antagonist.'—*Ib.* p. 352.

It was late in the afternoon of the 15th of November, 1532, when Pizarro entered the city of Caxamalca. The weather, which had been fine during the day, gathered dark and threatening. Rain descended, mingled with hail. It was bitterly cold, and the Spaniards were glad to obtain shelter. An embassy was immediately despatched to the Inca, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, and whom they found 'seated on a low stool or cushion, somewhat after the Morisco or Turkish fashion, and his nobles and principal officers stood around him, with great ceremony. 'Tell your captain,' said the monarch, in reply to the embassy, 'that I am keeping a fast, which will end to-morrow morning; I will then visit him, with my chieftains. In the mean time, let him occupy the public buildings on the square, and no other, till I come, when I will order what shall be done.' The following anecdote is illustrative of Indian character, and of the despotism which ruled over the people. The Peruvians, it will be remembered, were unacquainted with the Horse prior to the visit of the Spaniards:—

'Soto, one of the party present at this interview, as before noticed, was the best mounted and perhaps the best rider in Pizarro's troop. Observing that Atahualpa looked with some interest on the fiery steed that stood before him, champing the bit and pawing the ground with the natural impatience of a war-horse, the Spaniard gave him the rein, and, striking his iron heel into his side, dashed furiously over the plain; then, wheeling him round and round, displayed all the beautiful movements of his charger, and his own excellent horsemanship. Suddenly checking him in full career, he brought the animal almost on his haunches, so near the person of the Inca, that some of the foam that flecked his horse's sides was thrown on the royal garments. But Atahualpa maintained the same marble composure as before, though several of his soldiers whom De Soto passed in the course, were so much disconcerted by it, that they drew back in manifest terror: an act of timidity for which they paid dearly, if, as the Spaniards assert, Atahualpa caused them to be put to death that same evening for betraying such unworthy weakness to the strangers.—*Ib.* p. 364.

The Spanish cavaliers were alarmed at what they witnessed in the Peruvian encampment, and their report dispirited t

companions. Pizarro, however, was undismayed. His bold and unscrupulous spirit rose with the occasion, and summoning a council of officers, he announced his determination to lay an ambuscade for the Inca, and to seize his person. 'It was a project full of peril, bordering, as it might well seem, on desperation. But the circumstances of the Spaniards were desperate, and whichever way they turned, they were menaced by the most appalling dangers.'

'In this daring project,' says Mr. Prescott 'of the Spanish chief, it was easy to see that he had the brilliant exploit of Cortés in his mind, when he carried off the Aztec monarch in his capital. But that was not by violence,—at least not by open violence,—and it received the sanction, compulsory though it were, of the monarch himself. It was also true that the results in that case did not altogether justify a repetition of the experiment; since the people rose in a body to sacrifice both the prince and his kidnappers. Yet this was owing, in part, at least, to the indiscretion of the latter. The experiment in the outset was perfectly successful; and could Pizarro once become master of the person of Atahualpa, he trusted to his own discretion for the rest. It would, at least, extricate him from his present critical position, by placing in his power an inestimable guarantee for his safety: and if he could not make his own terms with the Inca at once, the arrival of reinforcements from home would, in all probability, soon enable him to do so.'—*Ib.* p. 369.

Having resolved on his course, Pizarro was not slow to pursue it. The Inca promised to visit the city on the morrow, and the Spanish troops were so arrayed as best to effect the treacherous object of their ruler. 'All received orders to wait at their posts till the arrival of the Inca. After his entrance into the great square, they were still to remain under cover, withdrawn from observation, till the signal was given by the discharge of a gun, when they were to cry their war-cries, to rush out in a body from their covert, and putting the Peruvians to the sword, bear off the person of the Inca.' Refreshments were liberally supplied to the troops; and when the arrangements were completed, mass was performed with great solemnity, and all joined in the chant *Exsurge Domine*. 'One might have supposed them,' remarks Mr. Prescott, 'a company of martyrs, about to lay down their lives in defence of their faith, instead of a licentious band of adventurers, meditating one of the most atrocious acts of perfidy on the record of history.' It was late in the day before any movement was visible in the Peruvian camp, and the anxiety of the Spaniards was greatly increased, when the procession was seen to halt at some distance from the city, and a message was received from Atahualpa, deferring his visit to the following morning. Pizarro felt the critical po-

sition of his affairs, and dreaded the effect of delay on his soldiers. He therefore replied, urging the Inca to adhere to his original purpose, and assuring him that everything was prepared for his reception. This was the turning point, and it was fatal to the Peruvians. The procession moved on, and entered the city just before sunset. The Inca was raised above his vassals on a throne of massive gold, and on entering the great square, with five or six thousand of his people, he was met by a Dominican friar, who expounded, after his own fashion, the Christian doctrine, asserted the supremacy of the pope, and announced the mission of Pizarro to conquer and convert the nations of the Western hemisphere. Valverde closed his address by exhorting the monarch to abjure his errors, and to acknowledge himself a tributary of the Emperor of Spain.

'The eyes of the Indian monarch flashed fire, and his dark brow grew darker as he replied, 'I will be no man's tributary! I am greater than any prince upon earth. Your emperor may be a great prince; I do not doubt it, when I see that he has sent his subjects so far across the waters; and I am willing to hold him as a brother. As for the Pope of whom you speak, he must be crazy to talk of giving away countries which do not belong to him. For my faith,' he continued, 'I will not change it. Your own God, as you say, was put to death by the very men whom he created. But mine,' he concluded, pointing to his deity,—then, alas! sinking in glory behind the mountains,—'my God still lives in the heavens, and looks down on his children.'

'He then demanded of Valverde by what authority he had said these things. The friar pointed to the book which he held as his authority. Atahualpa, taking it, turned over the pages a moment, then, as the insult he had received probably flashed across his mind, he threw it down with vehemence, and exclaimed, 'Tell your comrades that they shall give me an account of their doings in my land. I will not go from hence till they have made me full satisfaction for all the wrongs they have committed.'—*ib.* p. 380.

The friar was worthy of his mission. Resenting as an act of impiety the natural indignation of the Inca, he hastened to Pizarro and exhorted him to commence the work of slaughter. 'Do you not see,' said the unworthy minister of the gospel of peace, 'that while we stand here wasting our breath in talking with this dog, full of pride as he is, the fields are filling with Indians? Set on them at once! I absolve you.' His words were as a spark to powder. Pizarro gave the appointed signal, and what followed must be described in our author's words.

'The fatal gun was fired from the fortress. Then springing into the square, the Spanish captain and his followers shouted the old war-cry of 'St. Jago and at them!' It was answered by the battle-

cry of every Spaniard in the city, as, rushing from the avenues of the great halls in which they were concealed, they poured into the *plaza*, horse and foot, each in his own dark column, and threw themselves into the midst of the Indian crowd. The latter, taken by surprise, stunned by the report of artillery and muskets, the echoes of which reverberated like thunder from the surrounding buildings, and blinded by the smoke which rolled in sulphurous volumes along the square, were seized with a panic. They knew not whither to fly for refuge from the coming ruin. Nobles and commoners, all were trampled down under the fierce charge of the cavalry, who dealt their blows right and left, without sparing; while their swords, flashing through the thick gloom, carried dismay into the hearts of the wretched natives, who now, for the first time, saw the horse and his rider in all their terrors. They made no resistance,—as, indeed, they had no weapons with which to make it. Every avenue to escape was closed, for the entrance to the square was choked up with the dead bodies of men who had perished in vain efforts to fly; and such was the agony of the survivors under the terrible pressure of their assailants, that a large body of Indians, by their convulsive struggles, burst through the wall of stone and dried clay which formed part of the boundary of the *plaza*! It fell, leaving an opening of more than a hundred paces, through which multitudes now found their way into the country, still hotly pursued by the cavalry, who, leaping the fallen rubbish, hung on the rear of the fugitives, striking them down in all directions.

‘Meanwhile the fight, or rather massacre, continued hot around the Inca, whose person was the great object of the assault. His faithful nobles, rallying about him, threw themselves in the way of the assailants, and strove, by tearing them from their saddles, or, at least, by offering their own bosoms as a mark for their vengeance, to shield their beloved master. \* \* \* \*

‘The Indian monarch, stunned and bewildered, saw his faithful subjects falling round him without hardly comprehending his situation. The litter on which he rode heaved to and fro, as the mighty press swayed backwards and forwards; and he gazed on the overwhelming ruin, like some forlorn mariner, who, tossed about in his bark by the furious elements, sees the lightning’s flash and hears the thunder bursting around him, with the consciousness that he can do nothing to avert his fate. At length, weary with the work of destruction, the Spaniards, as the shades of evening grew deeper, felt afraid that the royal prize might, after all, elude them; and some of the cavaliers made a desperate attempt to end the affray at once by taking Atahualpa’s life. But Pizarro, who was nearest his person, called out with stentorian voice, ‘Let no one, who values his life, strike at the Inca;’ and, stretching out his arm to shield him, received a wound on the hand from one of his own men,—the only wound received by a Spaniard in the action.

‘The struggle now became fiercer than ever round the royal litter. It reeled more and more, and at length several of the nobles who

supported it having been slain, it was overturned, and the Indian prince would have come with violence to the ground, had not his fall been broken by the efforts of Pizarro and some other of the cavaliers, who caught him in their arms. The imperial *borla* was instantly snatched from his temples by a soldier named Estete, and the unhappy monarch, strongly secured, was removed to a neighbouring building, where he was carefully guarded.'—*Ib.* p. 381—385.

The number of slain is differently reported, the accounts varying from two to ten thousand. It was an unprovoked and brutal slaughter, without one redeeming feature, and displays in all its naked atrocity the coarse, unscrupulous, and cruel ambition of the conqueror. The character of Pizarro was unworthy of comparison with that of Cortes, and his deeds bespoke a policy infinitely more debased. We cannot dwell on the lot of the captive, thus suddenly hurled from a despotic throne. It is enough to record that he offered to purchase his freedom by filling the room in which he stood, as high as he could reach, with gold. His offer was accepted, and immense quantities of gold and silver were in consequence brought to the Spanish quarters, the former of which, when melted down, was found to be equivalent, according to the then value of money to nearly three millions and a half of pounds sterling. Such a ransom was worthy of a monarch. It had been collected in reliance on the good faith of the Spaniards, and Atahualpa, now requested the fulfilment of their part of the contract. In this, however, he was doomed to bitter disappointment. While he lived, he was a rallying point to the Peruvians, and the robbers who had been base enough to slaughter his subjects, and to seize his person, were apprehensive of his vengeance if ever he were trusted at large. In the course on which they had resolved, his incarceration or death was needful, and the men who had proceeded so far were not likely to be scrupulous on this point. Reports of his being in communication with his subjects with a view to his own rescue were easily raised, and these were appealed to in proof of the necessity of prompt and vigorous measures. So it has ever been with unscrupulous power. When the death of a victim is resolved on, nothing is easier than to give to his murder the semblance of necessity, and of legal decorum. In the present case it was resolved to slay the Inca, and the monstrous course was adopted of constituting a court over which the two captains, Pizarro and Almagro, presided.

'The charges preferred against the Inca, drawn up in the form of interrogatories, were twelve in number. The most important were, that he had usurped the crown and assassinated his brother Huascar; that he had squandered the public revenues since the conquest of



the country by the Spaniards, and lavished them on his kindred and his minions; that he was guilty of idolatry and of adulterous practices, indulging openly in a plurality of wives; finally, that he had attempted to excite an insurrection against the Spaniards.'—*Ib.* p. 438.

We need scarcely say, that the royal prisoner was found guilty, but it required the sanguinary temper of the worst class of Spaniards to sentence him to be burnt alive that very day. Such, however, was the fact, and the men who held him in their hands were capable of perpetrating the enormity. When the sentence was communicated to the Inca he was for a moment unmanned and burst into tears, but finding that his conquerors were not to be diverted from their purpose, he 'recovered his habitual self-possession, and from that moment submitted himself to his fate with the courage of an Indian warrior.' His sentence was ultimately changed from burning to strangulation, on condition of his abjuring paganism, and submitting to the baptismal ceremony. He affected compliance, and died, therefore, according to the notions of the orthodox of that day, in reconciliation with the church. Mr. Prescott's reflections on this event accurately depict its character, and assign to Pizarro only his just measure of blame. He says:—

'The treatment of Atahualpa, from first to last, forms undoubtedly one of the darkest chapters in Spanish colonial history. There may have been massacres perpetrated on a more extended scale, and executions accompanied with a greater refinement of cruelty. But the blood-stained annals of the conquest afford no such example of cold-hearted and systematic persecution, not of an enemy, but of one whose whole deportment had been that of a friend and a benefactor.

'From the hour that Pizarro and his followers had entered within the sphere of Atahualpa's influence, the hand of friendship had been extended to them by the natives. Their first act, on crossing the mountains, was to kidnap the monarch and massacre his people. The seizure of his person might be vindicated, by those who considered the end as justifying the means, on the ground that it was indispensable to secure the triumphs of the cross. But no such apology can be urged for the massacre of the unarmed and helpless population,—as wanton as it was wicked.

'The long confinement of the Inca had been used by the conquerors to wring from him his treasures with the hard gripe of avarice. During the whole of this dismal period, he had conducted himself with singular generosity and good faith. He had opened a free passage to the Spaniards through every part of his empire; and had furnished every facility for the execution of their plans. When these were accomplished, and he remained an encumbrance on their hands, notwithstanding their engagement, expressed or implied, to

release him,—and Pizarro, as we have seen, by a formal act, acquitted his captive of any further obligation on the score of the ransom,—he was arraigned before a mock tribunal, and, under pretences equally false and frivolous, was condemned to an excruciating death. From first to last, the policy of the Spanish conquerors towards their unhappy victim is stamped with barbarity and fraud.

‘It is not easy to acquit Pizarro of being in a great degree responsible for this policy. His partisans have laboured to shew, that it was forced on him by the necessity of the case, and that in the death of the Inca, especially, he yielded reluctantly to the importunities of others. But weak as is this apology, the historian who has the means of comparing the various testimony of the period, will come to a different conclusion. To him it will appear that Pizarro had probably long felt the removal of Atahualpa as essential to the success of his enterprise. He foresaw the odium that would be incurred by the death of his royal captive without sufficient grounds; while he laboured to establish these, he still shrunk from the responsibility of the deed, and preferred to perpetrate it in obedience to the suggestions of others, rather than his own. Like many an unprincipled politician, he wished to reap the benefit of a bad act, and let others take the blame of it.’—*Ib.* 448, 449.

The death of Atahualpa sealed the fate of the Peruvian empire. There was no rallying point left around which the loyal could gather, and the Spaniards, therefore, had little else to do than to gather their spoils, and quarrel amongst themselves. The latter they did in perfection, and Mr. Prescott has wisely continued his *History* until the settlement of the country by Pedro de la Gasca. We have preferred dwelling at large on the early portion of the history to giving a bare sketch of the entire narrative. It is not needful, however, that we should recommend a perusal of the whole. No intelligent reader will be content to stop short of the close of the work. Its interest is sustained throughout, and the latter chapters read a melancholy but instructive lesson. Vice cannot be practised with impunity. It brings with it its own punishment, and its perpetrators are commonly the means of inflicting it on each other. A civil war speedily ensued between the two captains, in which Pizarro being the victor, Almagro was beheaded. Juan Pizarro, one of the brothers of the former, was slain in attacking an Indian citadel; Hernando, another brother, who returned to Spain to justify the execution of Almagro, was imprisoned for twenty years; and Gonzalo, a third brother, was beheaded for rebellion against the supremacy of Spain. Francisco Pizarro, himself, did not escape the punishment due to his great crimes. His treatment of Almagro, and especially his violent death, were never forgiven him. For a time he was safe, but ‘the men of Chili’ as Almagro’s party was designated, nursed their

vengeance till the fitting hour. That hour at length arrived, and the following account of the manner of Pizarro's death, must close our extracts, as well as our notice, of these deeply interesting volumes. The assassination took place on Sunday, the 26th of June, 1541.

'Meanwhile,' says Mr. Prescott, 'the Marquess, learning the nature of the tumult, called out to Francisco de Chaves, an officer high in his confidence, and who was in the outer apartment opening on the staircase, to secure the door, while he and his brother Alcantara buckled on their armour. Had this order, coolly given, been as coolly obeyed, it would have saved them all, since the entrance could easily have been maintained against a much larger force, till the report of the cavaliers who had fled had brought support to Pizarro. But unfortunately, Chaves, disobeying his commander, half opened the door, and attempted to enter into a parley with the conspirators. The latter had now reached the head of the stairs, and cut short the debate by running Chaves through the body, and tumbling his corpse down into the area below. For a moment they were kept at bay by the attendants of the slaughtered cavalier; but these, too, were quickly despatched, and Rada and his companions, entering the apartment, hurried across it, shouting out, "Where is the Marquess? Death to the tyrant!"

'Martinez de Alcantara, who, in the adjoining room, was assisting his brother to buckle on his mail, no sooner saw that the entrance to the antechamber had been gained, than he sprang to the doorway of the apartment, and, assisted by two young men, pages of Pizarro, and by one or two cavaliers in attendance, endeavoured to resist the approach of the assailants. A desperate struggle now ensued. Blows were given on both sides, some of which proved fatal, and two of the conspirators were slain, while Alcantara and his brave companions were repeatedly wounded.

'At length Pizarro, unable, in the hurry of the moment, to adjust the fastenings of his cuirass, threw it away, and, enveloping one arm in his cloak, with the other seized his sword, and sprang to his brother's assistance. It was too late; for Alcantara was already staggering under the loss of blood, and soon fell to the ground. Pizarro threw himself on his invaders, like a lion roused in his lair, and dealt his blows with as much rapidity and force, as if age had no power to stiffen his limbs. 'What ho!' he cried, 'traitors! have you come to kill me in my own house?' The conspirators drew back for a moment, as two of their body fell under Pizarro's sword; but they quickly rallied, and, from their superior numbers, fought at great advantage by relieving one another in the assault. Still the passage was narrow, and the struggle lasted for some minutes, till both of Pizarro's pages were stretched by his side, when Rada, impatient of the delay, called out, 'Why are we so long about it? Down with the tyrant!' and taking one of his companions, Narvaez, in his arms, he thrust him against the Marquess. Pizarro, instantly grappling

with his opponent, ran him through with his sword. But at that moment he received a wound in the throat, and reeling, he sank on the floor, while the swords of Rada and several of the conspirators were plunged into his body. 'Jesu!' exclaimed the dying man, and, tracing a cross with his finger on the bloody floor, he bent down his head to kiss it, when a stroke, more friendly than the rest, put an end to his existence.—Vol. ii. p. 166—168.

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ART. III.—*A Church without a Prelate. The Apostolical and Primitive Church, popular in its Government, and simple in its Worship.* By Lyman Coleman, Author of 'Antiquities of the Christian Church.' With an Introductory Essay, by Dr. Augustus Neander, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. London: Thomas Ward and Co. Large 8vo. pp. 120.

THE volume before us is now so well known that it stands in no need of commendation. It has lain so long, indeed, on our table, *nulla culpa nostrâ*, that we are almost ashamed to look at it. And one consequence is, that we are more disposed to remark on its subject than on itself. Its history we must give, however, in its own words:—

'In the year 1841, the author published, with no sectarian designs, a work on the antiquities of the Christian church, as a compilation from various German works, having Augusti's compend for its basis. This unpretending volume, however, aroused the suspicion of a certain Presbyterian in Philadelphia, bearing the initials of H. W. D., whose practised eye and professional skill, detected, as he seemed to think, a dangerous infection covertly propagated by the circulation of the book. The alarm was raised, and the public warned of their danger by a review, remarkable for the spirit and decency with which it was written, and, most of all, for its random assertions, contradicting with an assurance seldom equalled, the plainest facts of ecclesiastical history. Finding this review every where circulated, with the admirable spirit in which it was written, the author of the work in question ventured upon a brief reply. This gave a direction to his studies which he had never contemplated; and which, with increasing diligence and interest he has continued to pursue till the present time. The result of these inquiries is—the following work.'

Such of our readers as have not read Coleman's 'Primitive Church,' will form an idea of its contents by the titles of its chapters: I. Summary view.—II. The primitive churches formed after the model of the Jewish synagogue.—III. Independence

of the primitive churches.—IV. Elections by the churches.—V. Discipline by the churches.—VI. Equality and identity of bishops and presbyters.—VII. Rise of episcopacy.—VIII. The diocesan government.—IX. The metropolitan government.—X. The patriarchal and papal government.—XI. Prayers of the primitive church.—XII. Psalmody of the primitive church.—XIII.—Homilies in the primitive church.—XIV. The benediction. These topics are treated ably and learnedly; and if the reader does not always agree with the author's conclusions, he will seldom complain that he is not furnished with materials on which to form a judgment of his own.

The main question, so far as church government is concerned, between episcopalians and ourselves, is purely historical. It being granted on both sides that there were office bearers in the primitive church named 'Επίσκοποι, or bishops, were these bishops congregational or diocesan—the overseers of single congregations, or of a number of congregations formed into a diocese? If they were diocesan, it will be admitted that they were hyper-presbyterial, of an order superior to that of presbyter or elder: if they were congregational, were they still hyper-presbyterial? These questions being answered, another remains to be asked: whatever was the extent of the primitive bishop's jurisdiction, whether congregational or diocesan, what were his powers and functions? was his office invested with those mysterious prerogatives which are now, and have been for many centuries, claimed by the partisans of a corrupted faith? or was the nature of its functions of a simpler and more spiritual character? On this question we do not enter at present, and only remark that even if it be demonstrated that the primitive bishop was diocesan, it will require a fresh demonstration to prove that he was possessed of those fearful virtues, which, if real, make the so-called catholic bishop a very God, whose power over human destiny is not too strongly stated in the words appropriated by the Most High, 'I kill and make alive.'

The first, and main question, we have said, is purely historical; and to determine it we must go to the most ancient records which throw any light upon it; and these are the books of the New Testament. There are certain *experimenta crucis* to which the inquiry may be subjected, such as—1. Were there ever more than one bishop over the same church? If there were, the episcopal theory is destroyed, whether a church consisted of one congregation or of several. (See Phil. i. 1—2.) What constituted a *church* in primitive times? If it can be shown that a church consisted of one assembly, the episcopal theory is destroyed. If we should still admit the existence of three separate orders, bishop, presbyter, and deacon, the bishop must have been con-

gregational, not diocesan. 3. Were the bishops and presbyters of the New Testament the same order, or different orders of ministers? If it can be shown that the bishops were presbyters, and the presbyters bishops, or that the titles were interchangeable, the episcopal theory will fall. (See Acts xx. 17, 18; Titus i. 5, 7.) Let the reader examine every passage in the New Testament which bears on the subject, with a view to answer these questions, and we have no hesitation in affirming that he will find, as the result of his investigation that the primitive episcopate and the primitive eldership were identical, the episcopate not being hyper-presbyterial; and that the office-bearer—sometimes designated bishop, sometimes presbyter—was congregational, not diocesan. We leave the reader to prosecute the investigation we have suggested, for himself.

The supporters of diocesan episcopacy think they find the prototypes of their bishop at least in Timothy and Titus. We shall not discuss this point with them at present. We do not know that we have met with any thing upon it superior in cogency and conclusiveness to the remarks of Dr. W. L. Alexander, in his 'Anglo-Catholicism.' Mr. Coleman discusses it ably likewise, as did Campbell, whose lectures on ecclesiastical history are, or ought to be, in everybody's hands. 'All that can be gathered out of holy writ concerning Timothy,' says John Milton, 'is that he was either an apostle, or an apostle's extraordinary vicegerent, not confined to the charge of any place. The like may be said of Titus (as those words import in the fifth verse), that he was for that cause left in Crete, that he might supply, or proceed to set in order that which St. Paul, in apostolic manner, had begun, for which he had his particular commission, as those words sound, 'As I had appointed thee.' So that what he did in Crete cannot so much be thought the exercise of an ordinary function, as the direction of an inspired mouth. No less may be gathered from 2 Cor. viii. 23.'\*

We shall confine our attention in this article to two branches of the argument: the instructions of Paul in reference to the bishop's office and qualifications, and 'the angels of the churches' in Asia. The former we have in Timothy iii. 1, 7, and Titus i. 5—9. The passages are well known. We submit the following remarks on them:—

1. There is nothing said of the bishop in these verses, nothing ascribed to him or required of him, which is not common to all pastors or presbyters. The moral and spiritual qualifications, the aptitude to teach, and capacity to rule, which the apostle de-

\* 'Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnus.'

clares to be necessary to fitness for the bishop's office, are elsewhere required of the presbyter. (Acts xx. 28; Titus i. 6; 1 Pet. v. 1—3.) In the diocesan theory there are certain functions and powers peculiar to the bishop, with which the presbyter dares not intermeddle, but of these it is manifest that Paul knew nothing.

2. In one of these passages the identity of the office of bishop and presbyter is distinctly marked. Titus i. 5, 6, 7. 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee. [What sort of elders?] *If any be blameless*, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not accused of riot or unruly. *For a bishop must be blameless*, &c. We are not aware of any commentator who has hazarded another exposition of this passage than the common one, that the elder and bishop were the same party. Titus is instructed to be careful what sort of men he ordained as *elders*, 'for a *bishop must be blameless*.' The merest tyro can see an absurdity in the argument, if the bishop and elder are not one. The titles are used interchangeably, and the very illustration of a bishop's fitness to rule, which the apostle draws from the government of a family, in writing to Timothy, he here employs in reference to an elder. 'Locus hic abunde docet, nullum esse presbyteri et episcopi discrimen, quia nunc secundo nomine promiscue appellat quos prius vocavit presbyteros.'—Calvin in loco.

3. Paul describes in these passages only two classes of office-bearers: bishops and deacons. 'If by bishops,' to use the words of Campbell, in his fourth lecture, 'he meant what in modern style is so denominated, those who have the charge of many presbyters, it is astonishing that he should not think it of importance to give any directions about the qualifications of presbyters, who had the immediate inspection of the flock; at the same time that he is very particular in regard to the qualifications of deacons, though their order has ever been allowed to be inferior to the other. And if (as even some friends of episcopacy have admitted) he here means by bishops only presbyters; that an office of so great importance as the bishop's (if it was a different, and superior office), should have been entirely overlooked, is no less surprising.' It is no exception to this argument that in the epistle to Titus there is no reference even to deacons, the existence of whose office is nevertheless admitted. The work and commission of Timothy were general; the work and commission of Titus were limited and specific; hence the difference in their instructions. Let us look at the matter. Paul left Timothy at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3) to resist the inroads of false teachers, but with a general commission to supply the

apostle's place, and he now sends him instructions how to execute it. (1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.) 'These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly. But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God;' to conduct thyself in reference to matters pertaining to the house, the church of God. The apostle thus designed to furnish Timothy with instructions for all the emergencies of the church in his absence. Among the instructions which he sends him, we find this, 'Lay hands suddenly on no man.' And that he might know on whom to 'lay hands,' whose appointment to office he ought to sanction by ordination, he informs him of the befitting character of bishops and deacons, an ample proof that these were the only two orders existing at Ephesus, and throughout that Asia to which Ephesus had been a centre of light during Paul's personal ministry. Let us turn now to Titus. His commission was more limited. 'For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, (marg. 'left undone,') and ordain elders in every city.' 'Ἐπιδιόρθω means to 'arrange further,' or 'to set further to rights.' 'Το ἐπὶ in compositione quibusdam verbis prævia, significat (ut hoc loco) post alium venire, et in opere ejus immutare quid, aut ei supplementum addere.' (Pricæus in loco: Critici Sacri.) Erasmus says, 'Sentit autem se prius correxisse quædam: eadem nondum ad plenum correcta jubet à Tito corrigi,' or 'supercorrigi,' as he explains it. (In loco.) 'Testantur sequentia, in Creta nihil defuisse præter constitutionem presbyterorum; ergo sic vertam.—Hujus rei gratia, reliqui te in Creta, ut quæ reliqua sunt conficias.' (Sculdetus in loco: Critici Sacri.) All difficulty thus vanishes. Titus was left to ordain elders or bishops throughout its cities, the only thing left undone by his great master; and with this specific work in hand it was enough to send him an authoritative declaration of presbyterial or episcopal qualifications.

4. That the bishops (or elders) in reference to whom Paul instructed Timothy and Titus were not diocesan, but congregational, is manifest from their number. There were several bishops in Ephesus. (Acts xx. 17. 28.) As to Crete, the whole island would not have formed too large a diocese, and yet we find that all its cities (that is *all* in which there were Christian churches) were to be favoured, each of them,\* with the presence certainly of one bishop, and, according to the general interpreta-

\* 'Κατὰ πόλιν—in civitate, sive per civitatem, i. e. in singulis civitatibus, sive oppidatim. Hæc insula quondam dicta est ἑκατομπολις, quod centum habuerit oppida.' Erasmus in loco.



tion, of a plurality of bishops.† ‘In the island of Crete,’ says Campbell, Lecture V., ‘there were no fewer, according to the earliest accounts and catalogues extant, than eleven bishops.’ And had the hundred cities for which it was famous been the seats of Christian churches, the apostle’s instructions would have required the ordination of at least one hundred bishops. The subdivision of Crete—one hundred and eighty miles long and eighteen to thirty broad—into a hundred dioceses would scarcely satisfy the ambition of modern prelacy.

The famous Commentary of Jerome on one of the passages we have just examined deserves to be still better known than it is. The original is before us, but it is enough to quote Dr. Mason’s translation as given by Coleman. ‘That thou shouldst ordain presbyters in every city, as I have appointed thee.’ Titus i. 5.

‘What sort of Presbyters,’ says Jerome, ‘ought to be ordained he shows afterwards. ‘If any be blameless, the husband of one wife,’ &c., and then adds, ‘for a bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God,’ &c. A Presbyter, therefore, is the same as a bishop; and before there were, by the instigation of the devil, parties in religion; and it was said among different people, ‘I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas,’ the churches were governed by the joint counsel of the Presbyters. But afterwards, when every one accounted those whom he baptised as belonging to himself and not to Christ, it was decreed throughout the whole world that one chosen from among the Presbyters, should be put over the rest, and that the whole care of the church should be committed to him, and the seeds of schism taken away.

‘Should any one think that this is only my own private opinion, and not the doctrine of the Scriptures, let him read the words of the apostle in his epistle to the Philippians; ‘Paul and Timotheus the servants of Jesus Christ, to all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi with the bishops and deacons.’ Philippi is a single city of Macedonia, and certainly in one city there could not be several bishops as they are now styled; but as they at that time called the very same persons bishops whom they called presbyters, the apostle has spoken without distinction of bishops as presbyters.

‘Should this matter yet appear doubtful to any one, unless it be proved by an additional testimony, it is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when Paul had come to Miletum he sent to Ephesus and called the presbyters of that church, and among other things said to them, ‘Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock in which the Holy Spirit hath made you bishops.’ Take particular notice

† ‘As every city is mentioned, the plurality of bishops may refer to the plurality of churches.’—Bennett’s ‘Theology of the Early Christian Church,’ p. 223.

that, calling the presbyters of the single city of Ephesus, he afterwards names the same persons bishops.'

After further quotations from the Epistle to the Hebrews and from Peter, he proceeds:—

'Our intention in these remarks is to show that among the ancients, presbyters and bishops were the very same. But that, by little and little, that the plants of dissension might be plucked up, the whole concern was devolved on an individual. As the presbyters, therefore, know that they are subjected by the custom of the church to Him who is set over them, so let the bishops know that they are greater than presbyters more by custom than by any real appointment of Christ.'

This passage deserves examination. We remark upon it—1. Jerome bears express testimony to the original identity of the office of bishop and presbyter. 2. He distinctly denies the Divine right of the hyper-presbyterial episcopacy which prevailed in his day, the fourth century—it was the product of custom, not of a Divine appointment. 3. According to this father, the growth of diocesan episcopacy was gradual. The first paragraph of the passage we have quoted, would leave the impression that the creation of a hyper-presbyterial episcopate was the result of a universal decree or decision by the churches. But Jerome speaks more carefully afterwards of its having been by degrees—'by little and little'—*paulatim*. The new order was the growth of circumstances and that very gradually. Long after some churches were ruled by a bishop superior to the presbyters, other churches retained the primitive order of equality. 4. The statement of Jerome as to the cause and design of the new order of things, is, to say the least of it, defective. That its origin was connected with dissensions in many cases we readily grant, but we question the nature of the connection. So far from there being any such benevolent and far-seeing design as the prevention, or cure, of the evils which our author specifies, the new episcopate was the fruit of these evils. While the virtues of some men might contribute to their undue exaltation above their equals, ambition had more to do with it in general than virtue, and ambition found its convenient opportunities in seasons of dissension. Instead of being fitted to check the ambition of ecclesiastics, the new order erected a throne for them to climb to; it has been throughout many ages a stimulus to the worst passions of rivalry, and the very end of ecclesiastical being. 5. We cannot sympathise with the complacency with which Jerome speaks of the new order. True, he admonishes the bishops of his time that their status was not of Divine appointment. But he looks on it with complacency as the grand

correction of division and dissension. The rod of iron, we allow at once, produces peace where reason, and justice, and gentleness, fail. But, to use the words of Milton in reference to another matter, 'with as good a plea might the dead palsy boast to a man, 'It is I that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes: if I were gone all these would molest you.' Paul, it is evident, was lacking in the better wisdom of the fourth century. He lived in the inexperienced infancy of Christianity. There were dissensions in his time—some said even then, 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas;' but he had not the prudence to forge a rod of iron, and put it into the hand of a bishop to lord it over God's heritage. His remedies were of another kind. Clement, pastor, or one of the pastors of the church in Rome, was so short-sighted as to follow Paul's example in his mode of quelling the turbulence of the church in Corinth, seventy years after Paul had written to them. The discovery of the sovereign remedy of the episcopate was reserved for later and wiser men. While we cannot sympathise with the feelings with which Jerome regarded hyper-presbyterial episcopacy, we fall back on his testimony to the facts that the original bishop and presbyter were identical, and that the subsequent superiority of the one to the other was destitute of Divine sanction. His witness is true.

We proceed to inquire whether diocesan episcopacy, or even hyper-presbyterial congregational episcopacy, derives any support from the designation 'angel of the church,' employed in the letters to the seven churches in Asia. According to the high episcopal theory, 'the angels of these churches were the bishops to whom alone were entrusted the control and regulation of their affairs.' 'On this it is enough to remark,—First, that as the whole evidence of the rest of the New Testament goes to show that no such officer as a bishop, in the modern sense of the term, existed in the early churches, it is altogether incompetent for us to *assume* the *existence* of such an office in order to explain an obscure and difficult expression in this one instance; and secondly, it is clear both from the tenor of the epistles themselves, and especially from the command of Christ, that they were to be sent to the churches, the *ἐκκλησῖαι*, or assemblies of the brethren (Rev. i. 11), a fact which is quite incompatible with the high episcopal theory; for where the jurisdiction of a diocesan is supposed, all popular influence in the management of affairs is put out of the question.\* We add a third remark:—Even should we allow that the 'angel of the

\* Alexander's 'Anglo-Catholicism,' Appendix, p. 410.

church' was the designation of an office superior to that of the elders or ordinary pastors, that office, call it the episcopate or aught else you please, was not diocesan, but congregational. In each of the seven cities named in the Apocalypse, there was an *ἐκκλησία*, and over each *ecclesia* there was an angel. The jurisdiction of that angel, then, be its nature what it might, was limited to a single congregation, not extended over a province.

It remains to be determined who or what was the angel of the church. We cannot accept the interpretation which makes it to mean the consistory of elders in each congregation, viewed as one body and so personified. Nor can we maintain that at the time John wrote the Apocalypse, a plurality of pastors had ceased in the churches, 'that there was now in each of these societies only one pastor, and that to him the letter intended for his church was addressed, that he might lay it before them, and as in duty bound urge its contents on their notice.' We are still more opposed to the theory which supposes that the word 'angel' is used as a symbolical expression for the whole church. This theory, though called the ultra-congregationalist, is revived by Neander. In his introduction to Coleman's work, an essay in which the defects of the German mind are more conspicuous than its excellencies, Neander says, 'In this phraseology I recognise a symbolical application of the idea of guardian angels, similar to that of the Ferver of the Parsees, as a symbolical representation and image of the whole church. Such a figurative representation corresponds well with the poetical and symbolical character of the book throughout. It is also expressly said, that the address is to the whole body of the churches.' The theory which explains the 'angel of the church' by a reference to the known office-bearer who bore that title in the Jewish synagogue, is regarded by Neander as 'arbitrary,' but we venture, notwithstanding the great authority of his name, to call his own rather 'arbitrary' and fanciful.

Let us inquire. In the Old Testament we find prophets and priests sometimes called messengers or 'angels.' See Haggai, i. 13, and Malachi, ii. 7. In the Jewish synagogue there was an officer designated *נָאָר מִלְּפָנֶיךָ* which means the representative or delegate of the church, and might be rendered without impropriety 'the angel of the church.' 'The office of the individual thus named was to superintend and conduct the worship of the synagogue.' He was a *προεστώς* (superintendent), or an *ἐπίσκοπος* (bishop or overseer), and also a *διδάσκαλος* (a teacher in a greater or less degree'). Now Neander not only admits, but

\* 'As an interpretation of this Hebrew phrase,' says Coleman, 'the English reader may read, as often as it occurs, *the ruler of the synagogue*.'—p. 38, note.

argues that 'the earliest constitution of the church was modelled, for the most part, after that religious community with which it stood in closest connection and to which it was most assimilated, the Jewish synagogue.' It is not maintained that the resemblance was in all points exact, but that the one was formed on the general platform of the other. 'The titles—bishop, pastor, presbyter, &c. (says Coleman) were all familiar to them (the Christians) as synonymous terms, denoting the same class of officers in the synagogue. Their duties and prerogatives remained, in substance, the same in the Christian church as in that of the Jews.' What then could be more natural (and not 'arbitrary') than to designate the superintendent of the worship in the Christian synagogue by a title already familiarly used to designate the superintendent of the worship in the Jewish synagogue? The interpretation which would treat this application of the term 'angel of the church' as 'arbitrary,' must itself be reckoned arbitrary, and an act of violence to the strongest probability.

But was there an office-bearer in the primitive Christian church, distinct from its bishops or presbyters, whose function it was to superintend and lead the Christian worship? There is no evidence that there was. On the contrary, all the evidence we have on the subject proves that the bishop or presbyter was the only office-bearer whose functions were concerned with the spiritual affairs of the community. 'The result is,' says Coleman (and we agree with him), 'that the angel of the churches, whatever view we take of the origin of the term, was not the representative of an order or grade superior to presbyters, but himself merely a presbyter, or, if you please, *a bishop*, provided you mean by it simply what the scriptures always mean,—a pastor of a church, the ordinary and only minister divinely constituted to be the shepherd and bishop of their souls.' (p. 39.) We have only to add that where there was a plurality of bishops, order required that one should preside to conduct the deliberations and worship of the assembly. And he whose 'turn' it was to preside on any occasion, would be 'the angel of the church,' *pro tempore*. Any communications intended for the whole body would be laid before it naturally by the president of the day.

We cannot dismiss this subject without adverting to gratuitous concessions which are sometimes made in connexion with the point which we have just considered, as to the state of the primitive episcopacy at the end of the apostolic period. 'At the close of the apostolic period,' says Dr. Alexander, whose well reasoned objections to the high episcopal theory we have already quoted, 'i.e., at the commencement of the second cen-

tury of the Christian era, we observe a vast number of churches, . . . each placed under the management of a set of officers, presided over by one having the title of angel of the church, or bishop of the flock. Whether this were the earliest form of these churches, may perhaps be questioned, but that this was the form in which they existed at the period mentioned, seems historically certain.\* In a note on this passage, our learned friend quotes the following words from the letter of Dr. J. P. Smith to Dr. Lee:—

‘In process of time, and by the influence of circumstances very likely to occur, one of these (bishops), the most distinguished for talents and energy, became the head—perpetual president or moderator. The earliest indication, *perhaps*, of this we find in the address of each of the apocalyptic epistles—‘To the angel of,’ &c. Perhaps it was in that district, the proconsular Asia, that this state of affairs was developed, and became definitely established; and as the Apostle John, in extreme old age, resided at Ephesus, he gave it his approbation, as a plan adapted to preclude ambitious feelings or usurped authority.’

In penning this last sentence, the venerable writer had his eye, no doubt, on the words of Jerome, on which we have already commented, and to which we shall not now recur. What Dr. Smith reckons *probable* as to the state of the episcopate in the end of the apostolic period, Dr. Alexander reckons *historically certain*. After examining the various theories which have been held in reference to the angels of the churches, he continues:—

‘There remains only the opinion, that by the angel of the church is designated the president of the body of pastors, the *presbuterion*, through which the epistle was sent to the church, to be by him laid before them. This has the advantage of being at once the most obvious view of the case, and of being the only one on which we can harmonise the actual statements of the passage. It has also strongly in its favour the circumstance, that in the Jewish synagogue, after the model of which the first Christian churches were unquestionably formed, there was an officer who bore the title of *Sheliach Tsibbor*, i. e. angel or messenger of the assembly, and whose duty it was to perform exactly those functions which, as we learn from a passage in the Apology of Justin Martyr, the presidents of the Christian churches performed in them. We thus arrive at the conclusion, that in all probability, before the conclusion of the apostolic age, there was an officer appointed in each church, who was the president of the ordinary pastors and the general bishop of the body.’\*

There seem to us to be very weighty objections to the views which these learned writers have formed of this matter.

\* ‘Anglo-Catholicism,’ p. 5.

† Ib. Appendix, pp. 409, 412, 413.

And we know of no fact or passage which requires us to suppose that the 'angel of the church' was more than the bishop or elder, when there was only one, or the bishop or elder who presided *pro tempore*, when there was a plurality, and who would therefore be the proper channel through which to lay the letter before the church. When there was a plurality of elders, order required, as we have remarked already, that *one* should preside in the assembly of the church, and likewise in the meeting of elders; and such temporary presidentship as was thus required for the purposes of order, accounts for the title, 'angel of the church,' as fully and satisfactorily as the supposition of the growth of a permanent presidentship or hyper-presbyterial episcopate, while it is free from serious objections which lie against the latter. The difference between the two may seem trifling, but it is not so. It involves the following question: Knowing that within a period not very remote from the apostolic age, the bishop began to be distinguished from the presbyter as a higher functionary, had that distinction the sanction of inspired authority? Dr. Smith and Dr. Alexander, according to the passages we have quoted, hold that, *probably* at least, it had. They do not, it is true, ascribe to the hyper-presbyterial bishop spiritual functions and powers which the presbyter is incompetent to exercise. They may consider the two offices fundamentally and essentially one. But the concession which they make is unsupported by evidence, and the grounds on which they make it will warrant other inferences and conclusions injurious to scriptural church order. The following remarks will justify these observations:—

1. We call attention to the sound principle of interpretation laid down by Dr. Alexander himself, in exposing 'the high episcopalian view' of the term, 'angel of the church.' 'It is altogether incompetent for us to *assume* the existence of such an office in order to explain an obscure and difficult expression in this one instance.' (p. 410.) On this ground Dr. Alexander dissents from the 'high episcopalian view' of the bishop's office, but the principle which he lays down is equally at variance with his own view, that 'in all probability before the conclusion of the apostolic age, there was an officer appointed in each church, who was the president of the ordinary pastors, and the general bishop of the body.' This is a mere assumption. The necessities of the passage (Rev. ii. 1, &c.) do not require it, and there is no other foundation for it.

2. It seems to us a very dangerous supposition, that the apostle John, in extreme old age, and after the decease of his fellow-apostles, sanctioned a departure from the practice which had been previously established in all the churches. If he did,

those are certainly right who hold that the example of the first churches possesses no authority in the matter of church order—the development of a new state of things was sanctioned by the surviving apostle—and the whole question of government resolves itself into one of circumstances and expediency. The advocates of full-blown diocesan episcopacy need to feel no misgivings; the separation of the offices of bishop and presbyter, with the exaltation of the former above the latter, received the sanction of the only remaining apostle; had he lived to a later age, why doubt that he would have sanctioned the *extension* of the bishop's jurisdiction as readily as he sanctioned its *elevation*. Nothing, we conceive, but an insuperable critical necessity can justify an opinion which is liable to be fathered with such consequences. And in this case there is no such necessity. 'To me,' says Dr. Campbell (lecture v.), 'it is more likely that John, in the direction of the epistles to the seven churches, availed himself of a distinction [one of the bishops, where there was a plurality, acting as president or moderator, for the sake of order] which had subsisted from the beginning, but as it implied no difference in order or power, was too inconsiderable to be noticed in the history. This, I think, at least more credible, than that either the church was new modelled by this apostle, or that the different apostles adopted different plans.' If it be replied that the authority of one apostle is equal to the authority of the twelve, and that what change soever one sanctioned before his decease, is only to be regarded as the intended consummation of previous progress, the top-stone of the structure which others founded, and, therefore, can be no precedent for future changes—we answer: Paul gave the same instruction and ordinances everywhere to every church; he condemned every departure from the ordinances 'as he delivered them,' and commended those who kept them in all things: and are we to suppose that a departure from the state in which he established the churches, a departure which was the first step towards that lordship over God's heritage which was afterwards consolidated in diocesan episcopacy, received the sanction of his only surviving colleague?

3. The exigencies of the case are fully met without the obnoxious idea of a permanent 'president of the ordinary pastors and general bishop of the body.' This we have seen already. And we have only to add, that the passage referred to in the apology of Justin Martyr furnishes no evidence of a distinction between one bishop and another, or of the superiority of bishop to elder. For aught contained in it, there may have been but one bishop or elder in a church. It is as follows: 'On the day called Sunday, there is made a gathering into the same



place of all that live in city or country, and the memoranda of the apostles, or the writings of the prophets, are read as long as may be. Afterwards, the reader having ceased, the president makes verbally the admonition and exhortation to the imitation of these excellent things. Then we all rise and pour forth prayers. Then the bread and wine are taken.\*

We regard the 'angel of the church,' then, not as necessarily the single pastor of the congregation, for there is evidence that some, at least, of the seven churches, had a plurality of pastors to a later period than the date of the Apocalypse—nor yet as an officer raised to a permanent presidentship over pastors and people, and distinguished as *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος*—but as the bishop or elder, who, when there was a plurality, might preside or officiate, *pro tempore*, and whose duty it would therefore be to lay before the church such a document as the epistle from the great head.

We are now prepared to say in what state the episcopate was at the close of the apostolic period, or of the first century. We have no reason to conclude that it was other than it had always been, the simple pastorate or eldership of a single congregation, and that often, at least, shared by several persons. We have been frequently surprised at the readiness with which men, even of eminence and learning, accept the common notion that, by the time of the decease of the apostle John, a marked and fixed distinction between the office of bishop and presbyter, began to prevail. At the period in question, one writer, an eminent congregationalist, whom we have already quoted, conceives, we have seen, that each of the churches was 'placed under the management of a set of officers, presided over by one having the title of angel of the church, or bishop of the flock.' Whether (he adds) this were the earliest form of these churches, may perhaps be questioned, but that this was the form in which they existed, at the period mentioned, seems historically certain. Now what are our learned brother's authorities for this strong statement? They are simply these: 'Mosheim de Rebus Christianorum—Saec. ii. § 20. Campbell's Eccles. Hist., Lect. vi.' Let us examine them.

First, as to Mosheim. The entire section referred to will be found below.† 'In the midst of these various fortunes,' says

\* Apol. i. 98.

† 'Inter has utriusque fortunæ vicissitudines Christiani ubique rem suam firmare, legibusque et institutis salutaribus exornare, magno et sancto animo studebant. Cœtibus in majoribus et potioribus urbibus et oppidis collocatis unus episcopi nomine, doctor præsidebat; communibus populi suffragiis creatus; qui quidem adscitis in consilium senioribus seu presbyteris, a populo pariter electis, providebat, ne quid detrimenti res sacra caperet; singulis presbyteris munus et stationem suam adsignabat, ex

our author, 'the Christians laboured everywhere with a great and holy zeal, to strengthen their cause, and to confirm it by salutary laws and institutes. Over their assemblies, in the larger and more powerful cities, one doctor presided, under the title of bishop. He was elected by the common suffrages of the people, and, in conjunction with the elders or presbyters, who were likewise chosen by the people, took care that the sacred cause should sustain no injury, assigned to each presbyter his office and post, and in short administered every thing pertaining to religion and the divine worship, according to laws which the people had either proposed or approved.' On this passage we remark, that Mosheim is speaking *indefinitely* of the second century. In the previous sections of his chapter on that century, he had considered the state of the Christians under Trajan, A.D. 98-118; under Hadrian, 118-140; under Antoninus Pius, 140-161; under Marcus Aurelius, 161-180; under Commodus, 180-193; and under Severus, 193-203. The nineteenth section relates the opposition which Christianity received at the hand of Philosophers; Celsus, who wrote towards the end of the first half of the second century, Crescens, the cynic philosopher, and Fronto, the rhetorician, who wrote rather later. And the twentieth section, which we have quoted, treats of what took place 'amid these fortunes,' a period comprehending *indefinitely* the whole of the second century—a most inconclusive proof, it will be admitted, of 'historic certainty,' touching any thing in the end of the first century. Mosheim, however, speaks more definitely in his 'Ecclesiastical History,' and gives authority for his statement (which, by the way, he does not do in the passage we have quoted below). He asserts the original identity of bishop and presbyter, but says that when the number of presbyters and deacons increased with that of the churches, it was judged necessary that one man of distinguished gravity and wisdom should preside in the council of presbyters, in order to distribute among his colleagues their several tasks,

*præscripto denique legum, quas populus vel rogaverat, vel probaverat omnia quæ ad religionem cultumque divinum pertinebant, administrabat; utrisque ministræ ac ministri ecclesiæ, seu Diaconassæ ac Diaconi subiecti erant; quos inter distribuebantur officia, quæ rei Christianæ ratio et ædus publica exigebat. Filiæ majoris cœtus in urbe degentis seu minores familiæ in vicinis agris et vicis, episcopi cura et studio collectæ, a presbyteris regebantur ex urbe missis; qui quoniam episcopi, a quo missi erant, personam sustinebant et plerisque ejus juribus, paucis exceptis, perpetuo utebantur, chorepiscopi nominabantur. Suprema potestas in societatibus his æqualibus apud populum erat; neque idcirco gravioris aliquid momenti statui aut insignior mutatio induci poterat, nisi concione convocata et consulta, cujus suffragiis et auctoritate opiniones et consilia episcopi ac presbyterorum sententias et leges convertebantur.'*

and to be a centre of union to the whole society. 'This person, (he continues) was at first styled the *angel* of the church to which he belonged, but was afterwards distinguished by the name of bishop or inspector.\* To this passage is appended the note, (Rev. ii. 3). So that the only authority on which Mosheim's belief in the early elevation of one of the bishops above his colleagues rests, consists in his own interpretation of the meaning of the phrase 'angel of the church.'

Now what does Campbell say in his sixth Lecture of the state of the episcopate at the close of the apostolic period? The subject of that lecture is 'the constitution of the apostolic church, and the nature of the episcopacy which obtained in the second and third centuries.' 'In the second century,' he says, 'it is very plain, that a settled distinction, in several respects, obtained between the bishop and his colleagues in the presbytery, for as yet they may still be called colleagues.' But to how early a part of this century the distinction can be traced according to our lecturer? The following passage will answer:—'Among the writers of the second age I shall mention also Irenæus, who is supposed to have written about the middle of the second century, and in whose writings the names bishop and presbyter, and others of the like import, are sometimes used indiscriminately. I acknowledge, however, that the distinction of these, as of different orders, began about this time generally to prevail; the difference was not, indeed, near so considerable as it became afterwards.' According to Campbell then, it is only *to the middle* of the second century, that any distinction between one presbyter and another, other than that which he conceives all along existed 'for order's sake' can be traced. So much for the 'historical certainty' so readily awarded to the appearance of a hyper-presbyterial episcopacy, at the very close of the apostolic period. Coleman speaks cautiously when he says, 'It is generally conceded that the popular form of government of the church, began gradually to change into one more despotic, soon after the age of the apostles. Those changes in the organization of the apostolical churches, which finally gave rise to the episcopal system, began, in the opinion of some, as early as the first half of the second century. Many others, with greater probability, refer the commencement of the transition to the *second half* of the same century. Nothing appears in history to define with precision the period of the change in question. It was doubtless different in different churches. Springing gradually, and almost imperceptibly, from many causes, it was unnoticed, or left unrecorded in the scanty records of that early period which still remain unto us.' (p. 63.)

\* Cent. i. part ii. chap. ii. sec. xi.

One other illustration of the unsatisfactory way in which the state of the episcopate at the end of the first century is often treated, and we have done. Dean Waddington, 'perhaps on the whole the best of our British church historians,' says that it is 'an undisputed fact, that the religious communities of the Christian world universally admitted the superintendence of ministers called bishops, before the conclusion of the first century.' Of course he employs the term 'bishop' in the later and modern sense of hyper-presbyterial. On what authority does he rest his 'undisputed fact?' 'To save the space which would be occupied by an accumulation of authorities, it will be sufficient,' he says in a note to the passage we have quoted, 'to remind our readers that this fact is admitted by Gibbon in his fifteenth chapter.'

We turn to Gibbon, and find him saying, 'The public functions of religion were solely entrusted to the established ministers of the church, the bishops and the presbyters; two appellations which, in their first origin, appear to have distinguished the same office and the same persons.' But circumstances, the historian tells us, 'required the directing hand of a superior magistrate,' and thus arose the office of episcopal president, 'a form of government (he adds) which appears to have been introduced before the end of the first century.' We look eagerly for the authority on which Gibbon makes this statement, and we find it in the following note:—'See the Introduction to the Apocalypse. Bishops, under the name of angels, were already instituted in the seven cities of Asia. And yet the epistle of Clemens (which is probably of as ancient a date) does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy either at Corinth or Rome.' And thus from author to author, and from assertion to assertion, we are driven again to 'the angels of the churches,' the only authority which Gibbon has for saying that the episcopal 'form of government was introduced before the end of the first century.' The reader will not, though Waddington did, overlook the misgivings which the historian feels in reference to his interpretation of the Introduction to the Apocalypse,—'yet the epistle of Clemens does not lead us to discover any traces of episcopacy at Corinth or at Rome.' He might have added that the government which is traceable in the epistle of Clement is as purely congregational as that which we find in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles of Paul.

We return for a moment to Waddington. After some inferential statements, he concludes his account of the primitive church government in these words:—'And thus it came to pass that for more than twenty years before the death of St. John, most of the considerable churches had gradually fallen under

the presidency of a single person entitled bishop; and that after that event, there were certainly none which did not speedily follow the same name and system of administration.' (p. 21.) This statement is made without any reference to authorities, the author evidently supposing that he had already established his point by his appeal to Gibbon. How then does the matter stand? *The only authority for the existence of a hyper-presbyterial episcopacy in the end of the first century is the term 'angel of the church.'* And the mode of proof is mere reasoning in a circle. To explain the term 'angel of the church,' it is *assumed* that before the decease of John, 'there was an officer appointed in each church, who was the president of the ordinary pastors, and the general bishop of the body.' And when we demand authority for the opinion that before the decease of John there was such an officer, we are referred immediately to the angel of the church! Proving all things and holding fast only that which is good, we fall back on the conviction we have already expressed, that at the decease of the last apostle, or the end of the first century, the episcopate was, what it had ever been, the simple pastorate or eldership of a single congregation, and that so far from being episcopal in the modern sense, that it was often shared by several persons. Congregational episcopacy is 'of the apostles,'—hyper-presbyterial and diocesan episcopacy is 'of the fathers,'—let the reader make his choice.

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ART. IV. — 1. *The Life of James Watt.* Chambers's Miscellany. Edinburgh: 12mo. 1847.

2. *An Historical Eulogy upon Denis Papin, the Inventor of the Steam Engine and the Steam Boat.* . By Dr. Ducoux, of Blois. Paris: 8vo. 1838.

It would be in the highest degree ungracious on the part of Englishmen to refuse to the French a fair vindication of their claim to any scientific distinction; or to be jealous of their asserting a countryman's merits in any path of science pursued in common with us. Our Newton had an eloquent eulogist in the venerable Fontenelle, a century before he found a British biographer; and we are indebted to M. Arago, the eminent successor of Fontenelle, as secretary of the Academy of Sciences in Paris, for a life of Watt, which to this day forms the stand-

ard authority on the career of that extraordinary man. The testimony, therefore, of M. Arago to the value of the scientific acquirements of a Frenchman is entitled to our peculiar respect.

M. Arago has exercised this unquestionable right most becomingly in urging Denis Papin's important discoveries on the nature of steam, and his great improvements on the steam-engine. To these claims, Dr. Ducoux, of Blois, the birth-place of Papin, has, with others, given the support of powerful arguments. The subject is interesting in several points of view; and the amount of credit reasonably to be allowed to Papin, will justify the zeal of his countrymen, by placing him in the very first rank of experimental philosophers.

Their efforts have already obtained considerable success towards correcting public opinion respecting him. Dr. Robison, the friend of Watt, used to deny positively that Papin was 'either a philosopher or a mechanician,' and so late as 1840, a writer in the 'Edinburgh Review' studiously undervalued the genius of Papin, and not only denied the originality of his '*idea* of forming a vacuum, by condensing the steam after it had elevated the piston in the cylinder,' but also insisted that it was '*an idea which he carried into effect with so little ingenuity, that his whole proposal was a speculation upon which he placed but little value.*'\*

In the popular life of Watt in 'Chambers Miscellany,' published this year, and based chiefly on M. Arago's work, a very different view is taken of the matter. After describing the 'steam-toy' proposed by the clever French engineer, De Caus, in 1603; and the machine made in 1663 by the Marquis of Worcester to drain mines, and to supply cities with water by steam, and after adding, that in 1699 Savory invented a new machine for the same purpose, with atmospheric suction along with steam, the writer frankly yields to M. Arago's appeal, and states that '*a French engineer, Denis Papin, known for other important mechanical inventions, proposed a modification in the apparatus of De Caus and Savory, the importance of which can hardly be over-rated, when it is considered that it amounts to the application of steam-power to produce the motion of a rod up and down in a cylinder.*' This was the great step, the conciliation, as it were, of steam into a regular moving power at the command of man."†

This is high praise; but a still more correct estimate will be formed of Papin's '*ideas*' and of his ability to carry them

\* Edinburgh Review, January 1840, Vol. LXX. p. 469.

† Life of Watt, Chambers Miscellany, p. 10.

out, when his writings and his inventions shall be better known. Mr. Muirhead, the able translator of Arago's 'Eulogy on Watt,' expresses a wish that the original works should be republished in a collected form, admitting, candidly, that he had not referred to 'the greater part of them.' It is satisfactory to be able to announce that preparations are making at Blois for their publication.

Our remarks upon Papin's career have been written after consulting most of his writings, and after the examination of a few of his letters preserved by the Royal Society of which he was long a member. His works were produced chiefly during an exile of thirty years from France, occasioned by the persecution of the Huguenots, of which body his family were distinguished members. He seems to have first come to England to seek a field 'fit for his genius' as Mr. Boyle expresses it. Civil advancement and even employment in his profession, which was medicine, was obstructed in France to those of his faith. He left France, indeed, several years before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but violent measures preceded that act, and greatly alarmed the Protestants. Their trade and occupation were interfered with; and in 1683 the *dragonades*, or military expeditions and executions, were begun in Languedoc. It is known that all Papin's family took the deepest interest in the whole business; and in the absence of any facts concerning his view of it, the melancholy case of the Huguenot physician, Lemery, as narrated by Fontenelle, may be safely cited to account for the expatriation, which Papin boldly preferred to the hard alternative accepted by his colleague.

M. Lemery, two years Papin's senior, was the son of a Huguenot lawyer at Rouen. He was a practical chemist of the first order in Paris, where his lectures were attended by brilliant auditories; and where he had crowded classes of pupils from all parts of Europe. Of these he, with M. de Verney, had forty in one year from Scotland alone; and his first work, 'A Course of Chemistry,' which appeared in 1675, was translated into Latin, German, English, and Spanish. The English translator, who had been his pupil, declares that he almost created the science of chemistry. His success in practice equalled that of his speculations. In 1681, however, the persecution of the Huguenots reached him. He had notice from the police to close his lectures, and to give up his practice by a given day. On this being known, he was invited to a professorship in Prussia. Reluctant, however, to quit France with his family, he continued to lecture, but at length being peremptorily silenced, he went to England alone in 1683. He was well received, and presented a copy of the third edition of

his book to Charles II. But he could find no employment; and his family pressed his return. He, therefore, went back to France; and hoping to be less molested as a physician, than as a chemist, he took the degree of doctor at Caen with great eclat. In Paris he soon had many patients; but was still exposed to persecution. At length, at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he, with all his brethren, was prohibited to practice. This blow overwhelmed him. He was reduced to absolute poverty, and hid his remaining effects in order to escape from his creditors. His mind was tormented with the hopeless prospects of his children. Unable to bear this utter reverse of fortune he abandoned Protestantism, and his reward was restoration to his profession, in which he enjoyed the greatest success to his death.

The choice of a more consistent career by Papin was, on the contrary, attended by uninterrupted difficulties and disappointments; and the unhappiness of his life was relieved only by the satisfaction of possessing the respect of every man of genius of his time; and by the consciousness of having largely contributed to the general stock of human civilization. He had some animated controversies with several of his contemporaries on scientific questions; but a strong spirit of benevolence pervades his works; and it is only within the last fifty years, that his deep knowledge of physics, and especially the value of his experiments on air and steam have been doubted.

Denis Papin was born at Blois, upon the Loire, the 22d of August 1647. His father was employed in the public finances; and several of his relatives are still known for their theological and scientific writings. Of the numerous families of every rank connected with him, one that bears his name has been recently known for its attachment to the branch of science in which he was remarkable. The place and the manner of his education are unknown. Like his uncle, and other relatives, he became a physician. He went early to Paris, where he enjoyed the patronage of the minister, Colbert, and the friendship of the equally celebrated Huygens—certainly one of the most illustrious natural philosophers in an age which produced Pascal, Newton, Boyle, and Leibnitz, with a crowd of other distinguished men. The time of his residence in Paris is not exactly ascertained. It was long enough to procure him a high reputation for scientific attainments; and he there became acquainted with Mr. Boyle. In allusion to this period of his life, he says in a letter preserved by the Royal Society; ‘I had then the honour to live in the King’s library; and to wait on M. Huygens in many of his experiments. I had much to do



about the engine for applying gunpowder to raise heavy weights. I made the trial of it when shown to M. Colbert.'

In 1674, he published his first work, a small tract, containing the germ of much of his subsequent discoveries. It was entitled 'Experiments concerning Vacuums, and a Description of the Machines used in making them.' This work is extant, together with another, in which twelve years later (1686) he reviewed these experiments, and offered some improvements of the mechanism.

Papin was familiar with all that had been done on the subject by Galileo, Descartes, Pascal, Torricelli, Otto Guericke, Boyle, Bernouilli, and Huygens. He quotes some of their works, and carefully marks how his own views differed from theirs. He insists on his own convictions being the result of experiment, not of theory. He was eminently a practical man, and no portion of Mr. Stuart's praise is more merited than that in which he asserts, that 'practical men place this ingenious Frenchman in the highest rank of scientific mechanics.' His experiments of 1674 and 1686, were mainly directed to preserving fruits and meats, as in 1681 he had adopted one of their principles in dissolving bones, and other hard substances in his *digestor*, so well known for a hundred and fifty years to every cook, and in every laboratory over half the civilized world. But at this early period he also declared, that 'he could explain how his machine would furnish a great power with little weight in itself.' 'A vacuum,' he says, 'may be produced in a well made and very light cylinder, without being broken in by the weight of the atmosphere. Then a piston may be worked from one end of the cylinder to the other with very great force, if its diameter be rather large. For example, one foot in diameter will raise about 1800 lbs.'

A notice of what Otto v. Guericke, of Magdeburg had done, follows with further calculations as to the speed, and power produced by the machine. The importance of these observations made by Papin in 1686, will be apparent upon a comparison of them with the corresponding remarks in Dr. Lardner's *Steam Engine*, (7th Ed. pp. 37—47), a work in every body's hand. But a passage in a contemporary work of Mr. Boyle, places Papin's in a still more advantageous light. Boyle had improved on the discoveries of Torricelli, and others, respecting the atmosphere, and after publishing his experiments, had discontinued his researches. But, he proceeds:—

'In seven or eight years, finding no one followed it up, he had thought of returning to it himself, at 'which time,' it happened very

opportunely, that 'a certain tract in French, small in bulk, but very ingenious, containing sundry experiments concerning the preservation of prints, and some parts of a different nature, was brought to him by Monsieur Papin, who had joined his pains with those of the eminent Mr. Christian Huygenius in making the said experiments. Upon further discourse with him, finding he came out of France into England but a little before, in hopes to obtain some place here that might be fit for his genius, and whilst he was in that expectancy that he was willing to bestow his pains about experimental philosophy—'Upon this I had an intention,' says Mr. Boyle, 'at my cost, to gratify his curiosity, whilst I also indulged my own. And seeing he had a pneumatic pump of his own, made by himself, to the use of which he was more accustomed, though it differed from the construction of my pump, I gave him the freedom to use his own, because he best knew how to play it alone, and how to repair it easily if any disorders should happen from the luxation of its parts, or any other casualty. In his absence I did use my own, both because my domestics were better acquainted with it, and because it was not subject to so many and frequent inconveniences, by reason of its more solid structure.

'But, before I could make any considerable progress in this work, I was taken ill, and enforced to another course of proceeding. To ease myself it was judged meet that M. Papin should set down in writing all the experiments, and the phenomena arising therefrom, as if they had been made and observed by his own skill; and, moreover, the calculation of the degrees of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, included in our mercurial gauge, was intrusted to his care. But I myself was always present at the making of the chief experiments, and also at some of those of an inferior sort, to observe whether all things were done according to my mind.

'As some of the experiments were propounded for trial by Mons. Papin for a particular end of his own, somewhat different from my design in the other experiments, I was very willing that he should use his own method about them, not doubting but he would use his greatest industry thereon, as I found by the event he had done. . . . I had cause enough to trust his skill and diligence about the former experiments, some of which he himself propounded, as if they had been formed in his own brain; as also not a few of the mechanical instruments, especially the double-pump and wind-gun, which sometimes were of necessary use to us in our work, are to be referred to his invention, who also made some of them, at least in part, with his own hands.\*

These remarks of Mr. Boyle are dated in 1681; and thirty-three years afterwards, the great Leibnitz says of the same Papin that he was a man of 'no ordinary merit.' Leibnitz

\* Boyle's Works, 4to., London, 1772, vol. iv. p. 506. The dates of the experiments in Mr. Boyle's works range from 1676 to 1679.

corresponded with Papin; and expresses much anxiety about his occupation and prospects. Nevertheless, some persons have fixed his 'first publication' in 1689, 1690, and even in 1707; and others have described his 'contrivance' as 'awkward, indistinct, and a credit to no person.' Yet it was upon the original machine, the *Digestor* of 1681, that Watt himself states his own experiments to improve the steam engine were made; and the *Digestor* of 1681, is clearly traceable in the '*tract small in bulk, but very ingenious*' of 1674, which impressed Boyle so much in favour of Papin, then only twenty-seven years of age.

The writer of the life of Watt in the 'Edinburgh Miscellany,' has appreciated Papin far more correctly than his contemporary of the 'Edinburgh Review;' but they have both alike assumed what is not the fact, that Papin did not perceive the importance of his own conceptions. How far otherwise the reality was, may be safely left to the reader's judgment, when a few of this ingenious Frenchman's sanguine expectations are produced.

His cordial reception in London did not procure for him the solid advantages which foreigners, and especially exiles, rarely obtain away from home; and the want of which drove Dr. Lemery back to Paris. The Royal Society indeed, gave him some small payments for the work he did. But his reputation steadily extended; and led to his being selected with some others by an enlightened Italian, Signor Sarotti, to contribute his efforts to the formation of an academy of science in Venice. He remained there two years; and on the failure of the attempt, he resumed his connection with the Royal Society in London; without, however, having at his command the pecuniary resources indispensable for the development and application of his valuable speculations.

In 1687, he was invited by the Prince of Hesse to be professor of mathematics at the university of Marburg. Here he lived twenty-seven years, with the exception, perhaps, of from 1708 to 1711, never ceasing to labour in his vocation as a great experimental philosopher, but still without the reward that belongs of right to genius. The whole science of hydraulics, and many other branches of physics were, in this long period carried by Papin to great perfection, as is shewn by his separate publications as well as his contributions to various periodical works. To the last he was in intimate communication with the Royal Society; and so eked out his poor German stipend with occasional allowances for his papers. The following is the first of his few letters preserved by the Royal Society. It was apparently addressed to the secretary.

‘Marburg, 29th of August, 1688.

‘Most honoured Sir,—I have not yet had the honour to write to you for want of a good subject to entertain you withal. The beginning of a settlement being always attended with a great many affairs, and besides being bound to read four times a week, which is much for a man not used to such an employment, I have been able to do but very little towards new experiments since I am here. Nevertheless having newly heard from my brother, how kind you have been to him since my departure, and how you have ever since helped him to some employment or other, I cannot forbear to express to you my most humble thankfulness for it. I wish I might at the same time send you something worth your seeing. But, for the reason above, I have nothing else but the present paper. I sent it the last week to the Professor Menekius, publisher of the ‘Acta Eruditorum’ of Leipsic. This gentleman having done me the honour to send you all the ‘Acta’ of this year, *franco*, by the post, I was glad to send him some new paper, with my most humble thanks for that kindness. I don’t question but he will print it.\* Nevertheless, if the Royal Society find any thing in it worthy to be seen in the ‘Transactions,’ I submit it to your correction and judgment. If ever I can meet with any thing worthier to be presented to such an illustrious company, I will not fail to do it. I profess myself with all imaginable respect, most honoured sir,

‘Your humble and obedient servant,

‘D. PAPIN.’

‘I beg your pardon that I have not sent this to my brother to deliver it to you; but all my countrymen of my acquaintance are so unsettled, that I know not where I might send it to that it might not be in danger of being lost.’

Soon after this letter was written, the promise it contained was ably redeemed. The experiment described in the paper referred to, concerned a new application of gunpowder or ‘the noble and generous design of turning to the use of man in peace, the great strength of what had been hitherto employed only to their destruction.’ It failed, because the explosion always produced an incomplete vacuum, by exhausting only four-fifths of the atmospheric air. To remedy this defect, he resorted in 1690 to a new application of the before well known qualities of steam, namely its expansion by heat, and its condensation by cold. The machine contrived on this occasion, not only contained some great characters of the steam engine of our days; but Papin set forth at large his own correct and

\* The paper referred to in this letter is preserved in English by the Royal Society. It was published in the ‘Acta Eruditorum’ of Leipsic, tom. 1688, p. 497.

confident views of the great utility of what he had accomplished. This account appeared in the *Acta Eruditorum*; and Dr. Ducoux has published a translation of it into French, with reasonable pride. The following extract is taken from that translation, (Eloge p. 48—52.)

‘It would be tedious,’ says M. Papin, ‘to enumerate the uses of this machine, in drawing water, and ore from the mines, in discharging cannon balls, in putting ships in movement against the wind, and many other uses. How greatly superior this steam power is to the power of rowers, is obvious. It relieves ships from the weight, and from the space they take up; it can always be commanded when they cannot; and it is cheaper. The instruments to be moved by this power must be, not the oars of the rowers, but wheels, or paddles, such as I remember to have seen in the Thames, attached to the vessel built for Prince Rupert, and which was faster than the royal sixteen oared boat.’ ‘The only real difficulty in the matter is the construction of perfectly smooth and equal cylinders, for which a manufactory ought to be set up. They will prove useful for several other purposes.’

It would require more space than we can spare to compare the earlier with the later machines analogous to Papin’s, in order to prove his originality, and to shew how his model, or his drawings and descriptions, contributed to the construction of the machines afterwards actually worked, such as Savory’s and Newcomen’s. Papin, himself, readily admitted Savory’s merit; and the first French writer, Belidor, who places Savory before Papin in regard to *making* a steam engine to raise water, expressly admits Papin’s superiority over all other inventors in regard to the application of steam power to shipping. It is on this point, especially, that the French now justly hold him up to admiration. Others succeeded better in constructing particular machines for particular purposes. *His exposition of principles facilitated this*: and he demonstrated the existence of a natural power, controllable by art, and calculated to supply motion at a moderate cost, in all the forms in which it can be useful to man. Dr. Lardner dwells with earnest approval on this part of Papin’s labours:—

‘To this philosopher,’ he says, ‘is due the discovery of one of the qualities of steam, to the proper management of which, is owing much of the efficacy of the modern steam engine . . . . . He adopted an expedient for the production of a vacuum, which forms a most important step in the progressive inventions of the steam engine, and which gives to Papin’s name a high place in the history of that machine. This method is explained in a work published by him in 1695; and his remarkable explanation is extracted from a paper published by him in 1690.’

'Let us pause,' says Dr. Lardner, after quoting Papin's words, 'to explain more fully this important discovery : ' and a full examination of Papin's machine then follows.

It remains to be explained how one who did so much and at so early an age, whose diligence never halted, and who was so *practical* a man, failed to accomplish the great objects, of which he clearly perceived, and loudly proclaimed, the feasibility and value.

The problem may be easily solved by a candid consideration of his social position during more than thirty-four years. It is not yet ascertained when he died. M. Arago had reason to think that he was living in 1710 ; and one of the Royal Society's manuscript letters under his hand, is dated 1712, whilst the correspondence of Leibnitz treats him as living at Marburg, in 1714. Further search will probably settle this point.

The two following letters from the Royal Society's MSS., contain indications equally painful as to Papin's small pecuniary resources, and curious as to his uncommon activity of mind. They were written in 1709 and 1712, of which years all details have hitherto been wanting in his biography. Further research will probably produce many such memorials of him. One letter of the same period is dated at London ; but it is certain from a letter of Leibnitz, that Papin was in Germany in 1714.

*Mr. Papin to Mr. Sloane, Secretary to the Royal Society.*

'May 16, 1709.

'MOST HONOURED SIR,—According to your orders, I send you the following proposals; and if I can get a speedy resolution, I hope in God the thing may be performed about Whit-Sunday.

'I do humbly offer to the Royal Society to make a new sort of furnace, that will be fit to save the greatest part of the fuel. I cannot yet say, precisely, how much. But it is certain it will be so considerable, that it can pay much more than the charges people will be at for it.

'Besides this, it will also have the property that we may heat it in a close room ; and burn any thing in it without any bad smells, or smoke ; and the fire will not corrupt the air in the room, because it will constantly receive new air from without. It will besides, have the property that it will constantly supply the room with new air as hot, and as pure, as it is in an open field in summer time, when the sunshines. So it is very like we may by this means, have in winter time very good fruit and flowers as well as in summer ; and cure all diseases proceeding from cold, or to the cure of which, cold weather may afford some hinderance.

'For the performance of this, I do humbly desire, that the Royal

Society may be pleased to let me construct it at Gresham College, or in some place where there is a chimney, because the outer air coming through the chimney from the top of the house, may be purer than if we got it from a lower place. Yet the fire will not at all go out through the chimney, but spout out into the room without any bad smell, or smoke.

'When the said furnace is brought to that perfection as to save the public part of the fuel, and to supply hot and pure air, the room will burn feathers without smell.

'I humbly desire that the Royal Society may give me ten pounds; and afterwards it will be easy to try what will be the success for respiration, vegetation, cookery, &c.

'I beseech you to let me know what will be the mind of the Royal Society about this; and I am with great respect, your most humble, and most obedient servant,

D. PAPIN.

'I send my directions with the papers.'

*To the Same.*

January 23, 1712.

'You ordered me in the last meeting to bring you an account of my papers not registered, because you intend to remedy that defect. So I have set them down here. The first is the relation of the experiment to shew the advantages of cylindrical teeth above ordinary ones. It was read the twenty-fifth of October, 1711. The second, is the third improvement of clocks. It was read the first of November, 1711. The third, is a paper containing the description, and the good effects of the new clocks, presented the sixth of December, 1711. The same day I brought the model of the new clock. The fourth paper, containing the description of a clock of Dr Hooke's invention, with an improvement for royal pendulum clocks, was read the twenty-seventh of December, 1711. The fifth paper, containing an answer to an objection of Squire Walker, and to a difficulty of Dr. Halley, was read the third of January, 1712. So there are at least five of my papers not mentioned in the register. Certainly, Sir, I am in a sad case, since even by doing good, I draw enemies upon me. Yet for all that I fear nothing, because I rely upon God Almighty.

D. PAPIN.

In another letter of the same period he urges the promises of liberal payment he had received from the Royal Society; and expresses his determination to devote himself to its service, 'being persuaded, that this was the same as to work for the public good.' But at the same time he suggests how much more bountifully scientific experiments are rewarded in Paris, where three professors, he says, had good salaries, and skilful workmen besides of all trades paid by the king to attend them. He boldly challenges a comparison of the works of those professors with his own, by which he hopes it will be found that 'he had done as much as could be expected from the most honest man with his little abilities and scarcity of money.'

Whatever may be said of this disclaimer of great abilities, Papin here spoke with unquestionable frankness and truth of his poverty; which constituted the main cause of his inability to carry out his fine mechanical inventions. But his case was far more to be deplored, than if he had been simply poor. He was poor, and an exile.

Both French and English writers have of late been much occupied in publishing historical romances, and grave histories, upon the various periods of the persecutions of the Huguenots; and something is wanted to supply a great defect in the general historians of that long period of cruelty and folly in France. But the most fertile imagination cannot furnish scenes half so touching as those to be found in the miseries to which the exiled victim of that hard and mistaken policy was exposed. The hopes of youth blighted;—the ties of home snapped asunder, and its resources lost;—the feeling of abandonment so hard to bear;—ill suited associations so difficult to escape from;—and unaccustomed employment, or none;—and worse, perhaps, than all the rest, the dissensions so common among even the sharers of the same calamities;—these are some of the trials of banished men. Papin partook of all of them without stint. Exile too, in depriving him of the pecuniary resources which his own country could furnish, would have reduced him to that extremity of ill, which Shakspeare has so sagaciously made its climax—the want of ‘*occupation*,’ but for the unconquerable vigour of his mind.

A passage in one of his letters of a late date, 1708-9, preserved by the Royal Society, proves his great need, as well as his happily earnest temperament.

‘I will not make a small model of the machine I wrote about, as you ask me to do,’ he says, ‘to try it upon a bird, or a plant: I regret to refuse; but I have several reasons for not gratifying the Royal Society in this respect. One will satisfy you. Many people would see this small model; and there is reason to fear that some body would contrive one large enough to hold a man. That would make much noise; and the honour and profit of the invention would be gained by the first who applied it to the use of man. The principle is very obvious; and already has that principle been examined by several writers, whose reasoning upon it is very specious. I shall do best then to wait patiently, until it may please Providence to find for me some means of executing this thing myself. Thus I shall be enabled to carry out several other designs, which will not only promote a more intimate knowledge of nature, but increase the conveniences of life.’

Papin was sixty-one years old when he penned these lines! And it was two years later that Leibnitz expressed his anxiety



to know what he was about, adding, with truth, that he was *no ordinary man*.

Dr. Lardner, who has done Papin much justice in other respects, falls into a strange error to account for his failure to dealise that of which he had so clear a perception—the means of inverting the power of steam,

*'Notwithstanding,'* says he, *'the discoveries of Papin respecting the agency of steam, he never received any marks of distinction in his own country. THE TRUTH IS, THE IMPORTANCE AND VALUE OF THESE INVESTIGATIONS WERE NOT APPARENT UNTIL LONG AFTERWARDS.'* (The Steam Engine, 7 Ed. p. 37.)

It is not literally true that he received no marks of distinction in France. He was at a late period of his life a corresponding member of the Academy of Science—a slight honour in common cases, but important in reference to him, a zealous Protestant. Many years later, the Huguenots were rigidly excluded from a branch of the Academy at Marseilles. But the latter part of these remarks involves a fallacy. Due honours were refused in France to Papin's services because of his religion, not because his peculiar branch of science was undervalued.

It is certain that if he had become a Roman Catholic, he would have been caressed in France as his colleague Lemery, and some others were. So that the injury which his country sustained from the loss of his talents, which was the greater as he was the ablest of the very few who were distinguished in the same way, must be attributed to the persecution to which the Protestants were exposed, not to a want of zeal in France for the pursuits of science. Science, indeed, felt the blow, but its weight fell chiefly on commerce; and to such a man as Papin it was ruin to be deprived of the opportunities which a flourishing commerce in his own country would have afforded him on his return, with the accomplishments and celebrity gained by his residence in England, Italy, and Germany. When the wretched policy of Louis XIV. stripped the rich valley of the Loire, and the mountains of the south, and every sea-port, and every manufacturing town from the ocean to the Mediterranean, of the flower of its industry; there was inflicted upon the mechanical science of France an extent of ruin from which it is suffering to this day. Tours alone, within forty miles of Papin's home, Blois, lost three thousand wealthy *families* of Protestants engaged in trades which employed sixteen thousand operatives, all of whom were dispersed. In fifteen years after, 1685, the population of the place fell from eighty thousand to thirty-three thousand. One

fact particularly illustrates its decline and its misery. The consumption of cattle used to be ninety a-week ; it was reduced to twenty-six. The cruelty of the persecution was, indeed, surpassed by its folly. The government, blinded by its irrational jealousy of the free principles of the Protestants, permitted the malice of their commercial and professional rivals, quite as much as the bigotry of the ecclesiastics, to lead it astray ; and drove out of France six hundred thousand of its most industrious, most wealthy, and most intelligent inhabitants. This persecuted body had even furnished the most honest portion of the public functionaries, when to plunder the public treasury was the general rule.

If a wiser policy had prevailed, France would have kept the capital which finds employment for mechanical intelligence ; and Denis Papin would have returned to contribute nobly towards placing his country on a level with England and Germany, instead of being compelled reluctantly to assist both to surpass her.

The success of some late researches into the scientific memoirs of Denis Papin, justify the expectation that further inquiry may reveal much more of his private history and struggles. The friend of Huygens and Boyle, the protégé of Colbert, and the correspondent of Leibnitz, must have left many a valuable trace of his extraordinary activity. He resisted the strong inducements to abandon his faith which prevailed over Lemery, Saurin, and his own distinguished relative, Isaac Papin. His controversies with Halley and others were frequent, but friendly. He readily did justice to rival talents, as in the case of our Savory, the first patentee of a steam-engine. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society more than thirty years. Under these circumstances its unsearched stores of correspondence must contain traces of him to illustrate his times as well as his personal character.

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ART. V. *The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church.* By John Lingard, D.D. 2 vols. London: Dolman.

WE owe an apology to our readers, as well as to the author and publisher, for leaving these volumes so long unnoticed. But the work is not one of those which depend for circulation on ephemeral excitement, and sink, when that subsides, into oblivion. It is no hasty production destined to perish as rapidly as it grew, and to lie forgotten among the annuals of literature. It is the fruit of many years' patient labour, guided by sound judgment and discriminating taste, inferior, no doubt, to German works of a similar kind in minuteness of research and microscopic accuracy of detail, but far exceeding them in simplicity of arrangement and in rhetorical skill. The reader is not bewildered with the complexity of divisions and subdivisions, which exhaust both Arabic and Roman numerals in marking distinctions without a difference,—wheels within wheels,—parentheses within parentheses,—a painful precision, leading to nothing but inextricable confusion. There is about the author an English directness of purpose—a Saxon simplicity of speech,—a philosophic comprehension, combined with severe logic and a graceful style, which, added to the other qualities we have mentioned, render these volumes one of the most valuable contributions to ecclesiastical history which modern times have produced.

We do not say that Dr. Lingard should not be read with caution, or that he should be followed with implicit confidence; for this is a privilege which ought to be conceded to no author whatever. He is a catholic, and a zealous advocate of papal supremacy. When such a man writes the Church History of England during the ages intervening between the two Gregories,—the first, who sent missionaries to convert the Saxons, and the seventh, who laboured to place the chair of St. Peter above all earthly thrones, by means of royal quarrels and Norman conquests,—he can hardly avoid merging the historian in the apologist. Almost unawares, the chronicler becomes a special pleader. He may anxiously watch the compass of truth, and honestly endeavour to steer by it. But he sails on a current whose force he has not calculated, and is unconsciously drifted out of his latitude. From such dangerous influences, few writers, if any, are wholly exempt; and if reason lead them to conclusions which confront the dogmas, written or unwritten, of their respective churches, saying—'If we are true, you are false'—how few have the confessor's courage to stand by truth against authority!

We think, however, that the catholic reader of these volumes will find in them many things to shake his faith in the immutability of his church,—while to the protestant they will furnish abundant materials for strengthening his attachment to the principles of the Reformation. Sentimental Anglo-Catholics, and romantic Young Englanders,—to whose imaginations the Middle Ages present nothing but a gorgeous panorama of castles and cathedrals, of baronial festivity and priestly processions,—of monastic hospitality relieving the gloom of ascetic piety, and of crusading chivalry invading with barbaric pomp and power the birth-place of civilization and Christianity,—they may find in our author's pages much to feed their morbid fancies, and to strengthen the spell of their delusions. Yet he will give them glimpses in the back-ground, of nations on the soil of England, invaded, plundered, scattered, slaughtered;—of churches subjugated and priesthoods desecrated, in the name of the apostles;—of disinherited nobles, ground down, with the Pope's sanction and benediction, into villains and vagabonds;—of fruitful fields and populous parishes converted into hunting forests;—of holy monks addicted to midnight revels, and gaily-dressed nuns who were facetiously called 'virgins,'—of prelatic tyranny and baronial brutality unmercifully crushing a populace sunk in ignorance, superstition, and poverty.

Conquest is one of the most prolific curses that can come upon mankind. Provincialism is fraught with the seeds of moral and mental degradation. The ancient Britons were not, it is true, a highly-civilized race, though, in this respect, their attainments have been greatly underrated. But how nobly did they fight for their liberties! How bravely did they defend their national independence, as if conscious of the calamities its loss would entail! With difficulty could these rude islanders be conquered by the greatest general of the age, commanding the finest army in the world, and with no less difficulty could the conquest be secured against the insurgent spirit of nationality. But gradually and surely the manhood of the Britons decayed under foreign sway. All aspiring talent emigrated to the seat of empire, to the fountain head of power, wealth, and honour, and became Romanized. During the whole three centuries of imperial rule, Britain did not produce a single author worth naming in poetry or prose, with all the advantages of Roman schools and models, and all the elevating and inspiring themes which Christianity had revealed. And such was the feeling of dependence, the paralyzing self-distrust which foreign government had generated, that when the yoke was removed from their necks, they felt unable to stand upright. They had no confidence in their own resources. Instead of

repelling their Caledonian invaders, as their fathers had resisted the Roman arms, they were dismayed at the bare rumour of their approach, and dreading destruction from the enemy on the one hand, and from the sea on the other, they invoked their old masters to protect them still. There was now no patriotic Queen to rally their dispirited hosts, and shout defiance at the foe; no valiant chiefs to lead the van, and form the battle line in defence of their altars and their homes. Servility had eaten into the heart of the nation. Enthusiastic love of country, and the wild spirit of freedom had given place to a feeling of beggarly dependence. In this condition they called in the Saxon, a dangerous ally, who proved a more terrible master than the Roman.

Dr. Lingard begins his work with a brief notice of the conversion of England when under the dominion of the Romans. Christianity seems to have been generally received by the inhabitants of this province; but though held by the Britons in a state of greater doctrinal and ceremonial purity than belonged to the Anglo-Saxon church, it was far from exerting its appropriate influence on the lives of its professors. If we may trust the account of Gildas—whose declamatory style and evident exaggeration, greatly lessen the value of his authority, though the best which the times afforded—we shall form a very low idea, indeed, of the virtues of the British clergy. There is no doubt, however, that his censures were spiced by no small measure of ascetic bigotry. He says they ‘refused the domestic services of their mothers or sisters, and accepted those of other women, whom they seduced; and yet while they thus lived in sin, had the presumption to aspire to the higher orders of the church: others, to procure ecclesiastical dignities, did not hesitate to pollute themselves with the crime of simony, and to purchase churches from the tyrants who oppressed the country; and they even availed themselves of foreign power to take forcible possession of the altars, (i. 17). This corrupt state of things was brought about chiefly by the invasions of the Saxons, and the confusion into which society was thrown by them. Of the origin of this remarkable race of men who have become so mighty and predominant in the history of the world, Dr. Lingard gives the following account:—

‘At the beginning of the second century, we descry a small and contemptible tribe, inhabiting, under the name of Saxons, the neck of the Cimbrian Chersonesus; in the fourth they had swelled by the accession of other tribes of kindred origin, into a populous and mighty nation, whose territories progressively reached the Elbe, the Weser, the Ems, and the Rhine. Their favourite occupation was piracy. A body of Franks, stationed by the Emperor Probus on the

coast of Pontus, had seized a Roman fleet, and steering unmolested through the Bosphorus and Mediterranean Sea, had reached in safety the shores of Batavia. Their successful temerity awakened the adventurous spirit of the neighbouring nations; who, though they were ignorant of the art of navigation, though they possessed neither the patience nor the skill to imitate the construction of the Roman vessels, boldly determined to try their fortune on the ocean. In light and narrow skiffs the intrepid barbarians committed themselves to the mercy of the winds and waves; the commerce of the provincials rewarded their audacity, and increased their numbers; and, in the midst of every storm the Saxon squadrons issued from their ports, swept the neighbouring seas, and pillaged with impunity the unsuspecting coasts of Gaul and Britain. When the Emperor Honorius recalled the legions from the defence of the island, the natives who had often experienced the desperate valour of the Saxons, solicited their assistance against their ancient enemies, the Picts, or independent Britons beyond the wall, and the Scots, the most numerous and powerful of the tribes inhabiting Ireland. Hengist, with a small band of mercenaries, accepted the proposal; but the perfidious barbarian turned his sword against his employers, and the possession of Kent was the fruit of his treachery. The fortune of Hengist stimulated the ambition of other chieftains, who successively sought the shores of Britain; and the natives, though they defended themselves with a courage worthy of a more prosperous issue, were gradually compelled to retire to the mountains which cover the western coast.'—vol. i. p. 17.

By this memorable revolution, the fairer portion of the island became unequally divided between eight independent chieftains. The Saxons, whose natural ferocity had been sharpened by the stubborn resistance they had encountered, did not use their victory with moderation, as other barbarous tribes had done, when they invaded various provinces of the Roman empire. They spared no life. Submission could seldom disarm their fury;—churches, towns, villages, all the remains of Roman civilisation were consigned to the flames; to the worship of the true God succeeded the impure rites of Woden; and the ignorance and barbarism of the north of Germany were transplanted to the most flourishing provinces of Britain. The natives were all slain or driven from the soil, and of course there could not be realised the moral victory of the vanquished over the conquerors, which elsewhere converted invasion into a blessing. The surviving Britons had such an utter abhorrence of the Saxons, in consequence of their cruelty, that they made no effort to preach the gospel to them. They were destined to receive Christianity from another quarter; and this fact exerted an important influence on their subsequent history.

The story of the English youths exposed for sale in the  
VOL. XXII.

Roman market, of their remarkable beauty, which attracted the attention and awakened the pity of Gregory the Great, and his resolution to seek for the conversion of so interesting a people, is well known. A missionary band of monks was in due time sent to England under the guidance of Augustine. Of the Saxon kingdoms Kent was the most ancient, and was found best disposed to receive the gospel. Its rulers had cultivated the arts of peace, and the example of their neighbours, the Franks, had taught them to regard Christianity with less dislike. Bertha, daughter of the king of Paris, already a Christian, was married to the sovereign, and she zealously favoured the designs of the missionaries. In fact, the people were so predisposed to receive the new religion, that they had applied for instruction to the clergy of the Franks, who regarded the solicitation with apathy and neglect. When, therefore, Augustine reached the Isle of Thanet, he was favourably received by Ethelbert, the king. Near the walls of Canterbury, the queen had discovered the ruins of an ancient church, built by the Britons in honour of St. Martin. It had been fitted up before the arrival of the missionaries, to whom it was now given. Insensibly, idolatrous prejudice gave way; the priests of Woden began to lament the solitude of their altars; and matters went on so prosperously, that at the feast of Christmas ten thousand Saxons followed their prince to the waters of baptism.

From Kent the profession of Christianity spread gradually into the neighbouring provinces. The conversion, (such as it was) of the east Saxons, the south Saxons, the Mercians, &c., followed soon after. Dr. Lingard has remarked the contrast between the apostolic missionaries and those of the middle ages. Christianity prevailed for three centuries among the people, before the emperors were converted. Its preachers endured with Christian fortitude and heroic courage, the violence and oppression of the civil power. Their object was to teach *the people*, and bring to bear on them a purely moral and spiritual influence. They were resolved to conquer heathenism with no sword but that of the church.

'But,' says Dr. Lingard, 'the first object of the missionaries, Roman, Gallic, or Scottish, was universally the same, to obtain the patronage of the prince. His favour ensured, his opposition prevented, their success. . . . We shall seek in vain for a missionary who ventured to preach in opposition to the civil power. The despondency of the bishops of Kent and Essex, after the death of their patrons, proves how much they depended for success on the smile or frown of the monarch. . . . They neither felt nor provoked the scourge of persecution. But,' adds the historian, 'the fortunate

issue of their labours is sufficient to disprove the opinion of those who imagine that no church can be firmly established, the foundations of which are not cemented with the blood of martyrs.'—*Ib.*, p. 42.

Yet, we may ask, did these labourers really build on the sure foundation? did they build on it gold, silver, precious stones, or only wood, hay, and stubble? Where was the advantage of baptising by the thousand, persons who were still grossly ignorant, and who merely followed their chief to the water, as they would have followed him to a battle? The facility with which these multitudes relapsed into idolatry, showed how little the missionaries had done to evangelize them. Their dependence, too, on the smile or frown of the sovereign, their residing at his court, advising him in his political concerns, accepting civil offices from him, placing churches under his patronage, and intimately combining the sacred and secular in the government of the country, and the constitution of society, laid the foundation of that fatal connexion between church and state, whose evil effects our author himself laments. In order to notice this, we pass over the conferences and controversies of Augustine and his brethren with the British bishops, the efforts of the former to extend his episcopal authority not only over the independent Britons, but even over the bishops of Gaul, until the pope rebuked his ambition, and restrained it within the bounds of this island :—

'On the one hand the rank, wealth, and importance, which accompanied the episcopal office rendered it an object of pursuit to many who spared not cost, nor promises, nor services, to gratify their ambition; on the other, the kings had learned to look upon bishoprics as benefices, of which the disposal belonged to themselves, because such benefices had been founded by their predecessors. Under this pretence they claimed a right to sway the election, urging in justification of their conduct that offices so important to them should not be suffered to devolve on their enemies.'

The following words should be weighed by those who lay so much stress on what they call the apostolical succession :—

'In historical records of the ninth and tenth centuries, we meet with frequent mention of the succession to bishoprics: but *the vague and doubtful language of the authorities* throws but little light on the subject, sometimes describing the appointment as made by the unfettered choice of the clergy and the people, and sometimes as proceeding solely from the absolute will of the sovereign,'—*Ib.*, p. 92, &c.

What were the principles or considerations which guided



these absolute sovereigns in filling the apostolic chairs? Most assuredly not a regard to spiritual fitness in the candidates, or to the good of the church, or the glory of Christ. On this subject we cannot have a more unexceptionable witness than our author. According to him, the mitre, far from being placed on the fittest head, 'frequently became the reward of intrigue and influence. The new bishops were frequently selected from the twelve chaplains of the king, or the clerical favourites of some powerful earl, and the nomination of the monarch was often made to fall on the most ambitious, or the least worthy of the applicants.'

'The great evil springing out of the influence and consideration which the state attached to the episcopal office was, that it tended to engender and nourish a worldly and dissipated spirit, especially in the possessors of the more opulent sees. The private clerk or monk was suddenly drawn from the retirement of the cloister, and transformed into a secular lord! He became at once the possessor of extensive estates; his residence was crowded with dependents; wherever he moved he was accompanied by a numerous escort. Thus he found himself placed in a situation most foreign to his previous habits—the management of his property, the necessity of defending the rights of his church against adverse claims, the applications to him for patronage and aid, and the controversies among the principal families in his diocese, involved him in a vortex of secular cares and disputes; nor ought we to be surprised if, in such circumstances, some of these prelates, acting in their twofold capacity as temporal and spiritual lords, adopted the manners of ealdermen and thanes, seeking to add to their possessions, multiplying by the 'loen or loan' of lands, the number of their military retainers, and employing for the protection of themselves and their friends, secular as well as spiritual arms. . . . We meet also with numerous instances of the presence of bishops in military expeditions, whether they led their own retainers to the field, or accompanied the quota of armed men furnished from their respective dioceses.'—*Ib.*, pp. 103—5.

In the second chapter of his work, Dr. Lingard treats of the succession and duties of the bishops, - who were secular barons and judges, as well as ecclesiastical functionaries,—and as a matter of course, the temporal greatly predominated over the spiritual in their bearing and conduct. Some of them even led their retainers to the field of battle armed and mounted on war-steeds; but our author charitably presumes that they did not stain their apostolic hands with human blood.

The third chapter is devoted to the subject of church government. There was a good deal of nationality in the Anglo-Saxon church. Notwithstanding the influence of foreign missionaries and foreign prelates, they never wholly lost their ancient spirit

of independence, their noble instinct of self-government. This instinct dominated over all the Roman theories and sophistries, by which papal agents sought to subjugate the national mind. They had diocesan, provincial, and national councils, where the civil power always opposed a steady resistance to ecclesiastical encroachment. It is true the supremacy of the pope was acknowledged; and his mandates were obeyed whenever they did not seem to clash with the royal power or the national interests. It is vain for the advocates of apostolical succession apart from the papal chair, to appeal to the history of the Anglo-Saxon church, as supplying them with a pure and independent channel for the transmission of the mystical influence necessary to make them true ministers of Christ. Dr. Lingard has deprived them of this resource. They must either abandon their priestly theory, or acknowledge the maternity of Rome. But with all his learning and ingenuity, our author has failed to prove that the British and Irish bishops acknowledged the supremacy and jurisdiction of the Pope. He has himself supplied satisfactory evidence that the Britons owned no foreign authority in their churches.

In his fourth chapter Dr. Lingard gives us much information about the condition of the clergy in those times. The fifth is occupied with monastic institutions; the sixth with the donations to the churches; and the seventh with the forms of religious worship. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, contain a detailed account of the religious practices of the Anglo-Saxons, and abound with very interesting information for the general reader, as well as for those who give special attention to the questions at issue between Protestants and Catholics. Some of the latter will no doubt be surprised to see that the variations of Catholicism have been quite as great as those of Protestantism. The literature of the Saxons receives from our author ample consideration, and he gives a melancholy account of its decline, and of the general decay of piety during the time of the Danish invasions. It is singular that in this respect the effect of these invasions was exactly the same on the Saxons of England as on the Celts of Ireland. Their schools were scattered, their libraries were burned, their monasteries and churches were ruined. Society was disorganised, the laws were unexecuted, religion was abandoned even by the clergy, crime and immorality abounded, life and property were insecure, and there was scarcely such a thing as faith in the land. Alfred, the patriot king, who sighed over the desolations of his country, and nobly struggled to repair them, could find very few of the clergy who understood the service they read to the people.

In chapter thirteen we have a flattering account of the reforms

of St. Dunstan, and his vain attempts to re-establish the monastic system upon its old foundation. Something was done towards this by the importation of foreigners. But it was quite manifest that monks, as a body, could never again be popular or powerful in England, and that the monastic system was alien to the national temperament and character.

'The laity had resumed the ferocious manners of their pagan forefathers. The clergy had grown indolent, dissolute, and illiterate. The monastic order had been apparently annihilated. . . . Habits of predatory warfare had introduced a spirit of insubordination; and impunity had strengthened the impulse of the passions. The slow and tranquil profits of industry were despised; the roads were infested with robbers; and the numbers and audacity of the banditti compelled the more peaceful inhabitants to associate for the protection of their lives, families, and property. The dictates of natural equity, the laws of the gospel, and the regulations of ecclesiastical discipline were despised. The indissoluble knot of marriage was repeatedly dissevered on the slightest suggestion of passion or disgust; and in defiance of Divine and human prohibitions, the nuptial union was frequently polluted and degraded by the unnatural crime of incest. To suppress these licentious habits was the first care of Alfred.

'If the learning of their predecessors cast a feeble ray of light on the close of the eighth century, it was extinguished by the devastations of the Northmen, and succeeded by a night of profound ignorance. This lamentable change is amply and feelingly described by Alfred himself. . . . 'Such was the general ignorance among the English, that there were very few on this side the Humber (and I dare say not many on the other) who could understand the service in English, or translate a Latin epistle into their own language. So few were they, that I do not recollect a single individual to the south of the Thames who was able to do it when I ascended the throne.'—vol. ii. pp. 241, 245.

The last chapter gives a glowing sketch of the foreign missions of the Anglo-Saxons, in which, in their best days, they were eminently successful among the Germanic nations. They were not more enterprising, more learned, more pious, or more zealous, than the Irish, who were then among the most distinguished teachers of the nations. But if they had less genius, they had more good sense; they had more talent for organization and government, and they had more perseverance and pertinacity in carrying forward their labours to a permanent result. Hence their greater and more abiding success. There was in this respect, somewhat the same sort of difference between the Irish and the Saxon missionaries as between Whitfield and Wesley. The former had a more fervid mind, and a mightier

eloquence; the latter a more comprehensive and a steadier policy. The one class were ideal and transcendental, given to inactive meditation, or satisfied with present effects; at least they were content with founding a monastery or a school, perplexing an opponent, or astonishing a college with the ingenuity of their argument or the extent of their erudition. But the other had a turn for the practical and the expedient, and, instead of building castles in the air, and dreaming of what might be, set themselves to work diligently and prudently, resolved to make the most of mankind in their present circumstances, to do their best then and there.

To each of the two volumes there is an appendix of learned notes, interesting to the lover of ecclesiastical antiquities, and to those who appeal to them to establish the pretensions of their churches, as well as to those who wish to show that these pretensions are unfounded.

Dr. Lingard maintains a judicious silence on the Anglo-Norman conquest. It was certainly very hard to defend Rome on that subject; and so he thought it better to say nothing about the utter ruin of the church whose history he writes, or that of the nobles and people of a great nation; all effected with the sanction of him whom they were taught to regard as their most holy father, and as the vicar of Jesus Christ.

Like all well written history, this work is full of suggestive matter, furnishing to the thoughtful many topics, which might be made the themes of instructive essays. On one point it awakens reflections which are very painful. We refer to the connexion between conquest and Christianity. The great adversary of souls has thrown many obstacles in the way of the gospel, and connected its profession with many associations of weakness and shame. But when he emblazoned the cross on the blood-stained banners of invading and plundering armies, his obstructive policy achieved its masterpiece. Christianity is the religion of love; it was made to appear to heathen men the religion of cruelty. It is a religion which enunciates the great principles of social duty, in the sublimest, simplest, briefest, and most convincing language. When associated with conquest, it seems to resolve all right into the will of savage power, and all law into the crushing yoke of remorseless tyranny.

It cannot, alas, be said that this is true only of the dark ages, when Christianity laboured under a dead weight of superstition, and civilisation was overwhelmed by a flood of barbarism. Even in modern times the laws of the church, when first promulgated, have been enforced at the point of the sword.

Neither have professing Christians limited their invasions to idolatrous and uncivilized nations, or even to people of another

church. Catholics have plundered and slaughtered catholics; they have sacked their own monasteries, burned their own churches, and demolished their own altars. Nuns have become the prey of a catholic soldiery, drunk with triumph, and their monkish confessors, who came with them to share the spoil, have presided over the sacrilegious and brutal orgies. All these things, and worse, were perpetrated by the Normans against the Saxons, under the consecrated banner of the pope, which greatly contributed to the success of William's expedition.

The Saxons were thoroughly subdued, their lands confiscated, and their persons—where they survived the sword—reduced to the vilest bondage. The clergy, with the monks and nuns, were also cast out, and their places filled by foreigners, speaking French, and regarding everything native with supreme contempt.

The relations of the church to the state were somewhat modified by this great revolution, which not only changed the dynasty, but imported a totally new aristocracy and hierarchy, thrusting persons who had started up from the lowest condition of society into many of the highest offices, ecclesiastical and civil. Of course the priesthood became less national, and more Romanized; but there was no essential change wrought in the doctrines which had been held by the Anglo-Saxon church, although many practices were abandoned, and many ceremonies modified, to accord with the more complete development of the catholic system under Hildebrand and his successors. Many able scholars were induced to come over from the continent to occupy stations of influence in the church; learning was revived; and in some short time after the conquest, the Anglo-Norman divines were famous throughout Europe for their theological attainments. But fame at that time did not imply a very high degree of merit. This glory, too, was but ephemeral. Wealth and power soon wrought their usual effects on the zeal of the Norman clergy.

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ART. VI.—*Memoir of William Yates, D.D., of Calcutta, with an abridgment of his life of W. H. Pearce.* By James Hoby, D.D. 8vo. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1847.

FAILURE, as a trial of principle, and an exhibition of character, often presents a finer theme of contemplation than success. Nothing can be more worthy of thought on this account than the devoted and persevering exertions of the Moravian missionaries among the North American Indians, when their huts and villages, one after another, were destroyed by fire, and their people scattered abroad amidst perils and tempests; or of the agents of the same society identifying themselves with the lowest tribes, and living in the snow huts of the inhabitants of Greenland and Labrador, among the very ices of the Poles, upon the precarious dependence of a supply from Europe, by a single ship once in a year; and that for seventeen years together, with little or no comparative success. Of a similar order was the indomitable zeal of a Crook, whom principle and conscience kept at his apparently useless efforts in the Marquesas of the Pacific, for thirteen years, alone, unfriended, and self-devoted. And similar, too, was the undaunted zeal of Carey, during the earlier period of his service in India, even after encountering the primary difficulties of this new, and strange, and perilous pilgrimage of Christian philanthropy.

Next to this is the moral grandeur that shines forth in the man who renounces his country, his home, and himself, for the prospect of toil, suffering, and death, in a distant region, solely to benefit strangers and barbarians, and to benefit them by labours of which he may perceive little reason to anticipate a present result, or to secure a present applause or reward. There he fixes his residence in some island of the sea, or some region of ignorance, idolatry, and isolation from the civilized, to say nothing of the religious, world—to become the object of the curiosity of the natives—it may be the contempt,—to endure their insults, bear with their impieties and vices, face their prejudices, and calmly, and for years, study their language, in order to make it the medium of conveying the truth of God to them and their posterity; spending health, strength, and life, for no mercenary, no personal end, living by faith, labouring for Christ's sake, and dying in his work.

It is not assumed that every one who is distinguished by the name of missionary is of this description. We are fully aware of the diversities of temperament, of character, and of mental energy, that obtain amongst the best of human kind;

nor are we insensible to the deceptiveness of the heart, giving birth to impure motives and hypocritical pretensions. Nor do we dispute the fact that there have been individuals eminently gifted, and greatly applauded, who have been influenced to endure privations, and undergo extraordinary exertions by the secret love of fame. But with all these allowances, which apply only to exceptions, the palpable reality is that Christianity has produced the highest order of excellence of which our nature is susceptible, in the way of a self-denying benevolence. The finest specimens of ambitious daring on the one hand, and philosophical endurance on the other, fall infinitely short of the moral achievements in question, both in purity of motive and intensity of action. A new element is, in fact, introduced into such minds, with which there is nothing in nature to compete; derived from heaven, and working out the most exalted character of transformed humanity.

In sending out their agents to the various parts of the earth, the missionary societies have been under the guidance, as their agents have been under the peculiar guardianship of Providence. So at least we believe, and have, as we think, reason to do so from incontestible evidence. It would be alike unchristian and unphilosophical, to maintain that the numerous adaptations of men to the spheres of their respective labours, result from a lucky chance, or a succession of accidents. It would be monstrous to suppose that men of bold and enterprising character *happened*, in so many instances, to be sent just where they were required, to accomplish peculiar services; and that another set of men, from time to time, *happened* to be appointed to do, in another region, precisely that which the necessities of the case demanded; and that those who at home were concerned in the employment of them abroad, *happened* to accommodate their plans, and to bid their agents to perform what neither the one nor the other could anticipate, as peculiarly and solely required, amidst the shifting states of society, the unknown proceedings of governments, and the uncontrollable events which rise upon the theatre of the world. One could surely as soon believe that the natural creation were without a Creator, as that the moral universe were without a Providence.

For many years the Baptist Missionary Society was remarkably distinguished, but with characteristic differences, both in the east and in the west. The former exhibited a contest with the absurdities of Hindooism, the prejudices of caste, and the difficulties of oriental language; the latter with the deep abominations of slavery, and the raging passions of its abettors, more terrible than the furies of Orestes. In the former, there was a long succession of quiet victories; in the

latter, the splendid achievements of a sudden and glorious triumph. In the one case heathenism turned pale; in the other, slavery fell like lightning from heaven.

We are confident that we do not mistake in imputing the downfall of slavery mainly to the power of Christianity. These antagonistic principles were brought into obvious and terrible conflict by the events that occurred in Jamaica; and what every friend of religion perceived from the first, enlightened men in general, of whatever creed, have acknowledged since—that the mighty energies, both in doing and suffering, exerted by the agents of Christian societies, broke the chains of enthralled humanity, and gave liberty to the captive. The people of this country, and more especially the religious public, were aroused by the sad tales and fervent appeals of the missionaries, themselves confessors, and all but martyrs; and demanded of a reluctant government, that exercise of authority which restored man to his rights, and Christianity to its freedom.

It is not, however, to the west, but to the east, that our attention is now particularly turned; and especially to that great work for which missionary operations have been most distinguished there. To the millions of India the *Word of God* has been given. Among the most interesting events in the recent history of religion, must be reckoned the translation of the scriptures into the Asiatic tongues. It is scarcely an exaggeration to call it the modern Pentecost of the world. There was surely the real, if not the visible demonstration of that Holy Spirit, whose influences were figured in the cloven tongues that sat upon each of the primitive propagators of the gospel, and whose divine power and glory filled the place of their assembly. In both cases God was evidently with his servants—miraculously, and by a sudden impartation of power in the first century—graciously, and by the slow development of intellectual energies and moral adaptations in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Were we called on to furnish a narrative of the whole proceeding, we should have to tell a story which would wear the semblance of romance. We should have to refer to a name unknown at first, but illustrious at last. We should be required to speak of meanness of rank in conjunction with majesty of character; of multiplying difficulties vanquished by patient perseverance, deep rooted principle, and consecrated capacity; of the love of God, and the love of souls, triumphing over the love of ease, of country, and of fame; of unpatronised insignificance becoming great beyond patronage in the simplicity of its aims and the success of its endeavours; of a self-taught genius becoming nobler than genius itself; the finest form of the human mind, by its condescension to the



lowliest labours, and most severe privations, exhausting life amidst scorn, misunderstood and despised, for the spiritual and eternal good of others; till scorn was compelled into applause, and contempt into congratulation: of the magnificent idea, every year pushing forth into realisation, of imparting the knowledge of God's truth to unnumbered millions of the human race, through the medium of their yet unknown and unwritten speech, and by one who had for the first time to grope his way through a vast wilderness of words and languages, more intricate than the thickets of the Sunderbunds, and to a timid and ordinary student of forms and lexicons, more terrible than the tigers that infest them:—in a word, we should speak of the shoemaker of Northamptonshire, William Carey, who rose by his own moral and intellectual strength, without—mark it, ye ambitious!—the *wish* to be great, to be the originator of one of the most remarkable of missions, the professor of the most difficult of oriental languages, and, what is more than all, the missionary preacher, and translator of the Word of God for myriads of heathens.

His gifted successor, however, now more especially claims our attention, as he forms the principal subject of the volume before us. There were some points of remarkable similarity about them. On these we shall not touch; but we may, without presumption, say both were providentially fitted for the precise work to which they were respectively devoted, and which, though existing in separate and successive parts, constituted one important whole. When a great thing has been done, we naturally feel an interest in him who has done it; and even though a life of consecrated piety and benevolence, be destitute of what may be called incident and adventure, it claims to be gratefully recorded, and had in everlasting remembrance.

The parentage of William Yates was humble. He was born Dec. 15, 1792, and trained to his father's occupation, which was that of a shoemaker. For a short time, only, he attended the high school in his native town of Loughborough, but displayed in his early days no particular talents. It often happens in the progress of the human mind that any remarkable faculty is of slow development, as though it required some corresponding physical preparation and strength to give it play. His religion, however, was of early growth. At fourteen years of age he became a member of the General Baptist Church, and was soon remarked for the fervour of his devotions, and the excellence of his services in connexion with village labours. Having manifested a thirst for knowledge, he was ably conducted into the paths of classical literature by the Rev. Mr. Shaw; but the chief object of his desire was the preaching of the gospel. Still he adhered

with great tenacity of purpose to the acquisition of languages, and if the expression be applicable in any case, it was, perhaps, justly descriptive of him, that he was born a linguist. At length his thoughts being decidedly turned to the Christian ministry, after due consultation with persons qualified to judge of his mental and moral pretensions, particularly the late Robert Hall, he was placed in the Baptist College at Bristol. While there the missionary spirit was kindled in his bosom, and he applied to Mr. Hall, who withheld not his paternal counsels and his prompt assistance. A letter from that eminent man written at this time is so characteristic, that our readers will thank us for its insertion.

Leicester, Oct. 9th, 1813.

Dear Sir,—I should sooner have replied to your letter, but was previously desirous of consulting with Mr. Fuller, and some other friends respecting it, whom I expected shortly to see at Northampton; whether I have acted rightly in making known to them your wishes at this stage of the business, I know not, but I did it with the best intention. Conceiving from your letter that your mind was pretty fully made up with respect to the object you propose, if you meet with suitable encouragement, and that it was desirable you should go early, as, if I am not mistaken it is your wish to do, I thought the step I took would expedite the business. If you continue in the same mind, I would advise you to write to Mr. Fuller, stating your views and feelings, and from him I am persuaded you will receive the most judicious advice. From what you have stated, as well as from what I know of you from other quarters, I have no doubt your qualifications are of a nature peculiarly to fit you for the work of a missionary; and that in purposing to devote yourself to that work, you are following the leadings of Providence. The talent of acquiring language with facility, is of the first importance in a missionary to the East; and I cannot but hope that God, in endowing you with that talent in so considerable a degree, is preparing you to be a worthy successor of Drs. Carey and Marshman. I consider it another extraordinary instance of the superintendence of Providence over the Baptist Mission, that it has been enabled to acquire, contrary to all human expectation, a literary character, which has been of essential service in softening opposition, and conciliating the esteem of those in power. It is extremely desirable it should still preserve that character; and I may say, without suspicion of flattery, no person can be thought of as a missionary, who is more likely to contribute to this end than yourself. You will not suppose, however, that I mean to insinuate that a literary character is the principal requisite for the undertaking you meditate. Far from it. A soul imbued with the spirit of the gospel, a heart impressed with love to the Redeemer, and love to souls, is of incomparably higher consequence; these, I believe, from all I have heard of you, you possess: and with these, the talent of acquiring knowledge in general, and language in particular, may be of important service. You will doubtless spread the whole matter before the Lord,

and seek illumination and wisdom from the fountain of wisdom. For my own part, I sincerely rejoice that the Lord has put such a desire into your heart. And I cannot but hope, it is a preparative for great usefulness in that most important scene of labour, that is connected with the promulgation of Christianity in a foreign land. It will be proper for you when your resolution is final, to communicate it to your venerable father. That the Lord may direct and bless you in all your ways, is the earnest prayer of yours affectionately,

ROBERT HALL.

Accepted as a missionary student, he resumed his studies at Bristol in 1814. He proposed to engage for fourteen years, but the secretary preferred giving him a written assurance that he should be free to return at any time, without specifying a given period; and we think he acted wisely in allowing this unfettered freedom. Binding missionaries to their service against their will, or against their prospects of usefulness, is little likely to accomplish the object in view. It is not to the term of service so much as to the qualifications of the agent, that missionary societies should look, and whether for a time, or for life, is a question which it seems to us ought to be determined by the feeling and experience of those engaged in the work, in connexion with circumstances abroad and counsels at home.

The designation of Mr. Yates as a missionary took place at Leicester, August 31, 1814, on which occasion Dr. Ryland, Mr. Hall, and Mr. Fuller took part in the service. He arrived at Calcutta on the 16th of April, 1815, and afterwards proceeded to Serampore, where he persevered in those studies to which he had devoted himself during the entire period of his consecration to the work.

Dr. Carey soon became extremely interested in him. Under his direction he pursued Oriental languages, became associated with the labours of the father of the mission, and was regarded by him as his successor. His position and progress may be judged of by the following communications so early as the autumn of the year in which he arrived.

‘I have now begun my work. Dr. Carey sends all the Bengalee proofs to me to review. I read them over, and if there is any thing I do not understand or think to be wrong, I mark it. We then converse over it, and if it is wrong he alters it; but if not, he shews me the reason why it is right, and thus will initiate me into the languages, as fast as I can learn them. He wishes me to begin the Hindu very soon. Since I have been here, I have read three volumes in Bengalee, and they have but six of consequence in prose.’

Again, soon afterwards—

‘The way I spend my time is this. In a morning, before breakfast, I study Hebrew about an hour and a half. After worship I attend to

Bengalee and Sanscrit. I have read about five volumes of Bengalee, and read all the Bengalee proofs with Dr. Carey, having before compared them with the Greek. I have got through the Sanscrit roots once; I have not yet got through the grammar, but am reading the Ramayuna with my pundit. My afternoons are chiefly taken up with reading or hearing Latin and Greek. I have read ten volumes of Greek since I left England, but not more than three of Latin. In the evening, after worship, I generally read English or look over English proofs. I take my turn in all the services here.'

In a letter to his parents, he says,—

'The work to which they have invited me is the translation of the scriptures, and you know that this a work for which I have always had a strong predilection, and in devoting myself to which, of course I shall feel happy.'

In January, 1816, Mr. Yates was married to Miss Grant, whose father had died a few days after his arrival in India, whither he had been sent by the society as a missionary of eminent qualifications. This event contributed to his comfort, and stimulated his exertions; and we find him devising schemes of literary undertakings of great magnitude, particularly a Sanscrit grammar and dictionary. As Dr. Hoby remarks:—

'There was always something Herculean about his literary undertakings. His earliest effort in Greek and Hebrew, was the writing out and committing to memory whole vocabularies of radical words; and he then stated it to be his intention, if not diverted from the study of English, to learn off and repeat 'Johnson's Dictionary' complete, *with all the examples!* While some encounter new languages with something like a malediction on those transgressors at Babel, whose impiety entailed the confusion of tongues, he seemed to revel with delight in the innumerable and ingenious forms of their very letters. Conscious of a power to master any intricacies of combination, the more complicated and fanciful the characters, the higher his satisfaction in adding fresh stores to what had already been stereotyped in his recollection.'

By-the-bye, the determination to learn off 'Johnson's Dictionary,' while it bespoke a consciousness of vast faculties, at least so far as memory was concerned, was not remarkably judicious, and if he had not long before the conclusion of his task participated in the 'something like a malediction' to which our friend refers, it would have been surprising. 'Johnson's Dictionary!' The next thing should certainly have been the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' or better still, the 'Universal History, Ancient and Modern,' with all the Notes; and as an occasional *bonne bouche*, such a thing as the 'Port Royal Greek Grammar,' or Dr. Owen's 'Theologoumena!' We are glad, however, that he did what was incomparably better at this time, produce

translation of the book of Job, by which he at once perfected his acquaintance with Hebrew and gained much facility in the methods of rendering.

When differences arose between the elder missionaries at Serampore, and the junior at Calcutta, into which we forbear to enter, the latter with whom Mr. Yates associated, became a distinct body in direct union with the Society at home, from whom they received supplies and to whom they transmitted intelligence. This consolidation of separate interests began in the discussions of 1817, and continued for ten years. The accession of Mr. W. H. Pearce, as printer, and Mr. Penny, as master of the Benevolent Institution was very important; and the multiplying claims of the people around, soon led the new fraternity to devote their pious activities to the erection of several chapels, and the translations of the Scriptures. Moreover, a station was established at Doorgapoor, four miles from Calcutta, which afforded the opportunity for familiar intercourse with the natives; where they resided alternately for periods of six months.

Mr. Yates was elected to the department of Bengalee and Sanscrit in the Calcutta School Book Society, Mr. Pearce being one of the secretaries. He prepared a Sanscrit Grammar which was liberally subscribed for, and a vocabulary of Sanscrit, Bengalee, and English, for the Society. He also wrote an essay on 'Sanscrit Alliteration;' and at various intervals 'Readers' in Sanscrit, Bengalee, Hindostanee, and Arabic, and an 'Introduction to the Hindostanee Language.' A few years, indeed, present us with the following account of his publications:—

A Grammar of the Sanscrit Language on a new plan. Vocabulary with Interpretations in Bengalee and English. Sanscrit Reader. Elements of Natural History. Harmony of the Four Gospels. Epitome of Natural Philosophy and Natural History, in Bengalee, and also in Bengalee and English. Elements of Ancient History, including Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. A New Translation of the Psalms of David. The Arabic Reader; being a Selection of Pieces from different Arabian Authors, designed as an Introduction to the Language. Introduction to the Hindostanee Language, in three parts. Idiomatic Exercises, or Student's Assistant, (in Hindostanee.) Harmony of the Gospels, (Ditto.) Pleasing Instructor, (Ditto.) In English—The Life of Chamberlain. Essays on Important Subjects. Funeral Sermon for Lawson and Memoir. Three Essays on the Burning of Widows.

Notwithstanding these numerous publications, his efforts in what may be thought the *direct* line of his missionary life were not relaxed. Some of them are obviously coincident with it,

others had a distinct bearing upon it, and for the rest they were connected with much public utility. Diversity of purguit by no means involves the neglect of a main object; it rather proves advantageous and promotive of it, and is often a more real rest and refreshment than absolute leisure. Besides, there is ample evidence from the occasional extracts given from his letters, that the heart of Yates was as cultivated as his mind, and he was as spiritual as he was intellectual.

His health, however, suffered considerable interuption, and at the close of the year 1826 he found it necessary to seek its renovation in a voyage, viâ America, to Europe. He once more met his family and friends in September, 1827. His visit to England was, on the whole, beneficial to his health and profitable to many; but his parental feelings were severely exercised by the first intelligence he received from India containing an account of the death of his son. He performed several missionary tours, and took part in the anniversary meetings of the society. Without being animated, or brilliant, his style of preaching was clear, compact, and logical. The representations he gave of the state of idolatry in the east were evidently true and very impressive, showing the holy and the earnest man rather than the orator. He reached the Indian shores again in February, 1829, and was welcomed back with great joy.

In arranging their future plan of operations, the united missionaries now assigned to Mr. Yates the care of the English church in the Circular Road, as well as that of the native church. It was the unanimous wish of the people that he should comply with this appointment; and they promised to support their minister, and to erect a house for his accommodation. He was to be relieved from other duties, excepting what the School Book Society involved, in order that he might pursue the work of translation. In writing upon the subject, under date of April, 1829, he says:—‘The brethren have requested me to attempt an improved version of the Epistles, which I have undertaken to do; and I hope that, in the course of time, we shall have a beautiful edition of the whole scriptures in Bengalee. Our object is to do no more than we can do well.’ On the 9th of June he says:—‘We have resolved on printing a new version of the Bengalee Bible, and have submitted the subject to the Bible Society.’ Again, Sept. 1, he mentions having sent to England specimens of the printing, and adds:—‘We shall soon have the honour, not only of reducing the types, through brother Lawson, but also of printing the first *pocket* edition of the New Testament in Bengalee.’

Into the controversy with the Bible Society respecting the transference or translation of the word baptism in the oriental

versions, we shall not enter: the published documents are accessible, and furnish ample means for every person interested in the subject to form his own judgment.

In May 1838, his beloved wife was removed by death, after a long previous separation on account of her health. The feelings he expressed on the occasion, as well as under other afflictive circumstances, bespeak at once the purity and power of his religion, and the inextinguishable fervour of his spirit in the pursuit of his great object. 'I have no reason to hope,' he says, 'that I can continue long in my present course. I have had three attacks of sickness since my wife left. I thought: I will finish another edition of the Bengalee Testament, and the one in Hindostanee and Sanscrit; then I will go to England, and finish my 'Biblical Apparatus,' which will require at least two years of hard labour, where the body can best support it; and then return to India, and apply the result to both the Old and New Testament, till the end of my life.'

The first fourteen years of his life having been employed chiefly as a missionary in preaching to the heathen, the next ten as pastor of the Circular Road church, of which he was one of the founders, his latter days were more especially devoted, by the desire of his brethren, as well as by the decisive bent of his own mind, to the work of translation. It ought not to be unrecorded, that the close of his ministerial career was signalized by the largest accession of converted natives ever received at one time into the church. Nor can we withhold an interesting memorandum on this occasion. It exhibits the man, and refers to one of those extraordinary presentiments which sometimes attach to human existence:—

'Oct. 6th, 1839.—Yesterday was a day of great importance to me, as it determined the manner in which the remainder of my life is to be spent. Brother Pearce, after an absence of three years, within three months, returned, bringing with him three other brethren, to labour in this part of the vineyard. A meeting was held yesterday, to consider how we should be employed in carrying on the work of the mission; and I am happy to say, it was conducted in a proper spirit, and was to all, satisfactory in its results. When the feelings and interests of ten\* individuals were concerned, it was happy to have no clashing, but a perfect willingness on the part of each to submit to the opinions of others. It was the unanimous conviction of all, that I ought to be devoted to the work of translation, and that such arrangements ought to be made, as would leave me at liberty to devote my time and strength entirely to it. It was agreed that brother Tucker should relieve me of the English

\* These ten were Messrs. Yates, W. H. Pearce, Thomas Ellis, Bayne, G. Parsons, Tucker, Morgan, Phillips, and Wenger.

preaching, and that brother Wenger should assist me in the translations. Thus, by patient waiting upon the Lord, I am brought to see the accomplishment of my wishes, and the fulfilment of the Divine promise, 'Delight thyself in the Lord, and he will give thee the desire of thine heart.' Now, oh, now for energy of body and mind to do justice to this great work! O Lord, all my sufficiency is from thee! to thee I look—and with humility, on thee I depend. Let that Spirit that dictated the word, guide me, and all will be well.

'I suppose it will not be till the beginning of next year that I shall be fully disengaged from the church, and entered into the last stage of my life. Besides occasional preaching to the church, from its foundation in 1817, I shall then have been the regular pastor for eleven years.

'I shall hereafter see whether the impression so strongly produced in my mind, by the prayer offered up by the Rev. Robert Hall at my designation, at this chapel will be realized or not. This prayer led me and others to feel that I should be removed in the midst of my usefulness as a translator of the word of God. There was something very like the spirit of prophecy, both in the manner in which it was uttered, and in the effect which it produced. He, and the venerable Fuller and Ryland, whose hands were laid on my head at the time, have all entered into their rest; and I hope when my work is done, or as much of it as may be appointed for me to do, that I shall rest with those holy men. Four versions of the whole scriptures in Eastern languages I must attempt, and if removed when I have done one, and laid the foundation for the rest, or when I have done the whole Bible in one language, and the Testament in three others, it will be in the midst of my usefulness in this work.'

The board of fellows of Brown University, in September, 1839, conferred upon Mr. Yates the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, which no one will question was well and appropriately bestowed. We wish as much could always be said in favour of these proceedings, but they have too often been the result of mere private friendship and favouritism, or of pure ignorance of the merits of the case on the part of those who have sought to distinguish mediocrity, and have thus incurred reproach for their carelessness and want of discrimination. After all, the diploma in question was, in our opinion, not the right one. It should have been a literary, not a theological honour; one that implied that for which Yates was pre-eminent: it should have been the reward of scholarship; a doctorship of laws, and not of divinity.

At the suggestion of Sir E. Ryan, an offer was made to Dr. Yates of £1000 per annum, if he would devote himself entirely to the compilation of school books in Bengalee and Hindostanee, which he declined; and upon the proposal being made to employ half of his time for half the remuneration, he was induced, after consulting the committee at home, to negative this also. They represented to him the comparative inferiority of such an occu-



pation to that of his great work as a translator and reviser of scriptural translations; and their conviction that they could not, as dispensers of the public bounty, conscientiously agree to such an exchange of services.

After three or four years of domestic solitude, he married the widow of his beloved friend and fellow labourer in the kingdom of Christ, Mr. W. H. Pearce. They were the only two left of all that had commenced the mission in Calcutta.

Having studied the Sanscrit language, so as to compose or translate either into prose or poetry, he resolved on an eastern vulgate, and early in 1841 passed through the press the Sanscrit version of the New Testament. It may be well to record the prospects he entertained for the future, as well as his past labours in this direction, in his own words :—

‘It seems that our society and the Translation Society, agree that I should attempt a Sanscrit version of the whole Bible. This then will occupy the remainder of my life, and to prepare for it has cost many a year of hard labour. With this object in view, I shall continue to read Sanscrit an hour every day, and have managed by this means to read from January to August, above twelve hundred pages. In like manner I give one hour a day to Arabic, and have in the same period of time, *i.e.* in the present year, (1843), read nine hundred pages. With the exception of these two hours, all my time is actually engaged, either in preparing for, or carrying through the press, scripture and other books. Being now relieved from all other duties, I am able to give an undivided attention to these works. We hope to see the Old Testament in Bengalee complete, by about the end of this year; and when that is done, we shall go to press with the Sanscrit: in the mean time I am engaged in making the necessary preparations.’ In July, 1844, he states, that by the close of that month they hoped to finish the printing of the Bengalee Old Testament, the whole being then in type. ‘There are not many things,’ he writes, ‘in my life, that I can reflect upon with much pleasure; but for the ten years’ labour bestowed upon the preparation and printing of this blessed book, I am sure I shall never have any regret.’

Not long afterwards, he was incapacitated for any kind of work, and went to the Sandheads for the benefit of sea air. Notwithstanding partial recoveries, his health failed under an attack of dysentery and gravel, and no hope was entertained of his restoration but from a voyage to England. Accordingly, his passage was secured on board the *Bentinck*, which was to leave for Suez on the third of June; his wife and daughters remaining to follow at the close of the year. The vessel touched at Madras, and at Point de Galle, the southern extremity of Ceylon, and thence crossed the Indian ocean. He suffered much from the intensity of the heat, especially in the Straits of Babelmandel.

'With a burning sun, and the very waves of the Red Sea as hot as the sultry atmosphere, existence became insupportable. Once or twice, when an attempt was made to admit the air, a sea broke in upon the expiring saint, who was therefore compelled to endure the suffocating heat. At length, exactly a month after he came on board, the struggle terminated—the voyage of life was ended, and the haven of eternal rest gained, before this first part of the voyage home was completed. The ship was still three days' sail from Suez, in lat. 19° north, long. 39° east, when, on the third of July, the exhausted sufferer fell asleep in Jesus.'

Thus died, and was interred in the distant sea, one of the most eminent of the Baptist missionaries to India—perhaps, on the whole, the *most* eminent as a translator of the scriptures. Although we advert with feelings of the highest satisfaction to the many virtues which distinguished Dr. Yates in domestic and social life, as well as to his talents as a preacher and a missionary, yet it is his consecrated scholarship that adorns his memory with the brightest lustre; and it is the glory of that renown which he has obtained, that it was by no means his direct object; so far from it, we may safely affirm, that, had he risen to fame merely as a scholar, without the accompaniments of usefulness as a translator, he would have treated his own glory as a shame and reproach rather than an honour. He would have felt that, in comparison with what should be and was to him the great end of existence, he had been laboriously doing nothing. Intellectual greatness he ever deemed subsidiary to moral usefulness; his Lord—in his influence and his word—and not himself, he wished to see exalted; and the aim was successful. One is delighted to think that his Bengalee Bible, as Mr. Wenger states, will gradually become the standard of the language; and that the knowledge he possessed of Hindostanee, Hindu, Persian, and Arabic, was applied to the advancement of Christian and general science in India. The same friend, his successor in labour, has given the following interesting and characterestic sketch:—

'If it (the Bengalee version) had been the work of a total stranger, I do not think he would or could have shown a more candid disposition. It is true that once when I had stated in the margin of a passage in the New Testament, that many people strongly objected to his rendering of it, he wrote underneath, 'I know it, my son, I know it;' but this was owing to his firmness, not to sensitiveness. So long as he himself could not see any thing wrong in a passage, nothing could induce him to alter it. He showed the most majestic disregard of all mere authority, whether of antiquity, or of numbers, or of a great name. He was shaken neither by clamour, nor by friendship, nor by importunity. His humility was quite as admirable as his firmness. He appeared to be sitting like a

child at the feet of truth, anxious to treasure up her every word, and to yield implicit obedience to her commands.

‘His first and foremost characteristic was a sincere and conscientious desire to ascertain and express the true and full meaning of the original. He was most careful, I may say, most scrupulous, in cross-questioning his native assistants, in order to find out whether the Bengalee words and phrases he used, did or did not convey to the native mind exactly what he intended to say ; and he gave himself no rest until they did.

‘A second object in his translations was to avoid all that was unmeaning, perplexing, or superfluous. Often have I admired the beautiful simplicity, the transparent clearness, or the rich brevity of his renderings.

‘He also aimed at a style uniformly pure and dignified. He allowed of no vulgar expressions, and excluded with equal firmness of determination, all high-flown Sanscrit terms. ‘Will not be understood,’ was the remark, by appending which, he almost invariably condemned the use of such words.

‘If a finely balanced mind, endowed with splendid talents, and enriched by solid and extensive erudition—if an immovable firmness of conscientious conviction, rooted in an ardent love of truth, and chastened by humility unfeigned—if these qualities, accompanied by untiring industry, a tender conscience, and fervent prayer, constitute a biblical translator, then such a translator was William Yates.’

To the present volume is appended ‘Memoirs of the Rev. W. H. Pearce, the excellent son of Samuel Pearce, of Birmingham. This *Life* is abridged from a biographical account written by Dr. Yates. Not having seen the original, we cannot pronounce upon this work as an abridgment, but in itself it presents many interesting facts, and seems to be a faithful portrait of one who evinced the spirit, and reflected the virtues of his illustrious father. We do not think that in any one of the remarkable individuals whose names distinguish the annals of the Baptist Missionary Society, more obvious proofs are to be found of the agency of an overruling Providence in the preparation and employment of suitable instrumentality in the advancement of a great work, than the life of William Pearce furnishes. May his modesty, talent, and perseverance, be multiplied a thousand-fold in survivors ! Did our space permit, we would gladly supply particulars ; but we must refer to the volume itself.

In the execution of his task, as a biographer, Dr. Hoby has been much aided by his intimacy with Dr. Yates ; and while this circumstance stamps the whole with a character of truthfulness, none of the delineations are spoiled by exaggerated eulogy. Dr. Yates is, in fact, wisely permitted to reveal himself in his own language ; our chief regret being that his letters are not more abundant, and that he, injuriously for the public interests, destroyed what we feel assured must have been valuable manuscripts, from, as we apprehend, a mistaken modesty. Probably

he was influenced by disapprobation of the manner in which he had often seen such documents employed by the blind attachment of surviving friends. In such a sentiment we largely sympathise; but in his instance, nothing, we are persuaded, derogatory to him, would have been produced, and much, probably, would have been elicited that might contribute to enhance and perpetuate his fame.

We recommend the volume to the perusal of our readers; at the same time, we recommend its esteemed author, in case of a second edition, to undertake a careful revision of it. Subjects are sometimes disadvantageously intermingled, common circumstances introduced, which can have no possible interest with posterity, and the general style is somewhat loose, and bespeaks a want of practice in literary composition. Still the work has merits which will give it buoyancy and circulation. It is a valuable record of an important life.

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ART. VII.—*An Address to the Nonconformist Electors of Great Britain.*  
London.

WE are on the eve of a general election. The parliament of 1841 is about to terminate its sittings, and no human being, probably, save those who are personally interested, will regret its dissolution. It has fulfilled its inglorious career, and will be remembered only for the instructive warnings which it holds out to future statesmen. It would be difficult to name another British parliament which has more effectually covered itself with dishonour. Convened at the call of monopoly, and rampant on its behalf, it commenced its sittings by displacing a Whig cabinet, which at the eleventh hour, and in despair of otherwise retaining office, proposed an eight shilling protective duty; yet it lived to abolish the corn laws, and to proclaim throughout Europe the era of commercial freedom. Pledged to protestant ascendancy, it yet permanently endowed Maynooth, and when at length it learnt to tolerate the ministry of Lord John Russell, it continued to evince its hostility to freedom, and its love of ecclesiastical usurpation, by the adoption of an educational scheme, which, under a liberal disguise, conceals the seeds of political serfdom and of religious infidelity. Its phases have been multitudinous, its appearances those of the camelion. Party spirit has been predominant in its councils. Its

support and its hostility have been alike saturated with it. At the bidding of its master, it has voted yea and nay on the same questions, regardless of its own reputation, and contemptuously indifferent to the sentiments of the nation. So long as Sir Robert Peel was held true to conservatism, it did his work with unscrupulous zeal, was content to be dragged again and again through the mire, and knew no pride save that which respected the maintenance of a faction. When, however, the honourable baronet allowed his better judgment to determine his course, and redeeming his past errors, announced the doom of monopoly, the same party spirit which had proved his strength, became his overthrow. He triumphed, indeed, but it was at the cost, not of power, but of place. He carried his measure, but in doing so he sealed his fate. The movement was too popular for his party, and the vials of their wrath were emptied on him. Those who abided by their professions knew no bounds, and observed no decency, in their assaults; while the disappointed men of his party, whom he held at bay—despised for their false-heartedness or their gambling propensities, enacted afresh the old fable of the dead lion and the ass. We rejoice in common with millions of our countrymen, in the abolition of the food monopoly, yet we cannot conceal from ourselves the injury done to public confidence by the course pursued by a large section of the conservative party. The Premier himself did all that was in his power in tendering his resignation to the queen. His personal honour was thus preserved, and all the equitable requirements of party leadership fairly met. It may be convenient for the D'Israelis to overlook this fact, but the nation will not forget it. His followers, however, were slow to imitate his example. They were bound to place their seats in the hands of their constituents before their votes were recorded on behalf of this measure; but they did not do so. Elected to oppose commercial freedom, they ought in honour, to have redeemed their pledge, or to have resigned their trust. They did neither. The most miserable evasions were resorted to in vindication of their treachery, and the people are, in consequence, now faithless in the virtue of public men. We have gained a boon, but it has been at a terrible price, and a generation must pass before the evil is corrected. Our only consolation is derived from the previous character of the parties concerned. The men who raised the cry of 1841, were amongst the worst class of British politicians. Ignorant, selfish, and despotic, without popular sympathies, or patriotic views, they sought to beggar a people in order to perpetuate their own rule. Still many were disposed to confide in them, and this confidence was the greatest obstacle to political progress, which existed. It

is now happily destroyed. Treachery has done its work, and the agriculturalists must be credulous indeed if they permit themselves to be ensnared again. The old rallying cries have been proved to be uncertain sounds, and the men who raised them are justly branded as recreants or impostors. So far it is well. A weak and hollow faction has proved its worthlessness, and the coming election will probably consign many of its members to the obscurity they merit. The conduct of these men goes far to account for the disrespect into which the present House of Commons has fallen. It has torn aside, with a rude hand, the veil behind which false patriotism conceals itself, and has thus disclosed to the nation the chicanery and meanness of those to whom its confidence was given.

But this is not all. The same House which displaced Lord Melbourne's administration, and supported that of Sir Robert Peel, is now marvellously submissive to the cabinet of Lord John Russell. Whilst the honourable baronet lent himself to a faction, he was repaid by its support; but when he looked abroad and acted for the nation, his position became precarious, and he resigned office to his rival. The allegiance of the House, however, has been transferred, not extinguished. It has passed from the conservative to the pseudo-liberal premier, and has been shown in majorities as large and as zealous as those which distinguished its earlier period. All this might possibly be honest and righteous. We can conceive cases in which it would be so, and should be the first to acknowledge it in the present instance, could we see evidence of the fact. But such evidence is wanting. There has been no acknowledgment of former error, no confession before the nation of mistaken judgment or of false policy. Passion, disappointed selfishness, personal ambition, party spleen, intolerance and bigotry, have been the main elements at work, on the one hand; whilst an effete liberalism, on the other, has undertaken the province, and labours hard in the mission of defunct toryism. A faction, feeble in intellect, and anti-popular in spirit, has discarded the chief whose views were too large for its narrow policy, and the leader of opposition has assumed a conservative garb, and walks the floor of St. Stephen's with all the haughty air of an aristocrat of 1688. In either case, the impression produced is alike injurious to the House. The great bulk of men do not minutely investigate. They take broad and general views only. They look at the more obvious and palpable facts, those which form the outline of events, and indicate their pervading tendency. It is enough for them—and there is much of truth in their judgment—that the same parliament has cashiered and welcomed a Whig ministry, has been tamely submissive to Sir Robert Peel and to Lord John Russell,

has rejected an eight shilling duty as ruinous to the agriculturalist, and yet erased the corn laws from the statute book; has treated with contempt the petitions of the people, yet affected to consult their welfare; has despised, as worthless, the marvellous achievements of voluntaryism in education, yet professed unwonted zeal on behalf of popular instruction; has talked against church power, yet enacted a subsidiary establishment; has vaunted attachment to religious freedom, yet sought to plant in the young heart of England the seeds of spiritual serfdom. These things have been seen and noted. They have sunk deeply into the spirit of our countrymen, and have induced a loathing which would be dangerous to the forms of our constitution, were it not for the practical and reflecting character of the English mind. As it is, the House will expire without respect, and every patriotic Englishman will pray that its fellow may never again be constituted.

Turning from the past to the future, there is much to induce regret. The coming election is viewed with general indifference. Men have been wearied out and disgusted with what they have seen, and are in consequence much disposed to look on the whole as a cheat. This is a fearful state of things. It is fraught with peril, and if not checked by the sound common sense and honesty of the better part of our people, it will be productive of serious mischief. In one point of view, however, it is full of hope. It betokens, as we verily believe, the dying out of parties, and though it may leave us for a time in a state of confusion, it will be introductory to a new order of things. It is a chaos to be followed by another paradise. The old party names and party distinctions have lived out their day. Whatever purpose they may have answered, they are now but the symbols of a departed faith, the mere ghosts of what was once vital and energetic. The compact under which their tactics were conducted is unsuited to our times. The people themselves have stepped on the political theatre, and see enough of what is passing, to deride the puppets by whose acting they were formerly deceived. In the coming election there will be no real difference discernible between the majority of candidates. Lord Russell is really the conservative minister of the day. He is regarded as such by many of the more intelligent Conservatives, and will be largely indebted to this feeling in the approaching contest. The views of the two parties are essentially identical, whether we look to their home or foreign, their civil or ecclesiastical policy. Historical recollections may keep them nominally apart, and personal interests may favour the separation, but so far as the government of the country is concerned, they are substantially one. The people, therefore, see little grounds

for selection, and there is consequently no enthusiasm or earnestness. They regard the approaching election as a selfish contest between politicians who are equally intent, whatever be their name or rallying cry, on enriching themselves at the expense of the nation. No great principle is involved in their contest, no national interests are at stake. They are mere actors performing a part, trading politicians who are vending their wares at the best market they can find. So far respecting the general aspect of political parties, and did no other facts enter into the case, the coming election would be a duller and more insipid affair than any similar contest within the memory of man.

There is, however, one redeeming feature to which we recur with unmingled satisfaction. We have long laboured in apparent hopelessness, derided by some as quixotic, harshly censured by others as mischievous, deemed, at the best, utopian by many, and cheered only by the silent concurrence of a few. Still we have persevered. Our faith has been strong enough to assure us of the ultimate prevalence of our views, and we are now happily realising our reward even earlier and more largely than we anticipated. Two things have long been amongst our settled convictions. First, that allegiance to truth requires our withdrawal from political partizanship, and secondly, that our ecclesiastical principles, in order to command attention from the legislature, must be maintained at the polling booth. Both these are now in the course of being realised, and we rejoice unfeignedly at it. Those only can appreciate our feelings who know the discouragements amidst which we have laboured. But we have our reward, and are content. The marvellous progress already made justifies our confidence, and assures us of yet better things in store. Our opponents have co-operated with us. Successive ministers have lent their aid, first by the Factories Education Bill, then by the Maynooth Endowment Act, and lastly by the Minutes of Council. Whether Conservative or Whig, they have alike served our purpose, and as if intent on doing so, as if concerned to shut us up to the only course which principle and self-respect enjoined, they have distinctly forewarned us of their intention to endow the catholic clergy of Ireland. The result of all these measures has been an effectual estrangement of the great body of evangelical dissenters, from the political partizanship in which they have hitherto stood. They have been driven home to their principles, have been compelled to bethink themselves of what was due to their profession, and to take up other, and less questionable ground than that formerly held.

The Southwark election of 1845, was the first public expression of this new state of things. 'Like the earlier movement



of every great revolution, its wisdom was questioned by many whose principles it was adapted to forward, whilst it was bitterly assailed by the political party whose knell it sounded. Unpopular for a time, it will be appealed to in future days, as indicative of a forecast, and strength of resolution, which betoken coming triumph. Religious liberty in its broad and entire meaning, was then first propounded on the hustings. It was brought forth from the studies of the recluse, and the writings of the learned, and was presented in its integrity before the electors of the kingdom. Its nature was expounded, its claims practically enforced, and though rank, and wealth, and party influence triumphed in the contest, it was at a cost which is now bitterly appreciated. The seed then scattered has not been lost. The bread cast upon the waters is seen after many days. The example was infectious. When the excitement of the moment had passed, there was seen to be a nobility in it which commanded respect, and in consequence, many who then condemned are now zealous to imitate. One of the great benefits it conferred was the rebuke administered to an unreflecting and recluse piety. It had long passed current among us that our principles could not bear the friction and excitement of public life. Religious men shrunk from the contamination of the political arena, and, as if by common consent, left the most influential posts of society to be occupied exclusively by the ungodly. We would not indiscriminately condemn this feeling. It involved some elements which were worthy of respect, and in many cases had for its basis an honest regard to the purity of the Christian profession. Still it was indicative of a contracted range of thought, a low standard of duty, an utter want of sympathy between the religious mind, and the requirements and obligations of the profession made. That political life is surrounded with temptations, it were folly to deny; but this fact though affording ground for increased vigilance and earnest supplication, yields no excuse for the neglect of duty, or the abandonment of a post in which good service may be rendered to our fellow-men. Against this mistaken notion, the Southwark contest was a practical protest, and the record which it made, though unheeded for a time, has sunk deeply into the hearts of thousands. Happily it will not long stand alone. Numerous constituencies are preparing to follow the example with better prospect of immediate success. Our principles are being everywhere enunciated. Parliamentary candidates are subjected to a new, and to them, most perplexing test; old political organizations are being broken up; new ones are in the course of formation; and there is a demand on every hand for able and earnest men to represent the views of religious volun-

taryism. The tendency of events has been distinctly indicated for some time past, and if the Whig leaders have not noted it, their anti-popular sympathies are exceeded only by their folly. The Education Conference of April last, though not representing the extreme section of dissent, deliberately affirmed its solemn conviction, 'that the circumstances of the times render it the bounden duty of all who value their civil and religious liberty, to make it a condition of giving their support to any parliamentary candidate, that he will oppose all further grants of public money' in aid of ecclesiastical purposes. This was significant of what was passing below the surface, but it was not all. The following resolution unanimously adopted, still more clearly shewed the change that was coming over the policy of dissenters:—

'That seeing how imperfectly the principles of Protestant Dissenters are understood in parliament, even by those to whose efforts they have been indebted for the redress of some of their practical grievances, and how liable they are to the introduction of measures in which their principles are utterly disregarded and set at naught, the conference cannot separate without earnestly recommending to liberal electors, the immediate adoption of well considered means of securing the return to the House of Commons, of such candidates as not merely profess to hold sacred the claims of religious liberty, but also clearly understand what those claims imply.'

The Anti-State Church Conference of May, followed, and its language was more decisive, as its views were more strictly ecclesiastical. Regarding the Minutes of Council only as one amongst many evils resulting from the establishment principle, it recorded an unmistakable judgment against the system itself, and in the following resolution, pointed out the course to be pursued by dissenters at the approaching election:—

'That this Conference, discerning no such difference of principles or practice between the leading political parties of the House of Commons as to render the support of either of them important to the welfare of the nation—having observed in both of them, during the present parliament, a readiness to combine their efforts with a view to subsidize the teachers of religion, and thereby to bring them under direct government control—believing that they endanger, by such policy, in proportion to the extent to which they adopt it, the highest spiritual and temporal interests of the people—and assured by long experience, that they attach little importance to any opposition to their avowed designs which is not followed up by correspondent firmness at the poll-booth; solemnly recommend to dissenting electors throughout the three kingdoms the duty of employing the franchise entrusted to them by Divine Providence in vindication of those ecclesiastical principles which constitute the sole basis of religious freedom and equality, and of resolutely standing aloof

from all contests at the approaching general election in which an opportunity is not afforded them to record their testimony, by vote, against any form of alliance between the church and the state.'

A short time back this resolution would have been deemed unreasonable and violent, but the public mind has been rapidly progressing, and the line of policy which it indicates has therefore obtained the sanction of all the more intelligent, active, and earnest members of the dissenting body. A few examples, taken from a large mass, will suffice to illustrate and confirm our meaning. At a meeting of ministers and gentlemen convened by circular from various parts of Yorkshire, and held at Leeds, on May 3rd, the following resolutions were adopted :—

'First. That no candidate for parliamentary honours be supported who shall not be prepared to resist every attempt to renew the grant of public money for the objects contemplated in the Minutes of Council, and who does not maintain the principle that public moneys cannot rightly be appropriated to sustain educational and religious establishments.

'Second. That suitable parties be sought among our dissenting communities, or among those who sympathize with them in the sentiments now avowed, to become candidates for the representation of parliamentary constituencies; and that the most earnest and energetic efforts be made to secure their return.

'Third. That, where no such candidates can be obtained, it is recommended as the course worthy of the conscientious elector to stand by, in the day of election, without interfering in the contest, by no means giving his suffrage to such as will make use of parliamentary powers in opposition to the principles of Nonconformists, much less supporting in a factious spirit such candidates as may still more widely differ from them on questions of civil and religious liberty.'

The dissenters of Lancashire have recorded their views with equal distinctness. At a meeting convened by the united sub-committees of Manchester and Liverpool, held at Newton le Willows, on the 31st of May, it was resolved :—

'That this meeting, having observed in both the leading political parties a readiness to combine their efforts to subsidize the teachers of religion, and thereby to bring them under the direct control of the State, and assured by long experience that they attach little importance to any opposition which is not followed up by corresponding firmness in the exercise of the electoral franchise, solemnly commend to the liberal and dissenting electors the duty of employing that franchise, in vindication of those principles which constitute the true basis of religious freedom and equality, and of resolutely standing aloof at the approaching general election from all contests in which an opportunity shall not be afforded them of recording their testimony, by vote, against the interference of the government with the religious education of the country.

‘That this meeting recommends the electors in the various boroughs and divisions of the county, holding the above views, to organize themselves in their several localities, and to draw up and sign declarations setting forth their principles and the course of action they intend to pursue at the approaching election.’

The example of the manufacturing districts has been zealously followed by Essex, Norfolk, and other agricultural counties. At a meeting of the liberal electors of Braintree and Bocking, held on the 12th of June, an able exposition of principles was adopted, and a resolution distinctly affirmed to take no part in the electoral contest between Conservatives and Whigs :—

‘For these considerations,’ say the men of Essex, and we commend their example to all who are like circumstanced, ‘we, the liberal electors of Braintree and Bocking, resolve to take no part in the coming election as between the present candidates, nor to interpose in any way, unless some candidate shall yet come forward, whom we could consistently support as the representative of the principles we profess.’

The language of Norfolk is equal clear and unfaltering. At ‘a numerous and influential meeting of nonconformist electors,’ assembled from various parts of the country, and held at Norwich, June the 14th, it was resolved :—

‘That the measure of education recently sanctioned by the Legislature, the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood, avowedly contemplated by leading statesmen, and the payment by the State of the religious teachers of all sects, which many politicians have expressly approved, furnish irresistible motives to all Nonconformist electors to be faithful to their principles, and withhold support from any person who would give his vote in favour of any of such measures when proposed in parliament.’

One more example, and we pass on. We give it as an illustration of what is occurring in a large number of the boroughs of the kingdom. At a meeting of nonconformist voters for Bedford, held on the 20th of May, it was unanimously resolved :—

‘That, whereas Ecclesiastical Establishments are, and always have been, in the opinion of this meeting, the most formidable enemies to civil and religious freedom, the obstructors of the progress of the gospel, and the retarders of social advancement; and whereas the Whig party has, by the appointment of new bishops and workhouse chaplains, by many other measures, but more especially by the late scheme of Government Education, subjected society more entirely to the influence and fearfully augmented the dangerous power of the state-church; and as it is evident that they intend to subsidize all teachers of religion who will accept the pay of the State, and thereby destroy the independence of the Christian ministry, alienate its sympathies from the people, corrupt the truth, and degrade the said ministry to a mere ecclesiastical police, this

meeting pledges itself not to support any candidate at the coming election who will not pledge himself to oppose ecclesiastical endowments: and, should no suitable candidate offer himself, this meeting sees no such difference between the said dominant factions in the country to lead Non-conformists to take any interest in the mere struggle for place between the two factions, and therefore recommends Dissenters to stand aloof as silent witnesses for the great principles which they hold.’

A similar course has been resolved on in Edinburgh, Leeds, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Halifax, Bradford, Stockport, Leicester, Norwich, Yarmouth, Cambridge, Northampton, Boston, Gloucester, Bristol, Devonport, Reading, Southampton, Newport, and a multitude of other places, which cannot fail to produce important consequences in the coming election. In many cases the decision is all but unanimous, and in others,—for we wish not to overstate the matter—it is only a section, and that the most forward of the dissenting body which has adopted it. In the former case the result is too obvious to need comment; and in the latter, a sufficient number of votes will be influenced materially to affect the issue of the contest. An earnest of what may be expected is already supplied. Manchester in returning a free trader, will send to the House of Commons an able and earnest expounder of our principles; Leeds is bestirring itself with worthy zeal on behalf of a single-minded and inflexible patriot; Stockport is about to place Mr. Alderman Kershaw by the side of Mr. Cobden; Wakefield has adopted another voluntary; Huddersfield has done the same; Halifax has honoured itself by inviting our fellow-labourer, Mr. Miall; Ipswich is affording good promise of redeeming itself from reproach, by returning Mr. Vincent; and Bradford, we trust, notwithstanding the division elicited respecting Mr. Busfield, will secure the services of Colonel Peronet Thompson, one of the ablest, most upright, and most earnest of our public men. On every hand, and in almost every borough, some men have been found to raise the standard of religious liberty. This is a new thing amongst us, and the spirit in which it is done is equally novel. Old tactics are eschewed, party names are discarded. The rallying cry of a former generation has lost its power, and our people are arraying themselves for the contest with the calmness and inflexibility of men who value their principles, and are prepared to make sacrifices for them.

The first effect of this movement will be disastrous to the Whig party. For this they have themselves alone to blame. Dissenters have been faithful to them too long. Historical associations have kept them in the Whig ranks, and dread of Tory supremacy has checked the secession to which their principles prompted. This state of things might have continued for

many years, had not the policy of Whig leaders compelled even the most moderate of our number to review their position. How we are to account for that policy, on any hypothesis creditable to the sagacity of Lord Russell and his associates, we are at a loss to imagine. They have clearly mistaken us. We have been judged by a false standard, and self-respect and love of truth now require that our course shall be clear, simple, and direct. If, in its prosecution, their interests are damaged, the fault lies with themselves. They have aroused us from a dream; and if our awakened energies are subversive of their party domination, an important step will be gained in the progress of political science. It may consist with the hauteur of Lord John Russell and Mr. Macaulay, the one an aristocrat by birth, and the other by adoption, to refer to dissenters with supercilious airs; but in the day of contest, and at the polling booth, they will rue their folly, and learn our strength. This has been already done by many of their supporters. The Reform Club rings with complaints. The men who swell their ranks and vote at their bidding, tremble at the future, and in no measured or decent terms, denounce the infatuation of leaders who have so recklessly placed them in collision with their constituents.

The movement, we have said, is a new one, and the slightest insight into its nature will approve our statement. It partakes of the old puritan spirit, improved and mollified by the bitter experience of two centuries. It is the religious principle working itself free from impurities, and claiming to regulate the political duties of its professors. There is, therefore, an inflexibility and firmness of purpose in the movement, with which worldly politicians know not how to deal. They look at the worst side of human nature, and form their estimate accordingly. With selfishness, ambition, and party spirit, they know what to do. These are things of which the types exist within themselves, and they can therefore reduce them to weight and measure. But the religious element is without their range, and when its integrity and endurance are combined with a correct appreciation of the rights of others, and a clear perception of the sacredness of conscience, it forms a power against which their weapons are pointless, and before the majesty of which they will be compelled to bow. The struggle of the seventeenth century showed what the religious principle could do, even when enfeebled by mistaken views, and associated with intense bigotry. If then, it accomplished so much, what may not be expected from it now, when its benignity is equal to its strength, and the claim which it prefers is liberty for all. The religious is unquestionably the most potent element of human conduct. It endures amidst

all discouragements, gathers strength from defeat, confirms its purpose by communion with the spiritual, and in seasons of the deepest gloom assures itself of ultimate triumph by appealing to the oracles of the living God. Such is the element now evoked. Its voice has long been hushed, its powers have been permitted to repose; but having once again raised its voice amongst the people, it will speak in clear and commanding tones to the heart of this great nation.

The character of the men is as marked as that of the movement itself. They belong unquestionably to the most thoughtful, self-relying, and earnest section of the community. Their decision has been arrived at slowly and with evident reluctance. They have had much to overcome, and at every step have yielded only to the impulse of principle. Hitherto they have formed the working material of the Whig party. We do not assume for them the possession of large wealth, or of territorial influence. Few of them have had these, but they have brought activity, intense zeal, and unselfish energies to the liberal cause. Wherever there was work to be done, they have been foremost. Throughout the boroughs and counties of the kingdom they have been amongst the most active agents of the Whig candidates, have constituted the strength of their committees, the most ardent and successful of their canvassers. Their worth will be known when their services are withdrawn, and Lord John Russell may yet learn to speak of them in different terms than those he has recently employed. As a body, they are clearly incorruptible. Their enemies themselves must admit this. Inaccessible alike to bribes and to threatenings, they will maintain the position they have taken up. Cases of infidelity will no doubt occur. We readily concede this, but our statement respects the body, and of its integrity we are assured. Other sections of the constituency may forget their pledges in the hour of conflict, and treacherously pass from one army to another; but the men of whom we speak, acting under a religious impulse, and having in view the vindication of religion itself, will abide the issue in the clear consciousness of discharging a sacred duty. This determination is growingly evident as the season of conflict approaches. The resistance of dissenters to the dictation and policy of the Whigs, is becoming daily more universal and decided. It is breaking out in districts where we did not look for it, and is assuming a systematic and permanent form. Some time back, we trembled at the hostile force with which its earlier movements would be met, but our fears are now given to the wind. Whig dictation is gone for ever, and come what may at the approaching election, our freedom of action and consistent policy are ensured.

That such a state of things should awaken the special wrath and malediction of Whig journalists was to be expected. We looked for it, and in the fact see evidence of the wisdom of our course, and of the power we wield. There is something amusing in the form which their anger takes. They alternately strive to cajole and to alarm; at one moment deriding our strength, and at another attributing to our secession the breaking up of the liberal party. We are told, for instance, in no flattering spirit, that we are a rope of sand—that we have no coherence—no power of combined action—no means of bringing our forces, feeble as they are, to bear with effect on any one point. ‘Gentlemen,’ we say, ‘there is much of truth in your allegation, if it respect the past simply. We have been what you describe, and none have been more forward than ourselves to admit the fact. We have referred to it again and again as the opprobrium and weakness of dissent, and have counselled its correction as needful to efficient action. Our voice was comparatively powerless, but your policy has accomplished our end. What we could not effect, you have brought about. We scattered the seed, but you have enabled us to reap the harvest. ‘To your tents, O Israel!’ is the cry of our people; and we thank you for the aid you have given us in raising it. The source of our former disunion, with which you ungenerously upbraid us, was attachment to your party. Whig politics lingered amongst us, and so long as they did, our energies were impaired and our forces kept asunder. But the case is now different. You have revealed yourselves. By their educational and ecclesiastical policy, your leaders have proclaimed their hostility to our faith, and we are shut up in consequence, to parting companionship with them. We have no alternative—you have driven us to this; and, were we to hesitate, we should lose self-respect, and should merit your contempt. If you did not anticipate this result, your sagacity must have been at fault, or your estimate of our character must have been low indeed. To the former, we can scarcely attribute your policy; and the latter we shall rebuke as honest men best may.’

But we are reminded of the services of the Whigs. They have been our champions, we are told, in troublous times—have stood between us and the intolerance of a dominant church—and have thus entitled themselves to our service by a tenure which honourable men will not lightly overlook. We are reminded of the Test and Corporation Acts, and are triumphantly asked, whether Lord John Russell did not render us important service in moving for their abolition. We are not churlishly disposed to reply to all this as we might possibly do with truth. We will take the case as it stands on the broad page of history,



without questioning the high-mindedness which determined the former policy of the Whigs. We admit that they have done us service, and that their advocacy has diffused, within certain limits, sound and enlightened opinions on the subject of toleration. Our praise has not been stinted on this account. But what then? Are there not two sides to the case, and must not both be regarded, if a fair judgment would be given? Rate the services of the Whigs ever so highly, and they have had an ample return. Why! our fidelity to their interests has been our reproach. It has been carried beyond all reasonable bounds, has induced us to hold in abeyance other and higher associations, and to refrain from the course which the simply religious principle prompted. Whatever they have done for us, we have done more for them. Their outlay has been repaid with abundant interest; and if, therefore, gratitude should operate on us, it should be yet more potent with them. To say the least, we are on equal terms; and it requires no ordinary degree of dissingenuity to make the appeal by which we are now insulted. It is ungenerous in the last degree—nay, positively dishonest—to enlarge, as Whig advocates are doing, on the services rendered to dissenters, without admitting at the same time the repayment they have made. It is in the nature of aristocracy to magnify its condescension in doing anything for the people, while it receives as matter of course, scarcely calling for acknowledgment, the largest return which their gratitude prompts. The one is supposed to entail eternal obligation, whilst the other is received as a right, and dismissed without acknowledgment. On this principle only can we account for the deportment of the Whigs. They live in a clique of their own, are unmindful of the passage of years, and apply to men and things the obsolete rules which their more practical opponents have learned to discard. But there is much of mere delusion in all this. The men who employ it are aware of its irrelevancy. It is dust thrown in our eyes—a pitiful attempt to gain from our ignorance or gratitude what cannot be demanded from our judgment. On the plea of service formerly rendered to religious liberty, we are invited to support the men who are now foremost in enlarging the province, and strengthening the power, of the clergy. The plea is as insulting to our intellect as it is discreditable to our opponents, and we leave it, therefore, to the contempt it merits.

But we are cautioned against dividing the liberal party. ‘You are doing the work of the enemy,’ say Whig members and their advocates, ‘and the liberal interest will suffer wrong at your hands.’ We need union, and you are fomenting discord. Our position can be maintained only by combined and zealous co-operation; but you are preaching division, and seceding from our

ranks. Our political opponents are numerous, talented, and skilful. At the best, we can scarcely make head against them; and if disunited, must certainly fail. Carry out your intentions, and the cause of reform is lost. A Conservative majority will be returned to St. Stephen's, and the progress of good government and of social amelioration will be indefinitely postponed.' Our answer to all this is simple and direct. 'Gentlemen,' we say, 'such a plea comes with an ill grace from you, and we marvel you can venture to advance it. The division is your own. Your acts have constrained it. You have forced it on us. We have served you long and faithfully, and when we saw the tendency of your measures, we forewarned you of the issue, and prayed you to refrain. Hundred of thousands of our number approached you with petitions. Their terms were explicit; you could not honestly mistake them. We asked nothing for ourselves which we did not readily concede to all others. Religious equality was our prayer; the sacredness of conscience our plea. You know how those petitions were treated, and cannot therefore wonder if we confide in you no more. So long as we could retain any semblance of self-respect, we remained by your side, and were faithful to your interest; but when you despised our petitions, and laughed derisively at our scruples, we awoke to a sense of what was due to truth, and realized, though at the eleventh hour, the paramount claims of religious duty. The plea you now advance, we then addressed to you; and the reception it obtained shows the selfishness of your present appeal. Regardless of us and of our principles, you cast us from you in the hour of your imagined power; and need not be surprised, as you ought not certainly to be incensed, if we now choose other representatives, who know us better, and will more honestly guard our religious freedom.'

But apart from this, there is no such difference, as the language of Whig advocates assumes, between the two great political parties of the empire. So far as dissenters are concerned, they are substantially one. Time was when the case was otherwise; but we have outlived those days, and have nothing now to fear, but what is common to both Whigs and Tories. Nor is this all. The progress of events has carried us beyond the day when any broad line of demarcation is drawn between the political policy of these parties. This case is well put in the admirable *Address* issued by the Dissenters' Electoral Committee, which we commend to the immediate and earnest perusal of our readers.

'Look,' says that address, 'at the state of parties! What difference exists between them which should induce you, with a view to your country's welfare, to promote the predominance of either of them?

What single question of importance depends upon the possession of office by this party or by that? So nearly identical are their views, that the general election, unless made to turn upon the point we have adverted to, must be decided by merely nominal and personal considerations. On organic change, on commercial reform, on all ecclesiastical questions, on the poor-law, on the game-laws, on finance and taxation, in the government of Ireland, in the management of the colonies, and in the maintenance of foreign relations—future cabinets may be expected to pursue much the same course, whether borne into power by a Liberal or by a Conservative majority. No damage, therefore, can be done to any great national interests by your refusal to take part in contests which allow you no opportunity of bearing witness against the ecclesiastical policy recently pursued by parliament. No question of moment will be endangered or obstructed. Past events have cleared the ground for you. Public expectation anticipates your course. So favourable a conjuncture may never occur again. Self-respect, honour, expediency, duty, combine to hedge up for you this only consistent path. The avoidance of it will gain you nothing but the contempt of those whom, in that case, it would be your aim to serve.'

Our course then is obvious, and we must not be deterred from it. The path of duty is clear and simple, it is marked out by the finger of Providence, and we shall be recreant to principle, and faithless to God, if we do not honestly and with an unhesitating mind pursue it.

'Upon the Nonconformists of Great Britain,' says the address already quoted from, 'upon those of them especially who possess the elective franchise, the Providence of God seems to devolve, at the present juncture, a peculiarly solemn responsibility. The vitality of Christian institutions is threatened. The principles of state policy, repeatedly and recently avowed by our statesmen of all parties, and covertly sanctioned by the Minutes of Council on Education, will, if consistently carried out, degrade God's appointed instrumentality for the regeneration of the world, into a mere system of police. Religious sentiment, in all the outward forms it may assume, will be subordinated to the purposes of civil governors. The spiritual teachers of all sects, enticed by degrees into dependence upon state-subsidy, will become, in the hands of the ruling power, agents whose chief duty will be held to consist, not in watching for souls as those that must give an account, but in keeping the people quiet under any amount of oppression. Be the motives of political men what they may—and these it is not our business to impugn—dissenters can scarcely fail to discern in this design, a miserable and mischievous perversion of Christian ordinances; a thrust made at the very heart of religion; a misapprehension of the whole genius of the gospel, so thorough and fundamental in character, as threatens to become the sure basis of general, if not national, infidelity.

'Your common-sense will, of course, instruct you not to look for a full disclosure of this deadly policy, in the present professions of statesmen. Probably, few of them have studied its inevitable tendencies, or

its ultimate issue. But there can be no mistake about this matter. Their determination to retain the principle of church establishments, swayed from its old orbit by the necessity under which they are laid to do away with manifest partiality, must bear them on, perforce, to this result. The current into which they have already plunged must float them to this point. The principles they enunciate, the arguments they use, the continental examples to which they refer with approbation, and the tentative plans which they have resolutely embodied in legislative acts, afford surer presages of what they *will do*, if permitted, than can any statement of their intentions wrung from them at the hustings. The ordinary laws of thought and action, to say nothing of the pressure of external circumstances, forbid their remaining where they are. They must move on, or they will be driven on—and with their policy set in the direction it has lately taken, they cannot be long before they arrive at the payment by the State of all religious teachers.

Should our measures result in the unseating of any Whig candidates, it will be no just cause of regret. We have done with parties. Truth, religious truth, is now our rallying point, and if fidelity to this involves the defeat of former political associates, the fault lies with those who have recklessly pledged themselves to the cause of error. So far from deeming the defeat of Whig candidates a cause for hesitation, we look to the probability of this event as an additional incentive to our course. They need to be taught after the fashion of their own school. Despising our scruples, misapprehending our sentiments, turning contemptuously from our reasonings, there is yet one argument which they understand, and this we must now employ. The place to advance that argument is the polling-booth, and the time to use it is drawing nigh. Should dissenters be faithful and combined, as we see good reason to believe they will be, then the coming election will unseat many of the present occupants of St. Stephen, and in this fact a victory will be gained, the fruits of which we shall speedily gather. Such a demonstration of power will be more convincing than the severest logic. Statesmen will see that we must not be despised and cannot be cajoled, and at some future period—and that not far distant—will proffer support of our principles in return for our votes. The same result has been elicited in former movements. The Reform Bill was thus carried, Colonial Slavery was thus abolished, and though the Corn Laws were repealed without a general election, their doom was not pronounced till the sagacious leader of the Conservatives saw that the constituencies were resolved. Let us imitate these examples, and our triumph will be equally signal.

But what, it may be asked, is the course that dissenters should pursue. Their circumstances are very various, and what

would be wise and useful in one place may be just the opposite in another. It is, therefore, in the last degree important that their measures should be deliberately taken, and be such as will commend [their integrity to the approval of impartial bystanders. We have to act for the future, and should be specially solicitous about the moral impression produced. The immediate effect of our movement is comparatively indifferent, but the tendency and ultimate result of what we do is infinitely momentous. What is now passing around us is but the incipient stage of a great revolution, whose progress will be accelerated or hindered according to the wisdom of our councils and the single-mindedness of our policy. What our opponents cannot effect, our own folly may accomplish, and we should therefore proceed with calmness and deliberation, taking counsel from experience, and adapting our measures to the circumstances of each constituency. Whilst eschewing what is temporizing, we must also avoid what is rash and headstrong. In some cases it will be obviously inexpedient for dissenters to propose a candidate of their own. Their numbers are too limited for this, and the step would expose them to expense, without an adequate object being obtained. Where this then is the case, let them stand aside in calm and dignified quiet, recording the reasons of their doing so, and resolutely refusing to take part in the contentions of Whigs and Conservatives. No opportunity being afforded of recording their votes on behalf of religious freedom, they should stand aloof from the contest, waiting for better times. In such circumstances their testimony may be recorded, though not by vote, and it should be given unhesitatingly, without fear or favour. To refrain individually from voting will not meet the requirements of the case. They must unite in a declaration of principle as the basis of their procedure, so that others, and candidates especially, may know *why*, as well as *how*, they act. It should be part, also, of their aim to elicit from those who seek their votes a clear and intelligible expression of their views. An important service will thus be rendered to the common cause. Vague phraseology will be defined, unmeaning professions be tested, and valuable information, bearing on the success of future elections, will be obtained.\*

\* The following Questions have been recommended by the London Dissenting Deputies to be put to candidates, with a view to their sentiments being ascertained on points intimately affecting our civil and religious rights. They are equally applicable to all parts of the kingdom, and may be adopted with good effect:—

1. If they are prepared to vote against any grant of public money for religious or ecclesiastical purposes, whether such money is to be appropriated

In other cases where the friends of our principles are more numerous, it may be advisable to start a candidate, though with no serious intention of carrying him to the poll. This, however, should be done with extreme caution, and only where a thoroughly eligible candidate is possessed. The object is to inform the public mind, and the degree in which this can be accomplished must determine the expediency, or otherwise, of the step. Where a competent and earnest advocate can be secured, advantage should be taken of the present excitement, with a view of expounding our principles, and of urging those who profess them, to act worthy of their name. It is commonly difficult to rouse the English public to the consideration of questions which do not immediately bear on their present interests. Their constitutional quietude, however, is broken up on the excitement and stir of a parliamentary election, and by wisely availing ourselves of this fact we may gain a circulation for our statements which cannot otherwise be obtained. Men will listen to us now, will crowd to our assemblies, will give heed to our reasonings, who do not at other times come within our sphere. We may thus remove their prejudices, rectify their judgments, and conciliate their good will. The seed of a future harvest may be sown, and when our time is fully come, its fruit will be richly gathered. In all such cases, however, it must be borne in mind, that we act for no temporary end. We must guard against disappointment, by distinctly realizing the prospective character of our labours. We must willingly bear the burden and heat of the day, must submit to misrepresentation and calumny, and all the airs of petty triumph, in the assured faith that we are laying the basis for successful effort hereafter. The Anti-Corn-Law League adopted this policy, and we may well imitate its example. In no case, however, should this course be pursued, unless a thoroughly competent advocate be

to the established churches of the United Kingdom or to any of the non-established religious bodies of the country ?

2. Whether they will oppose all plans for endowing, either out of the consolidated Fund, or otherwise, the ministers of any religious body, Roman Catholic or Protestant ?

3. Whether they are prepared to oppose any system of general education, at the public expense, which either directly or indirectly compels the use of a catechism or creed and attendance on any particular form of public worship ?

4. Whether they will embrace every opportunity of voting for the abolition of church rates and of the ecclesiastical courts ?

5. Whether they will, on all occasions, vote in favour of extending equal civil rights to all classes of her majesty's subjects, so that no person shall be excluded from eligibility for office, place, or service, on account of his religious opinions ?

found. Under such leadership much good may be effected, but without it, the movement will be inexpedient and pernicious.

In other cases—and we rejoice to perceive, from the reports which crowd in upon us, that we are anticipated here—our friends should take immediate steps to organize themselves, and to bring forward suitable candidates. Their numbers, in many boroughs, are sufficient to justify such a step, and their success will be certain if they are but prompt and judicious in their movements. In numerous cases they form so large a section of the liberal party, that they may dictate their own terms respecting one of the members. They cannot return both, this is clear; and as our object now is a parliamentary representation of our principles, and not the mere increase of votes, no fair opportunity should be lost of coming to an arrangement with other liberal constituents, whereby the return of one of our number may be secured. Our duty is so to exercise the elective franchise, as may best insure, in the Commons' House, an able, earnest, and telling advocacy of our views; and we therefore counsel our friends to pause before they commit themselves to a course which, will substitute two conservatives, for a voluntary, and a liberal churchman. We are not unaware of what may be said in reply to this, but we believe there is a fallacy in the rejoinder which vitiates the argument, and leaves our views untouched. We have two votes, and are bound to use them so as may best subserve the cause of religious liberty. Shall we do this most effectually by requiring our fellow-electors who differ from us—our equals in number, if they do not surpass us—to choose two representatives of our views, or by ceding to them, what we claim for ourselves, the right of being heard in the Commons' House. To the dictation involved in the one course, it is not in human nature to yield; while the obvious fairness of the other, commends it to the approval of all impartial men. Let the first plan be adopted, and except in a very few instances, our representatives will for a century longer be strangers to St. Stephen's; but let the latter be taken, and scores of boroughs, aye, and some counties too, will speedily send thither, the men who love our principles, and in whom we trust. We speak as unto wise men; let others judge what we say.

In the meantime, let all be up and doing. There is no time to lose; and not one amongst us must be spared. The signs of the times are auspicious. There is a bright gleam in the heavens. We are entering on a new era; and our men are showing themselves worthy of the occasion. 'Nonconforming electors are backing their resolutions by their deeds. We have been surprised, we honestly confess, into admiration and delight. The

tokens of earnestness come in upon us so thickly, as well as unexpectedly, that we deem it unkind and wrong to doubt. We gladly surrender ourselves to the belief that a blow is about to be struck at the ensuing general election, which if it do nothing more, will stop the further expansion of the state-church principle.\* In conclusion, we commend to the serious and repeated perusal of our readers, the following passage, forming the close of the *Address*, placed at the head of this article. Let them ponder over its stirring appeals till their zeal be commensurate with the interests which are at stake, and the solemn responsibilities under which they lie :—

‘ Fellow-Dissenters, glance forward to the future. What are the questions which promise to occupy the attention of the next parliament ? During the coming seven years, what topic of discussion will be thrown most frequently upon the surface ? Do not all the signs of the times point to the probability that the relation of the State to the religious bodies of the empire will, in one shape or other, come up perpetually for consideration ? Can the church in Ireland remain as it is ? Have not the leaders of both the dominant parties given you fair warning of their intentions with respect to the Roman Catholic priesthood ? Are not the affairs of every British colony thrown into confusion by ecclesiastical encroachments ? Must not the educational plan of government undergo some change ? And with such prospects before you, can you, when the constitution invites you to speak, maintain silence on the only matter likely, during the next Parliament, to involve, to a serious extent, the moral condition of the community ? At present, you may not have it in your power to send more than a very few members into the House likely to give expression to your distinctive views—and, wherever this *can* be done, we doubt not you will do it. But you can, if you will, convince the Legislature that there exists a large body of constituents, numerous enough to turn the balance of parties, with whose interests it is unsafe to tamper—who have sufficient self-respect to resent gratuitous insult—attachment enough to their principles to stand by them against any and every political confederacy—and resolution enough to cast off allies who have thought fit to betray them. Such a display of quiet determination on your part will not be without its influence on the proceedings and decisions of the next Parliament. Let it but be seen that you can think for yourselves, feel strongly, and act independently, and many a floating vision which statesmen are hoping, ere long, to realize, will be dissipated like a dream.

‘ Fellow-Dissenters, the time is close at hand. Take your resolution at once ! Publish it to the world ! Stand by it unshrinkingly when the day of election shall arrive ! We have appealed to some motives which we think ought to sway you. We conclude by reminding you of your illustrious ancestors. Small is the sacrifice demanded at your hands, in vindication of God’s truth from the assaults of State power, compared



with that which they cheerfully rendered. Let it be seen that you inherit their spirit—that you have caught their falling mantle! Check the presumption of meddling politicians, who would irreverently carry with them the ark of God, in the hope of thereby influencing their contests with the people. Whether you vote or stand aloof, let your conduct be a dignified and intelligible protest against all State interference with religion.

### Brief Notices.

*History of the Roman Republic.* By M. Michelet, author of the 'History of France,' 'Life of Luther,' &c. Translated by William Hazlitt, Esq. London: David Bogue.

*A History of Rome; from the Earliest Times to the Death of Commodus, A. D. 192.* By Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, F. R. S. S., Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. 12mo. London: Taylor and Walton.

HISTORIES of Rome have so multiplied, that, whatever their intrinsic merit, both reviewers and readers must be liable to *ennui*, if many pages are bestowed upon them. We have before us two works of very different character, which may deserve a short separate notice.

M. Michelet is well known as an author of eccentric genius. His work was published in 1835, and makes three small French volumes. Considering that his peculiar *forte* is French and Modern History, the very extensive reading and power of selection displayed in his 'Rome' is highly honourable to his talents and assiduity. In the early part of the work, he carries his scepticism beyond any other author of note; and his belief in the mythical or fabulous character of the very prosaic tales which we there encounter, appears to us exceedingly overstrained. His mode of address in all this portion of the book is very unsatisfactory, and scarcely enables an uninformed reader to judge of the argument. Of course it leaves him in the dark as to various notable things believed by the later Romans concerning their ancestors; nevertheless, M. Michelet succeeds in giving on the whole, a vivid impression as to the general character of those old republicans. From the war of the Samnites onward the history improves; and even where (what is very common) we do not agree with the author's representations, we are forced to admit that he has drawn a bold and striking picture, has ingeniously knit together the fragments of history, and has produced a specious and plausible account, which will abide firm in the reader's imagination.

M. Michelet appears utterly to despise the received doctrine, that we ought scrupulously to weigh the character of different historical authorities. He has but one rule; to collect from every quarter all striking

anecdotes, and to dub as true and certain whatever will *tell* in the narrative. Hence he is a great scandalmonger, and bemires every character in the history to such an extent, that he might seem not to believe in the existence of human virtue. The noblest actions are ascribed to mean motives, or so represented that nothing noble is even on their surface. The *imaginative* seems so to over-ride the *moral* faculty in him, that the heart of the reader at last sickens, and comes to hate the atmosphere of history altogether. Yet we regard this book as one which may suggest many additions and some correctives to received views; and which, judiciously used, may be an acceptable aid to students. It is now published in a cheap translation and elegant form by Mr. Bogue. Unfortunately the translator is not so familiar with Roman history as with the French language, and the book is disfigured by petty mistakes, especially as to proper names, which are often inaccurate, sometimes rather disgracefully so. This will be vexatious, if it shall be much read by those who have not the means of correction.

The 'History' by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz is of a different character. Its size and its recency forbid our pretending to a full mastery of it, but the author's name confirms what is suggested by a partial study of it,—that we have here a rather ample and very learned account of nearly everything which collegiate students need to know for the elucidation of Roman history and Latin literature. If he has not the picturesqueness of Michelet, it is because he does not regard scene-painting as the highest end of history. He does not merely give the Roman story as *he* conceives of it, but he places before the reader no scanty materials by which he may judge for himself. As the book contains six hundred and forty-one full pages, it does not fulfil the desideratum of banishing Goldsmith's 'History' from schools: it is twice too long for a *first book*; and we believe that poor collegians, (who find the five octavos of Niebuhr too much for their pocket,) rather than those schoolboys who are not destined for college, ought to be congratulated on the appearance of this work. It appears to be wholly destitute of political bias, or capricious feelings towards persons, and to be a thoroughly candid endeavour to tell truth and nothing else. In outline, Dr. Schmitz avows it to be his intention to reproduce Niebuhr's views, which, however, he has never followed slavishly.

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*Orphanhood. Free-will Offerings to the Fatherless.* London: Nisbet & Co. THE benevolent design of this publication disarms criticism. Were we otherwise disposed to exercise our craft severely, the sight of its title-page, and the thought of what it aimed at, would smooth our brow and divert us from our purpose. It is a collection of papers, varying, of course, in merit, but all worthy of perusal, furnished by different pens, and having in view the interests of a dependent class, and the welfare of one of the best institutions of the day. Literature and art, poetry and prose, the grave moral, the light ballad, and the gentle story, are combined in happy proportions, and with the effect.

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*Methodism and Dissent ; being Strictures upon a Pamphlet by the Rev. J. Beckwith, entitled ' The Position of the Wesleyans in reference to the Church and Dissenters.'* By J. P. Mursell. 8vo. pp. 18. Second Edition. London : Clarke & Co.

A SEVERE, but well-merited, castigation, in which the love of truth, and an honest regard to fair-dealing, are happily blended with an honourable acknowledgment of the services rendered to our common Christianity by Wesleyan Methodism. We know nothing of Mr. Beckwith, but if his flippancy and assumption are not proof against rebuke, we envy not his feelings. The recent doings of the leaders of Conference have gone far to shake public confidence in the integrity of the body.

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*Lives of the Italian Painters. Michael Angelo.* By R. Duppa, LL.B. *Raffaello.* By Quatremere de Quincy, Perpetual Secretary of the Academie des Beaux Arts London : David Bogue.

MR. DUPPA'S work is an able and scholar-like performance. A careful perusal of it will make the reader acquainted with the simple, noble, manly, and enthusiastic character of the great Michael Angelo. Of the clever artists of our day some are coxcombs, and others are sycophants, and scarcely any are content to be exactly what they are, and what Michael Angelo was, an artist. He was the very opposite of a character very common in these days—the Artist-Snob. He gave his life to Art, making its fortunes his fortunes, its station his station, and its renown his renown. To the Beautiful he said—'Thy people shall be my people.' Michael Angelo was a deep-thoughted man, much chastened by thought and sorrow—

' ———— Taught by many a melancholy proof  
That those whom fortune favours it pollutes,  
I from the blind and faithless world aloof,  
Nor fear its envy nor desire its praise,  
But choose my path through solitary ways.'

Such were the feelings of this great artist at fourscore. Mr. Duppa mentions an anecdote of him which causes us, with the help of portraits and descriptions, to see him as he appeared and lived when a young artist, struggling for fame in his twenty-fourth year. He had executed for Cardinal Rovano his celebrated marble group of the Virgin with a dead Christ in her lap, which is called in Italy *a Pietà*. This was the work which brought him into notice. The production was executed with the greatest care, and is now an altar-piece in a chapel at St. Peter's dedicated to *La Virgine Maria della Febbre*. Entering the church one day, he observed a group of foreigners admiring the *Pieta*. They asked who was the sculptor. Their guide, one Christoforo Solari, commonly called *Il Gobbo*, im-

mediately answered 'one of our countrymen, a Milanese.' Michael Angelo stood by in silence, but at night he shut himself up in the church, and by candle-light cut his name on the fillet which connects the drapery with the figure. The anecdote would be a beautiful subject for a picture. The grand gloom of the church with the candle-light revealing the beautiful piece of sculpture, and the young middle-sized, broad and high-browed artist, with his small hazel-eyes intent on chiselling out his own title to fame—would form a scene worthy of the pencil of a Rembrandt, and capable of a high intellectual expression and treatment in the purest style of art.

But our space does not permit us to indulge even in glimpses, at these great Italian artists. Unlike Michael Angelo, whose best works can only be seen at Rome, the finest productions of Raffaello are at Hampton Court. Few places can furnish the object of an excursion better than this splendid palace, to those who are pent up in this million-crowded metropolis. Of Hampton Court, the Cartoons of Raffaello, to all persons of true taste, are the greatest attractions and ornaments. In this volume the public have, for the first time in the English language, a biography of the great genius whose masterpieces are accessible to all. To every visitor to Hampton Court we say, therefore, buy this volume. Its perusal will render your visit to the Cartoons still more elevating, refining, and healthful.

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THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW  
FOR AUGUST, 1847.

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ART. I.—*A Financial, Monetary, and Statistical History of England, from the Revolution of 1688, to the Present Time ; derived principally from official documents. In Seventeen Letters, addressed to the Young Men of Britain.* By Thomas Doubleday, Esq., author of 'The Law of Population,' etc. London: Effingham Wilson. 1847. pp. 430.

THE title of this book gives a fair view of its contents. To have been written by the author of a 'Theory of Population,' it has, however, one remarkable deficiency. Mr. Doubleday does not once refer to the census, and takes no notice of the increase or decrease of the people. With that, the progress of society—if not all its varying phenomena—increase of consumption, greater demand and rise of price, increase of knowledge, greater ingenuity and skill, cheaper production and fall of price—is closely and inseparably connected. An increase of population is the one great physical fact which, from the beginning of society, has accompanied all the moral effects called civilization. A statistical history without as accurate an account as can be obtained of the movement of the population through the whole period embraced by the history, is a building without a foundation. We know no other special, financial, and statistical history which does not rest on the increase or decrease of the people. 'Chalmers's Estimate,' 'Porter's Progress,' 'Hopkins's Economical History,' are works of the same class as that of Mr. Doubleday, though embracing different periods ; and the movement of the population is the basis of all. Such an omission,

coupled with the fact that Mr. Doubleday is the author of a novel theory on the subject, is calculated to throw a shade of discredit on his extensive compilation.

On another point he differs from other statistical writers. They are in general contented with stating facts; and, though they may have a party bias, they do not indulge in an abuse of persons. Mr. Doubleday is obviously a keen politician and a good hater, and his work is very deficient in the calmness of pure science. It is redolent of censure of men and things. He writes as if he had always been in opposition to every ministry since the Revolution of 1688, and was bound to condemn every measure. For the Tories of Queen Anne's reign and for Lord Chatham, he has a word or two of praise; but for other persons, only vituperation; and for some, very coarse vituperation. Johnson was 'a pompous, overpraised bully;' George III. 'a royal idiot;' his mother, 'a regal demirep;' Bute, a 'profligate Scotchman,' etc. Financial and statistical histories, though very valuable, cannot float down the stream of time under the burden of such language. It may have made the partizan pamphlets of the time, from which Mr. Doubleday has the merit of borrowing it, racy and acceptable; but now that the party fever is at an end and forgotten, it seems as nauseous as the draughts which are swallowed with avidity by a parched and thirsty patient. Agreeing in the main with some of Mr. Doubleday's doctrines, and aware that those who differ from the ruling powers are sometimes accused of indulging in foul language, we notice at once this general tarnish of his work, lest we appear to sanction his vituperative style.

We are not disposed, indeed, to attribute to Mr. Doubleday any extraordinary sagacity or a perfect mastery of the principles of economical science. If, as Chancellor Oxenstiern said, 'The political world is governed by very little wisdom,' we may quote Mr. Doubleday, who is rather fond of referring to this axiom, as an example, in common with many writers of the day, that equally little philosophy is sufficient to criticise the wisdom of politicians. He vehemently condemns the establishment of the Bank of England, the use of paper money, the contraction of enormous national debts, the Suspension of cash payments, the Resumption Act of 1819, the Bank Charter Act of 1844, and other acts and institutions; but he rather adopts popular conclusions, than demonstrates them to be just. His work, however, is of too wide a scope for us to embrace the whole, and we must select one or two topics illustrative of general principles for remark.

We shall be the more readily excused for not adverting to Mr. Doubleday's details, when it is remembered, that statistics,

unless steadily enlightened and tested by the natural laws of increase of population and wealth, are not sure and safe guides. It is, for example, part of his case that prices rose very much after the establishment of the Bank of England, and the introduction of paper money; but in our times, prices have fallen very much in conjunction with both. In fact, so many causes conspire to influence prices, both temporarily and permanently, such as the increase of people, the opening of new markets, and the invention of new arts; and contractions and expansions of the currency, particularly paper currency, are so much more generally the effects than the causes of variations in price, that, without a most careful, minute, and complete analysis of every change, mere tables of figures are very likely to lead, as they have led Mr. Doubleday, to erroneous conclusions. We must content ourselves, therefore, in adverting to one or two points, by referring rather to principles than details.

Of the establishment of the Bank of England, the author says—

‘In Holland, the country of his birth, the Dutch king and his advisers found both a precedent to quote, and an example to follow. By its position and circumstances, this country, inconsiderable in size and population, and not naturally defensible, had been compelled to act the part, for a series of years, of a leading power in Europe; and, this it had only been enabled to do, by that novel arm which a very extensive foreign trade is sure to create, and by the money drawn together by successful trading. Venice had, at an earlier period, played a similar part; but a series of struggles at last led the huckstering genius of the Dutch into a system, at which the Venetian republic had not arrived; and this was the fabrication of paper-money, the erection of a bank to issue it, and the systematic borrowing of that money, and the creation of debt on the part of the government, for only the interest of which taxes were demanded of the people. Here was machinery set up and at work; and, in the opinion of interested or superficial observers, working successfully. It was, accordingly, soon proposed to set up a copy of this machinery in England, and in A. D. 1694, the blow was struck, which has been destined to have effects so monstrous, so long continued, and so marvellous on the fortunes of England and her people; and the establishment since known as ‘the Bank of England,’ was erected under the sanction of the government.’—pp. 63, 64.

‘The houses of parliament were, after a severe struggle, prevailed upon to sanction it; and on the 27th day of July, A. D. 1694, the first charter was issued, a day fifty times more really important and memorable, than epochs of dynasties, or eras of victories and conquests.’—p. 64.

‘In the act itself, certain clauses enact, that if subscribers under the act shall raise £1,200,000, they shall be formed into a corpora-



tion under the style and title of 'the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.' The remaining £300,000 was also to be subscribed; but for this the lenders were to receive annuities from the government for one, two, and three lives. The new bank company were, in return for their charter, to lend the whole of the subscribed capital (£1,200,000) to government, at an interest of *eight* per cent. per annum. They were also to have £4,000 a-year for management; in all, £100,000 a-year for lending £1,200,000. Such being the terms offered, the subscription-list was filled up in ten days, and on the 27th July, 1694, their charter was sealed: and this, it may be truly said was 'the opening of the first seal'—for England. The name of the first governor was John Houlbon, Knt.; and amongst the directors stands the ill-omened name of William Paterson, the contriver and concoctor of the whole scheme.

'Thus the beginning of '*paper-money*,' and a 'bank,' was the beginning of '*national debt*,' properly so called.'—pp. 72, 73.

'Thus were now fairly established in England, paper-credit and paper-money in the shape of 'Exchequer Bills' and 'Bank notes,' formally for the first time. This novelty, destined to be so disastrous in its after effects, was only brought about by an open and avowed union between the Government and the Bank, and a combination of the credit of both; which continued as time elapsed, though with more of secresy; and which, despite of all assertion to the contrary, continues at this hour.'—p. 77.

The great objection which Mr. Doubleday makes to the establishment of the Bank of England is, that it was the origin of paper money and the national debt. Both are spoken of as disastrous. As they are still numbered amongst our plagues or our advantages, it is of importance to form correct opinions concerning them. Mr. Doubleday admits, that before the Bank of England was established, 'goldsmiths' receipts for coin lodged with them had been transferred from hand to hand,' and were 'an approach to paper money.' He admits, too, that the Dutch had been taught the use of paper money 'by their extensive foreign trade.' He cannot be ignorant that, about the same period, or some time before, paper money grew into use amongst commercial men throughout Europe, as well as in Holland and England. He has probably learnt from Professor Storch or Sir John Mandeville, that paper money was introduced into Tartary towards the end of the thirteenth century, and, from living authors, that it exists in China to this day. He knows, that from the time of its introduction its use has everywhere continually extended; and that it not only prevails, now, more or less, over the whole commercial world, but that day by day, more and more of the functions of trade are performed by paper money. It is abundantly evident, too, that many of those functions, under the present vast extension of

commerce in different countries, could no more be carried on without paper money, than without products to be exchanged. It ought, therefore, to have occurred to Mr. Doubleday, that the introduction of paper money into England, at whatever period it may have taken place, was one of the inevitable consequences of those general laws which, as he states, 'control, and will control, human affairs,' and not of any act of parliament. If no other objection could be raised to the Bank of England than that it was the parent of paper money, it would at no time have been a usurpation, an injustice, or an evil. At this moment there could be no good reason to condemn it; and Mr. Doubleday, instead of having his conclusion backed by the bulk of the community, would stand unsupported and alone. The public, too, would have before it the pleasant prospect of the bank, flourishing with all its privileges in green vigour, as long as England should continue to be a trading country.

The truth is, that money altogether, metallic as well as paper, is the child of commerce, not of government. Commerce again is wholly an affair of barter between individuals. It is the complement and the consequence of division of labour, and of the earth being endowed with different climates suitable to the production of different commodities. It is in no sense the offspring of political regulations, or of men being collected under different governments, though tariffs and restrictions may impede or destroy it. We are accustomed to speak of it, but erroneously as carried on between nations, but nations in their corporate capacities are not traders. Queen Victoria's government does not buy of that of Mr. Polk, and sell to that of Louis Philippe. Whether the individuals who buy and sell, all live under one of these governments, or under all three, they carry on trade for their own advantage exclusively, and not to benefit the state. By laws, the state restricts their operations, just as savages interfere with the perfection of the body by copper shoes, or bags of sand placed on the forehead; by them it may impede the growth of trade, or distort it; but as the rule, it never engages in trade. It is wrong, therefore, to speak of foreign trade, as carried on between nations politically distinct; it is carried on between individuals living in parts of the earth, having different advantages of climate, which may or may not have one sovereign. Commerce is altogether a natural, not a political phenomenon. It is an essential part of natural, and no part of political society. To that it is, in fact, opposed, for it continually tends to amalgamate into one common humanity, those separate people whom political regulations keep asunder. Of this great branch of natural society or civilization, money is the essential instrument, as the plough and the harrow are the

essential tools of agriculture. As the laws of mechanics determine the properties and the application of tools, so the natural laws which give birth to commerce, determine all the qualities and properties of money.

This is evident from money being much the same at all times and places, however different may be political regulations. From the earliest ages, commerce has everywhere used, and still uses, with few exceptions, all over the world, the precious metals as money. They are as peculiarly adapted to this purpose as iron is for making a ploughshare, by inherent qualities not imparted to them by governments. The quantities, too, of them obtainable, and the amount of labour necessary to obtain a given quantity, determining their relative value to all other commodities, are not regulated by governments. All which governments ever have professed to do beneficially for money, is to certify by marks or stamps that coins contain a certain definite *weight* of the precious metals of a known fineness. Over the qualities and quantities of the precious metals, the two elements of their value, governments have no more control than over sunshine. They can shut their subjects up in dungeons or workhouses, and so prevent the sun shining on them; and they can, by taxation, extort money from the people, or monopolise mines; but they cannot determine the quantity of the precious metals which commerce requires and can command. They impede the supply of food by corn-laws, but they cannot control the seasons nor the population, nor determine each year whether food shall be abundant or scanty. Neither can they control the productiveness of mines, any more than they can determine the qualities of the metals.

Our government takes no trouble whatever about the supply of the precious metals, but leaves it wholly to commerce. They may be freely exported and imported. 'The precious metals,' said Sir Robert Peel, on May 6, 1844, and the admission is of great importance, coming from a man whose whole business depends on denying that anything is regulated except by laws enacted in parliament,—'the precious metals are distributed among the various countries of the world, in proportion to their respective necessities, by laws of a certain though not very obvious operation; which, without *our* (the legislature) interference, will allot to *our* (the nation) share all that we require.' Thus, with the quantity of metallic money on which its exchangeable value mainly depends, the government does not pretend to interfere, but trusts the supply and the regulation of the supply wholly to commerce. Metallic money, therefore, is regulated in its principal parts, and would be regulated in all its parts, were governments not to interfere with it, by the natural laws which give birth to commerce.

The same truth is quite as certain and as plain of paper-money, which is obviously the invention of commerce for its own purposes. It comes after metallic money in the order of time, as wheel-carriages came after pack-horses, and as steam locomotives on rails have come after wheel-carriages on stoned roads. Promissory notes, whether payable on demand or after certain dates, bills of exchange, or drafts, are instruments of commerce, not of government. They are the natural consequences of credit, which is the natural and necessary result of the different periods required to bring different commodities to market.

It is customary to speak of coining money as one of the inherent prerogatives of the crown; but 'divers bishops and monasteries,' says Blackstone,\* 'had formerly the privilege of coining money.' 'The coining of money,' says Miller,† 'was a privilege early assumed by the nobles or great proprietors of land on the territory under their jurisdiction.' In the time of Athelstane, we have a list of twelve towns in which money was coined; and the superior clergy, we are told, shared with the king in the prerogative of coining.‡ Some of these towns, or some individuals resident in them, paid to the king a sum of 'money for a license or privilege to coin.'§ It is pretty clear, therefore, that the sovereign princes, bishops, abbots, great lords, etc., seized the privilege of coining as they seized the passages across rivers and mountains, for the purpose of levying black mail or tolls on commerce. Their usurpations were at length consolidated in the hands of the most successful and powerful amongst them, and became the royal prerogative of coining. At every period, we see sovereign princes laying their hands on mills, or banks, or railways—on every successive branch of society as it shoots forth new and productive, and subjecting it to a tax or a license; and thus establishing a royal, or, in modern times, a parliamentary prerogative, to tax grinding corn, or distilling spirits; or, in some states, to be the chief miller, banker, railway maker, or coiner, in the kingdom. Instead of confining itself, according to the theory of kingship, to protecting the industry of the people, the sovereign power has ever laid in ambush, as it were, to seize on every invention and improvement as it came into being, and pervert it to its own purposes. So wide has now become its range, that scarcely a part of society escapes its control—from the earliest teaching of little children to the depositing the last remains of mortality in the grave—from the child's go-cart to the iron road that runs through the empire;

\* Book i. chap. vii.

† On the English Government, vol. i. p. 226.

‡ Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 266.

§ Ibid. pp. 269—274.

and it has everywhere become the sovereign disturber of all the natural relations of society.

By the prerogative of coining it has done much mischief. Under the pretext of preserving uniformity, and protecting the people against fraud, it took on itself the duty of certifying the weight and value of coins. Instead of continuing to divide the precious metals by weight, as was done by commerce, it divided them arbitrarily, and fixed a nominal value on its coins. The sovereign power not only perverted the instrument of commerce far from its easily understood divisions by weight, but it depreciated and degraded it, still calling that a pound which was not even an ounce. By successively corrupting the instrument of commerce, it inflicted, at different periods, more disorder and trouble on society than all the petty larceny that ever was committed. Every student of political economy knows, and every man is continually reminded by the names, that the pound sterling (originally a pound of silver), in England, has been cheatingly degraded to a third part of that weight; and a livre, in France, to the sixty-sixth part of its nominal amount. Before the invention of paper money, governments borrowed the substance of their subjects without acknowledging any debt, by issuing debased coin. After paper-money was invented, they used that for their purposes; and then they became sticklers for maintaining the integrity of the standard. Having learnt some honesty from the fair trader, they raised a great alarm against over issuing bankers, and took to issuing or controlling paper-money themselves, which they degraded, as in England, Russia, and Austria, from twenty per cent. to less than a third of its written and engraved value. It was not, therefore, as Mr. Doubleday supposes, the invention of paper-money which led to national debts, but the folly and rapacity of rulers, who, in all ages, have turned the instruments of commerce to an evil purpose. In modern times, the magnitude of national incumbrances has become conspicuous and startling in consequence of the vast increase of wealth among the people. There has been much to borrow, and governments have borrowed much.

Governments have properly nothing to do with paper-money, which represents the credit of producers. They issue exchequer-bills, however, and by their operations continually disturb the credit market; but they produce nothing with which to redeem their obligations. Their revenue consists of portions of all the commodities produced by the people, on which credit has generally been taken on their way to the market. Credit on revenue can only be paid by taxes. Governments have no legitimate source of credit, and all their loans are in excess over and above the natural amount of credit. Mercantile paper-money, not the

paper issued by governments, is as much a part of the natural system of commerce as metallic money; and the bankers who prepare and distribute it pretty equally among the productive classes, are as necessary links in the chain of trade as the merchant or the cultivator. They are the agents both of lenders and borrowers. The Bank of England, merely as a bank, is not to be condemned on account either of the number of its partners or the extent of its capital, because it was established by a Whig ministry and a Dutch king, or because it was connected with paper-money and the increase by the government of the national debt; but the government is to be condemned for having, at the end of the seventeenth century, seized hold of the useful but then nascent invention of commercial paper-money, and turned it to a bad end. Ever since then, it has played a succession of tricks with paper-money, that are only to be matched by the tricks it before played with metallic money. The difference between Mr. Doubleday and us is, that he throws all the blame of national debts on paper-money and on the bank; while we throw it on the government which, continually practising or adhering to injustice, was as much in fault in 1844 as in 1694.

The difference between Mr. Doubleday and ourselves is the type of a general difference of opinion of some importance. There are a great number of other branches of society which, even more clearly and obviously than metallic and paper-money, have a natural origin, and are regulated by natural laws. The increase of population, for example, carrying with it the complication of all the relations of society, crowding men as to space, and gradually converting everywhere a rural and scattered population into a town population, producing a great number of changes, that continually astonish and confound the lawgiver; is obviously the result of natural laws, and is regulated by the same laws as regulate the changes in the atmosphere. To confound the effects of these natural laws with the effects of legislation, as Mr. Doubleday does, and not only in the above instance, but throughout his book, is a common and mischievous error. All the natural branches or offsets of society, including paper-money, are necessarily beneficial; there is a continual succession of new branches wherever population rapidly increases; but by most people the novelty is conceived to be something wrong, and they complain of it, or try to suppress or regulate it. We require to be continually on our guard against the supposition that everything in society, whether good or evil, is caused by human laws, and can be improved by them. Government always acts on this error. It may indeed be said to be the foundation of its existence. As government, by seizing hold of paper-

money and perverting it, has done great mischief; so it seems likely to pursue exactly the same course with exactly the same results as to railroads. We cannot, therefore, mark too strongly the difference between Mr. Doubleday and ourselves, as an index to a general difference of the same kind which pervades society.

It is customary to speak and write of the natural laws, from which society springs, and by which it is regulated, as if they were sometimes suspended for the convenience of governments and nations, and only brought into operation by a disastrous season. In this we deceive ourselves. They are always silently, and 'not obviously,' working, though our attention may be more forcibly directed to them at one period than another. What was wrong, therefore, and mischievous in the original charter of the bank, is wrong and mischievous, so much of it as remains, at this day, and has been wrong and mischievous through the whole time of its existence. Banks are beneficial establishments; issuing paper money is beneficial; the exclusive privileges granted to the Bank of England were an injustice to other men. Every man has a natural right to enter into and carry on trade. Every subject of the queen has an equal right to share in all the natural advantages of trade; he has an equal right, therefore, with every other man, to become a banker, or form a bank with other men, and carry on the banking business, including the issue of promises to pay on demand to any amount, according to his own views, consistently with honesty. The charter of the bank took away this natural right from all other men, and conferred parts of it exclusively on the Bank of England proprietors. It gave them the power to establish a bank with more than six partners, and prohibited others from doing so. It allowed them to issue bank-notes, and prohibited other banks from issuing them within a certain distance. The privileges granted to the bank were restrictions on the honest industry of other men. The bank charter then was from the first, and is now, an act of positive injustice to all her majesty's subjects other than bank proprietors.

Our readers are aware that, under the Tudors and the Stuarts, and prior even to the reigns of the Tudors, it was customary for the sovereign to grant or sell to individuals, for a consideration, various privileges, such as the exclusive right to import wine from Gascony, till all business had become, towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, a vast bundle of vexatious monopolies. The great revolution, provoked in some measure by them, swept many of them away, but the spirit of the Tudors and the Stuarts survived in William III. and the parliament; and the grant by them of a charter to the Bank of England in return for a loan of £1,200,000, was a revival on a large scale—applied to a

new branch of business—appearing to injure no one, and therefore acquiesced in—of the old prerogative of selling the liberties of the people to supply the temporary necessities of the sovereign. For a bribe, the government violated its duty to the people; and sold the freedom of industry it was bound to guard, for the paltry consideration of a loan of £1,200,000. Such, however, was the morality of the age, formed on the still worse political morality of the previous one, that the bribe was openly taken; and the government which established the bank and betrayed its trust was thought to have done a good act. But, as we have already said, what was wrong under William III. continues to be wrong under Queen Victoria; and yet custom is so powerful, that it reconciles us to the continual sacrifice of the public liberties for the most paltry pecuniary considerations. Nay, we are now even aware that much of the money lent by the bank to the state, for which it receives a high rate of interest, is borrowed on promises to pay from the people, to whom it pays no interest; and thus with their own wealth the bribe is continually paid, for which their liberties are sacrificed.

See the manifold consequences of this state crime, for that is its proper name. The greatest commercial country in existence is to this hour without a reasonable system of banking. In Scotland, the rights of the people were never bartered away for a miserable bribe to a corporation; and that country has had for upwards of a century a safe and a sound system of banking and paper currency. It has been attended by no serious disasters, and has contributed, as is universally admitted, to promote in an almost unexampled degree the prosperity of Scotland. Mr. Doubleday takes no notice of that system and that part of the empire, though it is a full answer to his vituperation of banks and paper money. In England, banks could not be established with more than six partners; and good banking has been sacrificed to the one Bank of England. The trade being subjected to undue restrictions, men of substance declined to engage in it. Private banks, in contrast to the state chartered Bank, were depreciated in public esteem; and banking was accordingly much left in the hands of schemers and adventurers. A comparatively new trade, it was necessary that men should learn by experience, before they could know how it could be safely and accurately carried on. The government seized it, however, almost at its birth, and fastened it from that time to this in the narrow swaddling clothes it then bound around it. Struggle after struggle indeed has torn away some parts of the bank charter. The establishment of joint-stock banks has been permitted; but the original error has exposed banking and bankers to continual restrictive legislation and continually recurri



misfortunes, from which other trades have been exempt. Many remnants of the original wrong still hang about us, and expose banking and bankers to unworthy restrictions and unfavourable opinions, that no man thinks of applying to grocers, booksellers, merchants, or any other class, forming a necessary part of the great system of division of labour. Public opinion, we regret to say, perverted rather than enlightened by modern and interested writers, has gone backward on this point. More than twenty years ago, there were strong hopes that the bank charter would be abolished. The Earl of Liverpool was hostile to renewing the charter, and publicly avowed such an opinion; but since his death it has been twice renewed, and each time with some additional and noxious restrictions.

A worse consequence than those already mentioned is the immense power thus given to the one bank, which necessarily regards the interest of its proprietors more than the business of individuals and the welfare of the country. In the natural course of trade, accumulation and credit would be equally dispersed and distributed over all branches of business and places of traffic, affording equal and due aid to cultivation, manufactures, and barter. The bullion necessary to the stability of paper-money would be equally dispersed by the same rule, and distributed amongst local and private banks, and never could be heaped up in a mass. The bank charter has prevented so beneficial a distribution. In order, as was supposed by Mr. Poulett Thomson, to give greater security to bank-paper, that of the Bank of England was, in 1833, made a legal tender at every place except the bank counter; and thus the gold in the vaults of the bank became answerable for all the paper circulation, so far as it consists of promises to pay on demand, of the empire. No sooner, therefore, is there a little drain on that bullion—no sooner is that heap reduced by one or two millions sterling, which is an utter trifle in the prodigious resources of the empire, than the whole trading community is convulsively alarmed. Does the bank diminish its discount to bring back the vagrant gold, credit is shaken, trade is paralysed, and thousands of persons see ruin suddenly impending over them. Public attention is accordingly fixed on the bank. It has a basilisk power to charm. It is made, as is said, the regulator of the currency; and thus a company of private adventurers is more revered than ever was the sun by Persian worshippers. Daily are all its doings recorded; weekly are official accounts rendered of the business of the bank. Elaborate tables of its issues, of its securities, of its deposits, of its bullion, of its reserve, and its rest, though all mere private business, are continually laid before parliament, and commented on, till every man in the kingdom, whatever may be his own pursuits, and however igno-

rant he may be of other trades, and the most important and saving knowledge, is obliged to make himself familiar with all the mysteries of banking. This little branch of the commerce of this great nation, with its two or three hundred proprietors, and its trumpery ten or fifteen millions of gold, continually occupies the thoughts and pens of our public writers, and the tongues of our statesmen. A large part of Mr. Doubleday's book is devoted to the bank, to which, in common with many other persons, he seems inclined to ascribe all the vicissitudes of the country. There prevails, in fact, a complete idolatry of the paper goddess set up by the government in Threadneedle Street. It possesses a power over our minds and our actions—over our nerves and our prosperity, which we deny to the government. We are still the victims of the usurpations of 1694.

The last act of renewal, the act of 1844, was worse, perhaps, than all its predecessors. It was then fully assumed, that it was the duty of the legislature to regulate the credit currency of the empire; and it arbitrarily fixed the amount. Prior to that act, the issues of the bank might be partially regulated by the wants of commerce, subordinate to the interests of the bank proprietors and the discretion of the bank directors. The issues of country bankers, too, had no other rule than the demands of their customers and their own resources. That act applied to the issue of paper-money, a rigid parliamentary rule which has no relation to the wants of commerce. The parliament did not openly take the issue of bank notes into its own hands, but it prescribed what was tantamount—the quantity to be issued. Pretending to renew the bank charter, it really established a state bank. It surreptitiously took the issue of paper money under its control. Like all shabby and mean modes of carrying out an ambition, more timid and trucking than daring and straightforward, this act has all the disadvantages of cowardice and usurpation united. It establishes a state bank for the profit of a private company. Three years only have passed since the enactment of this law, recommended by the most sagacious of bankers, the most authoritative of our economists, and the most cautious of our statesmen, after, as he said, 'inquiry had been exhausted,' and adopted by parliament with a thorough conviction that it was to put an end to all the difficulties of the currency question; and already, even its advocates and admirers admit it to be a failure.

If in boldly establishing a state bank, the legislature had prescribed the amount of its issues by some debt it had previously contracted and spent, the hocus pocus, worthy of the concoctors of the South Sea bubble, would have been immediately

apparent. As long as the issues of the bank were not regulated by the state, the public securities it possessed were a national guarantee to the holders of its notes, that, in case of its failure, they should only lose their proportionate share as tax-payers; but when the state prescribed the issue of notes on its own debts, there was no second party to give the guarantee, and the whole became a juggle. No private banker, much as his class has been condemned, ever thought of anything so scandalous as to issue notes promising to pay, on demand, a sum equivalent to the mortgage on his property, or the money he owed. That was done, however, by the parliament of England, in the year 1844, by the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, as he gravely stated, to secure the convertibility of the notes. To pay, on demand, the sum of £14,000,000, issued by the bank, at the command of the state, on the debt of the state to the bank, and on public securities, or other public debts, there is not a single penny in the coffers either of the Bank of England or of the Exchequer. So far as that sum is concerned, the act of 1844, to insure the convertibility of bank notes, is a perfect mockery. It reminds one of the Paris roué, who lived on his debts. Sir Robert Peel must be practically a believer in the late Lord Lauderdale's doctrines, that the national debt is national wealth, and so he promises to pay, on demand, £14,000,000, by the debt the state has previously incurred. In spite of such legislation the country may thrive, from the indomitable spirit of individuals struggling to improve their condition. They accommodate themselves as best they can to such contemptible legislation, and so ward off the ruin it is calculated to bring on all. Sir Robert Peel is a great man, as all other politicians are great men, by denying the capability of the masses to take care of themselves, and by performing that task for them. Far from his assumption being the truth, however, the masses not only take care of themselves, but so manage as to take care of Sir Robert Peel, and prevent him from ruining both his character and his country. If trade did not accommodate itself to his erroneous enactments, the mischief they would cause would soon put an end to his power and the power of all his class.

The act of 1844 has not even answered the proposed purpose of its author. It was to have made the amount of bank notes in circulation vary exactly as the amount of gold varied in the coffers of the bank—rising, as it rose, and falling, as it fell. The following brief abstract of the returns, which we quote from a paper read before the statistical society by Mr. Dansen, on January 18th, will show the failure of the act on this point.

‘For example: in the third weekly return made under the act (21st September, 1844) the bullion is stated at 15.1,\* the circulation at 20.6. Five weeks afterwards, we find the bullion has fallen to 14.0, while the circulation has risen to 22.3. Thus, while bullion to the amount of £1,100,000 runs out, the note circulation is not reduced, but increased, by £1,700,000.

‘Thenceforward, to the close of the year, the bullion rises slowly to 14.8, while the circulation falls more rapidly to 20.1.

‘At the opening of 1845, the bullion is 14.8, and the circulation 20.6. At the end of the first three months (29th of March), the bullion has risen to 16.2, and the circulation is very nearly where it was, being 20.7.

‘Again; we find that on the 14th of June, 1845, the bullion is at 16.6, being the highest amount it reached during the two years, and the circulation, 21.6, that the bullion thenceforward falls gradually, till the 29th of October, when its amount is reduced to 14.0, and that during the same period, the circulation rises from 21.6 to 23.3. This happens to be the highest amount the circulation reached during the two years; and it is remarkable that it was attained at a time when the bullion had been falling continuously for more than four months. While the bullion sank 2.5, the circulation rose 2.1.

Mr. Dansen examined the subject only to the end of the year; but since then, the variation in the notes have no more followed the bullion than before. At the beginning of the year, according to the tables in the *Economist*, the circulation was as 20.9, and the bullion as 14.9. The circulation increased, and the bullion decreased through the month; and on January 30, the former was as 21.4, and the latter as 12.9. The circulation had increased £478,482, and the bullion had decreased £2,049,914. Through February and March, the circulation and bullion both declined; the former being, at the end of February, as 20.1, and the latter as 12.0. Towards the end of March, the circulation began to increase, without any increase of bullion; and on the 27th, was as 20.2, while the bullion was as 11.0. The circulation continued for some time to increase, though the bullion departed; and was, on April 10th, as 21.3, bullion as 9.8; on April 17th, circulation as 21.1, bullion as 9.3. Since then, the circulation has decreased, and the bullion increased; so that, on June 5th, the former had fallen to 19.1, and the latter had risen to 10.2. There is neither any constant relation between the circulation and the bullion in the bank coffers, nor do they vary in any settled relation to each other. A great injury is done the public by the restriction imposed by the

\* ‘For the sake of additional clearness, five figures on the left hand of each sum are omitted throughout, leaving the millions to stand as whole numbers, and the next figure on the right hand as a decimal fraction.’

legislature, and the advantage it expected from the law—if it be an advantage, though it seems to us a disadvantage, that credit money should vary, not with future production, but accumulated capital—is not obtained.

The bank is authorized to issue £14,000,000, without reference to its bullion. With that sum it repays deposits, discounts bills, and performs all the operations of banking. It has only from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000 notes in circulation, on which it and the public operate to affect the bullion. How it came to be supposed that the whole £20,000,000 or £21,000,000 of notes would vary exclusively as the bullion, we cannot comprehend. If the notes were issued solely on the bullion, and all the operations of the bank and the public were based on that, the effect might arise; but, to suppose that the notes issued, both on securities and bullion, both being operated on by the varying demands of trade, should vary only as the bullion varies, seems to us like expecting that  $14 \times 6$  should sometimes = 20, and sometimes = 22. The theory, that paper money would and ought to vary as metallic money, in quantity, involves a fallacy. The substitution of paper for gold, implies the application of the passive capital, vested in the gold, to the active purposes of production, and an increase of business requiring an increase of money. To prohibit the increase in the quantity of money, under such circumstances, is to cause a rise in its value. But it is the value which the legislator desires to keep steady, and he only limits the quantity of notes to secure that end. Thus, by limiting the quantity, while he permits or promotes an increase of business, he causes that variation in value which he proposes to avoid. As we see that in practice, the quantity of notes is not limited by his arbitrary rule, the beneficial effect he aims at is actually brought about by disregarding his law.

We shall not dwell on the silliness of attempting to regulate the credit money of the country, by the movement of the precious metals to balance the trade of the merchants at Liverpool with those at New York. The whole of our foreign trade is but a small part of the business of the empire; and the parliament might as well regulate the consumption of sugar in every family, as the amount of credit-money by the balances of foreign trade. The great wrong done by the Bank Charter Act of 1844, not to be disguised by the number of pretexts assigned for passing the law, was the continuing of the privileges of the Bank of England. They are privations on all the rest of her Majesty's subjects. Sir Robert Peel, at the same time, increased the previous wrong by then limiting the issues of private bankers, and the number of banks. To induce the existing bankers to submit to the limitation of their issues, he prohibited the establishment

of any new banks of issue without the sanction of the government. He protected those he restrained against increase of competition. Like the guilds and the sovereigns of Germany, he fixed by law the number of a particular class of tradesmen. The beguiled public had passively placed the case of its interest in the hands of the country bankers, who bartered it for their own presumed advantage. In 1844, precisely as in 1694, the government sacrificed the liberties it was bound to guard; but, in 1844, it sacrificed them to the crotchet of regulating the issues of credit-money by private bankers. The old practice of disposing of the general freedom for a consideration, which excited so much hostility under the Tudors and the Stuarts, is continued by the reformed parliament. We are still bought and sold, and, unhappily, are no longer sensible of the degradation.

Mr. Doubleday also impugns the act of 1819: he ought, we think, with his views, to have approved of the return to cash payments, and even to an exclusively metallic currency. So far as the act of 1819 compels the Bank of England to pay its notes in cash when presented for payment, we approve of it. How far it was right in parliament to compel all debtors to pay their debts contracted when gold was £4 10s. or £5 per ounce, by the standard of gold at £3 17s. 10d. per ounce, we shall not at present say. But we must observe, that between fixing a standard price for gold, which we regard to be foolishness, and holding every man bound to pay on demand the sums he promises to pay, there is no natural connexion whatever, though both may be united in the same act of parliament. The latter is common honesty, and the principle of all law is to enforce the fulfilment of every such contract. Convertibility, as the guarantee of value, cannot be dispensed with; nor would individuals have ever sought to be released from the obligation, or to have in the community an inconvertible paper money, had not government set the example, which was accompanied by prosperity from other causes, of releasing the Bank of England from the duty of paying its notes on demand. Retaining a law to hold every issuer of a bank-note to the fulfilment of his promise, we are not aware of any other regulation necessary for paper-money. Being altogether the instrument of commerce, regulated by the natural laws which call it into being, the legislature should leave it entirely free. It seems quite impossible that evils of equal magnitude can be imagined as likely to result from removing all restrictions, to those which have been caused by legislation attempting to regulate the issues.

One point more we must advert to. Several writers, and most of our political leaders, lay great stress on preserving the standard.

So far as they mean that the value of the precious metals in the market, and their quantity in circulation, shall in no case be interfered or tampered with by baneful legislation, we quite agree with them. That principle cannot be held too sacred, nor be too strongly enforced. The value of the precious metals is determined, like the value of sirloins of beef, by the higgling of the market; and there is no reason why the legislature should fix the price of one more than the other. So far, however, as they mean that the price of the precious metals should be fixed by parliament—that one of them selected as the unit, should not vary in price, we dissent from their doctrines. To fix the price of gold without the power to regulate its quantity, and make it vary precisely as the quantity of business varies, is really to alter the value of gold—is really to make the standard change; the very thing which the legislature, by fixing its price in so much silver, seeks to avoid. There is not, and cannot be any other standard of value than labour. Every tyro knows that the value of the gold itself depends at all times on the relative quantities of labour necessary to produce that and the things it is exchanged for. The discovery of new mines, the invention of new methods to extract and refine the metal, the progress of arts producing different commodities by a diminution in the quantities of labour—all continually affect the value of gold, and all other things; and unless legislation can fix and regulate them, it cannot settle any standard of value; and it is as absurd to fix the price for an ounce of gold at 77*s.* and a fraction in silver, as to declare that the price of the four-pound loaf shall be always sixpence. In fact, fixing the standard by legislation is Jack-Cadism carried into practice. The value of gold, like that of all other things, is and at all times must be settled by the supply and the demand. This, too, is an admirable reason, in addition to many others, why the old plan of dividing the precious metals into aliquot parts by weight, without fixing the relation of one to the other by law, should be returned to; and why governments, saying nothing about the price of the metals, should coin them into ounces, half-ounces, quarter-ounces, and so on; certifying their purity, and why bankers should promise to pay so many ounces or pounds of metal instead of so many pieces of coin. Let it be remarked, too, that the test of the precious metals in different countries, and in the last resort even at the bank-counter, is not the queen's mark, but their respective weights. An ounce of fine gold or silver so alloyed as to give it the greatest durability, the proportions being strictly determined by chemical laws, is of a known value all over the world; and can become, if it be not, the universal money of com-

merce. Of the currency, then, of every country, weight should be the regulating principle; and the value of the metals must be left, as nature leaves it, to be settled by the market.

We are induced to think that the constitution of the legislature has a great deal to do with its professed anxiety to establish and maintain a fixed standard of value. It is composed generally of those who live on rent, salaries, annuities, or on some kind or other of incomes which are fixed in amount. One great object of almost all men is to secure such an income, and have it as large as possible. Our legislators, including the hierarchy and all office-holders, having attained their object, being certain of receiving so many hundred or thousand pounds a year, they are also naturally anxious that their incomes should always buy them at least equal quantities of bread and cloth. Their great object in having a fixed income is to be secured against the vicissitudes of life; but that is not attained, unless the value of the income as well as its amount be fixed. Hence, amongst the classes chiefly composing the legislature, there is a nervous sensitiveness about preserving a fixed standard of value; which the merchant, trading to different countries—the farmer, whose income is obviously more dependent on the seasons than on gold and silver—the manufacturer, who is made to share all the vicissitudes of the farmer—and, in short, all the industrious classes whose income evidently depend on their produce, do not feel. It is likely that this sensitiveness was much increased about the time of passing the act of 1819, by the previous depreciation of the standard, and the great increase which accompanied it, without perhaps being connected with it, of the wealth of merchants and manufacturers; the two circumstances tending to reduce the value of fixed incomes, and give a superiority of wealth to those engaged in trade. A man who does wrong is always suspicious of others; and the legislature, having done wrong by exonerating the Bank of England in 1797 from fulfilling its contracts, which was felt by the owners of fixed incomes in raised prices, it naturally became apprehensive of future changes; and, therefore, without knowing exactly how to accomplish it, the legislature tried to fix the standard of value, and raised the public against those who, like Lord Ashburton and the Birmingham Gemini, advocated a change. What the holders of fixed incomes want, security against all vicissitudes, is a palpable impossibility. The seasons vary, and so must the prosperity of men; and from this common lot the possessor of fixed incomes cannot be exempted. From much suffering they try to secure themselves by obtaining incomes with a great margin for contingencies; but all men cannot have such incomes, and by their greedy striving they injure each other. Invariableness in value



and uniformity of amount will be approximated to in proportion as the whole of human affairs are governed by the invariable laws of nature, and uninterrupted and unimpeded by such enactments as that which fixes the price of an ounce of gold at one invariable quantity of silver. It is in our view not one of the least advantages of replacing society under these invariable laws, by carrying out the principles of free-trade, that the value of fixed incomes will be less variable; one element of insecurity will be lessened; people will care less for the large margin, and unjust grasping will diminish and decay. We must remind the holders of fixed incomes, too, in order to encourage them to cast aside their prejudices and fears about the standard of value, that their prosperity depends on those whose incomes vary with production; and that, whatever promotes the prosperity of these, like a simple and cheap system of currency, must in the end promote the prosperity of all who live on fixed incomes.

We shall only further refer to Mr. Doubleday's observations on national debts for the purpose of illustrating another important principle. Mr. Doubleday says, founding his conclusions on certain dicta of some civilians:—

'These being the acknowledged dictates of Civil Law, and of the sense of mankind upon these subjects, they were, as might be expected, adhered to and acted upon by governments, through all ages of the world, that we know anything of.

'We, indeed, read in history of occasional 'borrowings,' and of occasional 'debts;' but though public in name, they were private in fact. For instance, it has been no uncommon thing for monarchs to borrow money of private wealthy individuals, and apply such money to the furtherance of their schemes of ambition or aggrandisement. But then, this was as private individuals borrow, and upon security of estates belonging to the crown, and mortgaged to the lender. In this way the famous Flemish family of Fugger, who made enormous riches, during the great rise of prices in Europe, by linen-weaving at Antwerp, lent large sums, both to the Emperor Charles V., and Maximilian, his predecessor. In this way, also, the crown estates, and even the crown jewels of England have been frequently pledged and put in pawn by needy and extravagant princes. In this fashion, the corporation and citizens of London, more than once, lent large sums to the Long Parliament, upon security of the forfeited estates, and in anticipation of taxes already voted. Still, all these were private transactions, in which the people were not implicated. It has also frequently happened, both in England and elsewhere, that particular services have been 'in arrear;' that is to say, that the funds, applicable to these services have fallen short of the real expenditure needed or permitted; and hence individuals have become creditors of the Government, for such arrears owing on account of services performed, and have been compelled to take treasury notes

and bonds for balances due to them. Still, however, this was altogether an affair betwixt these individuals and the government for the time being; neither parliament nor people being held to be legally implicated in the matter; and parliament has frequently refused to entertain any question as to these arrears, some of which are unpaid to this hour, and perhaps properly so.\* Up to times of comparatively modern and recent date, therefore, the idea of any persons, in a real national exigence, when perhaps national existence was at stake, offering to '*lend*' money TO THEIR COUNTRY 'at interest,' was deemed just as absurd as would be a *child* offering to *lend* its pocket-money to its *father* 'at interest,' when both were in danger of wanting a dinner! It was reserved for what is strangely termed 'an enlightened era,' to hatch this monstrous absurdity, which, until it was put into practice, would not have been deemed wicked, but silly. Strange turn for matters to take at 'an enlightened era;' and stranger still, that such a notion should first strike root in the skull of a countryman of 'Grotius:' but so it was. It was in the muddy and huckstering brain of a Dutchman, somewhere about the middle of the seventeenth century, that this pestilent scheme was engendered; and in the huckstering country of Holland was first presented to the eyes of the world, the spectacle of a 'National Debt.' The 'Lernæn Fens' engendered the 'Hydra;' and amidst the swamps of the 'Zuyder Zee' was generated this far worse than the fabled monster of the poets! After all, however, the soil is sufficiently worthy of the tree. The Dutch, though they have produced one or two great men, are a nation remarkable for low, peddling, greedy, and huckstering notions.—pp. 42—44.

The novelty very distinctly marked in this paragraph, of states borrowing and of subjects lending, which the author sneers at, appears to us a striking proof of a beneficial change in the conduct and character of governments. They were accustomed to seize rather than to respect the property of their subjects. They took money; they took ships; they took horses; they took provisions; they took even the people themselves, when they required their services. One of these old customs still remains amongst us, to vouch for their general character. At least, though now suspended by circumstances, it has never been formally abrogated; and, though it be the reproach and scandal of England, we every now and then, when the political horizon lowers, hear whispers of reviving impressment. From the period of the great revolution, which grew out of resistance to the government attempting to appropriate of its own free will the pro-

\* 'The Old French debt was of this sort; and was contracted mainly by Louis XIV., to carry on his endless wars. Louis was (to use his own words) 'himself the state; and all that the people had to do with it, was to **pay** such taxes as the *Grand Monarque* thought fit to impose.'

perty of the people under the name of ship-money, our government, and all the governments of Europe, have learned gradually to respect the property of their subjects. They have refrained from seizing it, as in the olden times; and when they wanted it, have borrowed it at a heavy usance, like other spendthrifts. Our government, however, still claims the right of seizing the seamen when it requires their services; a specimen of the principles and practices on which borrowing money is an improvement. Government formerly borrowed, too, as well as seized, by corrupting metallic money, and with a determination not to repay. Though borrowing by the state is an indefensible practice—though there can be no justification of a present squandering only to be provided for by pledging future industry—it is righteousness itself compared to the habitual and avowed plunder it superseded. Mr. Doubleday, being a man of strong will, prefers the old fashion, and admires more than we do the iron-handed and iron-hearted rulers of the feudal and still remoter ages.

It is worth notice, as an explanation of erroneous views entertained by Mr. Doubleday, in common with many other persons, that the ancient practices of sovereigns, including their practice of seizing the persons and property of their subjects, have been generalized into rules by civilians, and described by them as the laws of nations. Sometimes they have attempted to draw them from principles of morality; but, in general, the laws of nations, as now written, are little or nothing more than the practices of sovereigns generalized and laid down as rules. Thus, Puffendorf says, framing the dictum on ancient practices and theories (we use Mr. Doubleday's translation), 'The first law of nature is this, that the social state is to be guarded and preserved to the uttermost by and for every man.' That is plainly a law of political society, but not a law of nature, which leaves the great multitude of mankind very ignorant and very careless of every thing that concerns the social state. At the same time, nature implants in them an instinct of self-preservation at variance with Puffendorf's natural law. 'Nothing shall be preferred,' it is further said, 'by a good citizen before the safety and integrity of the state; and he shall freely and at all times offer his life, his means, and his fortune, to preserve the state's safety and integrity.' Now, that is a very convenient doctrine for rulers. It is impressed as a duty on our seamen, and on the tax-payers, by a flippant chancellor of the exchequer, when, with the utmost nonchalance, he misapplies millions of the people's property; but it is an extremely inconvenient doctrine for the people, and one which they cannot acquiesce in without becoming slaves, like the seamen; and without seeing their industry pledged, as at present, to

burdens more than it can bear. Again, Puffendorf says:—‘ In a pressing necessity of the common weal (of which such persons as Lord Palmerston and Sir. Charles Wood are the judges), the goods of any subject which are absolutely required at the time, may be taken and applied to the public service, though the value should far exceed the ordinary quota which he is called on to contribute.’ In other words, Lord Palmerston and Sir. C. Wood, Mr. Macaulay, and Lord John Russell, choosing to perpetrate a most gross outrage on the bulk of the Portuguese nation, may take any portion of the tax-payers’ property which they think fit, to pay the expense of their unjust proceeding. On these maxims of the civilians, a fair representation of the abominable practices of governments in the olden times, Mr. Doubleday reprobates the modern practice of governments borrowing and subjects lending. We are as hostile to national debts as Mr. Doubleday, but if nothing more stringent could be said against them than that they are based on a wide departure from these maxims of Puffendorf, nations might pray for their continuance and extension.

We must not allow such doctrines to circulate unchecked. Mr. Doubleday is a type of a numerous class whose respect for antiquity is carried too far. Not merely do they recognize the honesty, the sincerity, the valour, the firm and undoubting faith of the ancients, but they find in their conduct the maxims that should guide modern states. Admitting all the other high qualities of the ancient rulers of mankind, we cannot agree in ascribing to them sufficient knowledge of the ever-growing science of society—for society is itself ever growing—to suggest rules for our present guidance. The doctrines of unlimited power in the state, and of unbounded submissiveness in the people, quoted by Mr. Doubleday, and contrasted with one of the worst features of modern policy, to recommend a return to the practices of antiquity, are the creed of a large, an active, and an influential party in the state. They are directly opposed to experience. Rarely or never have subjects obtained even forbearance from oppression of their rulers, but by making them, as Mr. Bentham said, uneasy. There is, and there has long been, too great a disposition in subjects to yield much too passively and submissively to the exactions of the state, and a corresponding disposition on those who are called the state to take advantage of the submissiveness of the people. The present generation is remarkable for that; and, therefore, has to bear not only the burdens which the state in past times placed on productive industry, but the additional burdens which it is now placing on its industry, and which will weigh heavily on the industry of future generations. Though the nation is at peace, and loaded

with debts contracted to carry on former wars, it now willingly submits to a large increase of the debt. One generation inherits the habits and the burdens, the vices and the virtues, of its predecessors; and our complaints of the burdens imposed on us by past generations teach us, how impressive is the duty on us to resist the imposition of additional burdens on ourselves and future generations. These facts are directly at variance with the maxim that subjects are to allow their goods to be taken at any time the state finds or fancies the taking to be necessary. An individual can perhaps tell what is good for himself, but to know what will be good for the state is difficult in proportion to the increase of the population, of which Mr. Doubleday takes no notice. The welfare of the small republics of antiquity might be scanned, and individuals reasonably believe that the sacrifice of their lives or properties might be of benefit to the whole. Each state now embraces many millions of people, and their welfare is closely interwoven by commerce with many other millions. How these mighty masses can be benefitted by the sacrifice of individuals, no man knows; nor is any one called on to benefit them by sacrificing life and fortune. Puffendorf's maxims, quoted by Mr. Doubleday, are therefore not applicable to the present condition of society. National debts are to be condemned by their own inherent qualities. They have grown out of unjust wars, profligately carried on. They crush the people; and it is the duty of the living generation to themselves and to posterity rather to resist the demands of the state for such purposes, than hasten at its call to sacrifice life and fortune.

The vast increase of our national debt, from £257,213,000, according to Mr. Doubleday, in 1792, to £944,152,000, in 1815, or an average of nearly £30,000,000 per annum, throws some light on the question of capital employed on railways; a subject of general interest, to which we adverted in our May number. It is well known that, in conjunction with that continual expenditure on war, the increase of the debt alone amounting to upwards of £680,000,000, the capital of the country rapidly increased. But if that vast sum had all been abstracted from it, instead of being increased, it would have been annihilated. The explanation we gave in our May number of the mode in which capital employed on railways replaces a vast number of other capitals, shows how such a vast sum could be expended in conjunction with a rapid increase of capital. What was really wasted on the war, was the labour of sailors and soldiers, shipwrights and cannon-founders, the labour of powder-makers, slop-makers, army accoutrement makers, and the labour of all persons employed in supplying materials or provisions for carrying on the war. All the capitals employed in setting all the labourers to work in

manufacturing or producing these articles, were continually replaced with a profit by the war expenditure, including the loans. The commencement and the continuance of the war were coincident with a rapid extension of our manufactures and our agriculture. Profit was high; and thus, instead of the vast expenditure of the government annihilating the national capital, it was increased with the expenditure. No doubt it would have increased much faster, had that vast quantity of labour not been directed to destructive purposes; but we over-estimate the cost of the war to the community when we put it down at the whole sum expended. A large part of that went to replace productive capital, and large bodies of men were enriched by the public expenditure.

So it is with the expenditure on railways. None of that, however, is destructively wasted like the expenditure on war. It is applied to facilitate labour and in the end promote production. Since the middle of the war, say 1803, the population and wealth of the empire have increased more than one half, and thus the £29,800,000 borrowed and expended, on an average, during the war, in comparison to our present resources, will be equivalent to about £48,000,000, or £50,000,000. It is perfectly ridiculous, therefore, to say with some screaming orators and writers of the day, that the country cannot now bear the expenditure of thirty, or forty, or even one hundred millions a-year for making railroads, if the undertakings be judicious. Those who want to apply the national resources in some other way, such as draining land, building and pulling ships to pieces, putting down liberty abroad, and enthralling it by commissioners and inspectors at home, may find the application of large sums to making railroads inconvenient, but the public will be much benefitted by an expenditure, useful in itself, and doubly valuable if it put a curb on official extravagance.

We cannot enter further into any of the interesting topics contained in Mr. Doubleday's book. Though we differ from him in the points we have mentioned, we recognize in him a fearless writer. He treats of subjects yet very imperfectly known, and on which there are many contradictory opinions. If we cannot concede to him the merit of being a correct thinker, we must at least say, that he is an honest one. He takes, on the whole, a darker view of the picture than we take, and predicts convulsion as inevitable. We know that many things are wrong, but our hope is that our people, with one exception, the most politically enlightened on the globe, cannot fail quietly to remedy the evils which public discussion will make manifest. There is in truth, at present, a somewhat fiery impatience for political improvement. There is a vehement

demand for what are called practical measures, but when it is recollected that all the laws we are now suffering under were recommended and passed not long ago as practical measures, we may doubt the wisdom of the demand. It is a very common thing too for public writers to yield to the demand, and deride those who confine themselves to an exposition of abstract truth as impracticable. They join the vulgar, they even lead the mob, in proposing and recommending practical measures. What they generally mean, are measures which meet the concurrence of the majority in both houses of parliament, and may be passed into laws; whether they will do as much mischief as the laws these writers wish to get rid of they are necessarily ignorant. We cannot agree with them, and think that it is now of much greater importance to elucidate principles, to establish truth, than to pass very practical, but probably very absurd, measures.

It is not the duty of public writers to be legislators. There is so much trashy admiration of tricky expediency amongst public men, they are so ready to sacrifice a principle to obtain concurrence and support, so willing to make any kind of concession to get over a slight difficulty, that public writers should carefully avoid following trimming statesmen in their advocacy of temporary expediency. They may not, immediately, gain much influence, but by no other means can they help to enlighten and reform public opinion. It is especially disreputable to them that the public and the legislature are, to this day, without any steady guide in making laws, and that men change their opinions on the most important earthly concerns as they change the fashions of their dress. At one time protection is in the ascendant, at another free trade; and it is by no means uncommon to find the same men advocating free trade for one commodity, or one class of persons, and restrictions for another. At one time we have our legislators professing a respect for the voluntary system, and at another laying it down as a principle, that they must bribe all religious bodies to be subservient to the state. Session after session, and even in the same session, the practical legislator wanders from principle to principle, till at length his labours become perpetual contradictions.

Our legislation, in fact, is a perfect chaos, and the legislator much less resembles the skilful navigator of a well-managed ship, who knows exactly the situation of the port to which he is bound, and takes advantage of every change of the wind and set of the tide to approach his destination, than a poor helpless wretch tossed adrift on the ocean without compass or rudder, without sail or oar, and alike incapable of either impelling or guiding his boat, and ignorant of the bearings and distance of

the port he must reach to be rescued from destruction. From this hapless lot public writers must save the nation. They must ascertain the port to which society is ordered to proceed, and the course it must take. They must, by well established principles, find a compass to steer by, and then the practical statesman, though occasionally baffled by opposing gales, and driven out of his course by contrary currents, may take advantage of every favourable breeze to turn the head of the state towards the desired haven. On this reasoning we have thought it our duty to expose the error of relying on old practices as safe guides ; and to enforce on one subject, the CURRENCY, obedience to those eternal principles of justice, of right and wrong, which ever have, and ever will, in the long run predominate over society, and are otherwise called the laws of nature. By what steps existing legislation is to be brought into harmony with them when once they are as clearly established in every branch of society, as we think they are in commerce and currency, it is the great duty of the prudent legislator to decide. Whether he should begin by abolishing all restrictions as to local or country banks, except those imposed by the bank charter, or whether he should begin by rescinding that, or whether both should be done at once ; or whether he should first forego all attempts to maintain an undeviating standard of value by fixing the price of gold or silver, it is for him to decide. To remove all legislative restrictions whatever on the issue of paper or credit money is the thing to be done. There must be perfectly free trade in money as well as in food. Whatever repugnance the legislator may feel to release this large branch of society from his grasp, however he may try to wriggle away from this necessity, cunningly as he may propose to conceal his defeat, by modification after modification of his darling plans, to this he must come. He must set the business of banking, including the issue of bank notes, free from legislative control.

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ART. II.—*The Records of a Church of Christ, meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, 1640—1687. Edited for the Hanserd Knollys Society, with an Historical Introduction. By Edward Bean Underhill. London: Printed for the Society.*

WE have seldom read a more interesting or valuable volume than this, and its selection does great credit to the Council of the Hanserd Knollys Society.\* It is a 'singularly interesting and unique picture of the formation, growth, and persecutions of the church of Christ,' meeting in Broadmead, Bristol, for which we are indebted to one of its ruling elders, Mr. Edward Terrill. Possessed of considerable property, he generously employed it for the good of others, and was specially interested in whatever pertained to the religious society of which he was a member. He was principally concerned in the direction of its affairs during several years, and as these formed part of the reign of Charles II., we need not say that they constituted to the Nonconformists of Bristol a season of perplexity and persecution. Mr. Terrill was in the habit of noting down all the material circumstances which occurred in the history of the Broadmead church; and as he was an eye-witness, and wrote at the moment, his record is one of the most valuable contributions to Nonconformist history which have been made for years. It is at once truthful and graphic, sufficiently minute to fill up the outline of general history, and to give definiteness and individuality to our conception of the sufferings of our forefathers, and to the temper of the men by whom they were persecuted. The spirit of state-churchism has been the same in every age. Whenever it has had the opportunity, it has shown itself intolerant and cruel, the enemy of righteousness and truth, regardless of the sanctity of conscience, and reckless of the liberty and life of its victims. At one time it has dealt in public executions, glorying in its auto-da-fe in Spain, and in the fires of Smith-

\* We are mortified to receive from the secretary of the Wycliffe Society an official notice of its dissolution, and cannot account for the fact on any hypothesis creditable to the committee by which the affairs of the society have been managed. We are quite sure that such an enterprise, had it been conducted with anything like ordinary judgment and zeal, would have commanded support: and cannot, therefore, but deeply regret the failure which is announced. We are the more concerned on this point as we deem it of the highest importance just now that the publications contemplated by the society should be issued; and we fear this will be prevented by the blunders which have been committed. Let the Hanserd Knollys Society take warning by the fate of its contemporary.

field, in England. At another time, it has crowded our jails with its victims, confiscating their goods, and banishing their persons to foreign climes. This has been the case under all its various forms. Whether catholic or protestant, whether episcopal, presbyterian, or congregational, it has been alike usurping and relentless, knowing no mercy, and observing no bounds. Its only restraint has been the state of public feeling. To this it has been compelled, though reluctantly, to bow; and hence solely has arisen the difference in its procedure at different periods.

In our own country it has wrought more physical suffering in protestant than in catholic times. The history of our prisons, could it be disclosed, would fully bear out this statement. Hundreds have pined away and died within their walls for conscience sake, while protestant bishops have rioted in luxury, and impiously invoked the sanction of the Most High. A vastly greater number have perished, the victims of protestant persecution, than fell beneath the bigotry of Gardiner and Bonner. If any of our readers doubt this statement, let them attentively read the reigns of Elizabeth, or those of the four Stuarts. It was against the manhood of England that these monarchs and their advisers set themselves, and under each of them, the state-priests were foremost in kindling the fires of persecution. The spirit of monopoly is the same everywhere and at all times, but its worst embodiment is the religious. It unites, in such case, the selfishness and meanness of its more avowedly secular manifestations, with the bitterness of the polemic, and the tenacity of a supposed religious principle. The firmness with which it is met, serves to provoke yet further aggression; the reproach it awakens increases its acerbity, and even the calm endurance of its victims, stimulates its passions, by the transfer of their appeal to honour.

We are sometimes told, that these are the evils of a by gone age, that men have outlived these practices, that a new era has dawned, and that, from the highest to the lowest, within the hierarchy and without it, amongst the clergy as well as the laity, the rights of conscience are now respected, and perfect religious liberty is conceded to all. We are no believers in such statements. Facts are stubborn things, and their evidence is conclusive. The form of persecution has unquestionably changed; but, while any are compelled to pay for the support of religious ministrations, whether approved or not, persecution itself remains, and, if permitted, would show itself in other and more threatening shapes. Instead, therefore, of avoiding a recurrence to the past, as that which charity and the improved order of things commend; we counsel our readers

to acquaint themselves with its history, as the best preservative against a repetition of such misdeeds. The volume before us is important in this respect, and we hasten to introduce our readers to its contents.

Of the 'Historical Introduction,' supplied by the editor, Mr. Underhill, we need only remark, that it contains an interesting sketch of the rise of the Puritans, the Brownists, the Baptists, and the Independents; and sets completely at rest the question recently mooted between Dr. Price and Mr. Hanbury, concerning the claim of the last two to be regarded as the earliest expounders of the doctrine of religious liberty. There is a glorious rivalry in this case, which is free from the meanness of denominational strife, and we have reason to know, that the esteemed author of the 'Memorials of the Independents' yields to the conclusiveness of the evidence which Mr. Underhill has produced. We should have been glad if some parts of the 'Introduction' had been condensed, and if a severer style had been maintained. These, however, are trifling blemishes, and may easily be corrected in a future edition.

We pass over the brief record which is made of events prior to 1660, in which, however, are many interesting illustrations of the state of religious opinion, from the meeting of the long parliament, in 1640, and of the various forms which that opinion assumed in an age of intense excitement and of partial illumination. Charles II. returned from exile in May, 1660; and the demon of persecution was speedily loosed against the professors of a now unpopular and proscribed faith. We are aware of the imperfect views, respecting religious liberty, which had prevailed amongst many of the sectaries during the commonwealth and the protectorate, nor would we represent those times as free from persecution. Cromwell's principles were thoroughly tolerant, and led him to disregard religious opinions in the distribution of civil trusts. But he had two great difficulties to contend against; one, the ignorance and illiberality of some of his partizans; and another, the political treason perpetually plotted by the episcopalians and papists. The former, frequently compelled his acquiescence in measures that he disapproved; while the latter induced a prohibition of religious assemblies and rites which would otherwise have been unnoticed, and thus coerced some tender consciences which were purely religious in their views. The case was vastly different at the Restoration. Intolerance was then seated on the high places, its impious dogmas were coolly and systematically propounded, and the people against whom its maledictions were directed, were amongst the most peaceable and

religious of mankind. In confirmation of this, we need only look at the narrative which these 'Records' supply. Mr. Ewins, an ejected minister, was, at the time, pastor of the Broadmead church, and he was speedily (January, 1661) forbidden to preach, as he had been accustomed to do, in his own house. With this injunction he complied; but, on the 27th of the following July, he was arrested at the chapel in Broadmead, and was retained a prisoner until the 12th of the next month. The machinery of persecution, however, was not yet fully prepared. There were circumstances which induced Lord Clarendon and the bishops to proceed cautiously for a time. At length, in 1663, Sir John Knight, the mayor, on the 3rd of October, sent for Mr. Ewins, and commanded him not to preach. 'But Mr. Ewins told him, he must discharge his duty toward the Lord, and, therefore, in that thing he durst not obey him, but the Lord; and accordingly, the next day preached as formerly, at the Friars.' The pastor, and several of his people were, in consequence, arrested; and, being indicted for a riot, were fined in sums varying from £50 to £5, and in default of payment, were imprisoned for some months. Mr. Ewins's incarceration continued until the 26th of September, 1664, and his health was permanently injured by it. The following sentence is illustrative of the zealous earnestness with which the nonconformist ministers discharged their duty, and of the sacrifice at which they did it.

'Which long and tedious imprisonment so decayed our pastor, and his straining his voice in prison to preach, which he would every Lord's day, that the people that gathered together under the prison walls might hear, he being about four pair of stairs high from them, that when he came out of prison, after the first sermon he preached abroad, he fainted away, and declined continually, [so] that it hastened his days.'—p. 76.

The local magistrates kept pace with the intolerant policy of parliament, and zealously enforced its statutes. A brief interval of repose was afforded, in 1666, by the appearance of the plague, 'by which means,' says Mr. Terrill, 'the Lord ordained us much peace, that many this year were added to the church.' The fire of London speedily followed, and was succeeded by another calm, so that for about four years the nonconformists of Bristol were exempted from serious molestation. The Conventicle Act, however, was revived with more stringent enactments in April, 1670, and was enforced throughout the kingdom. Mr. Ewins was at this time deceased, having fallen a victim to his frequent imprisonments. The church, consequently, was without a pastor, but its members continued

faithful to their profession, as will be seen from the following record. The writer, it must be remembered, uses the old style.

'The first Lord's day after said tenth of third month, (May 10, 1670) the informers from the bishop (that was then one Ironsides\*) came upon us; and because we did not know which way they would begin upon us, we shut our public meeting-house door when we understood they were coming. Then they fetched constables, and broke open the door, came in, and took our names, for which some of us were brought before the magistrates and convicted. Then, against the next Lord's day, we broke a wall, up on high, for a window, and put the speaker in the next house to stand and preach, whereby we heard him as well as if in the room with us. The bishop's informers come in again, take our names, for which we were again brought before the mayor, and convicted. So they did the third Lord's day. And the fourth Lord's day, the mayor himself, with his officers and some aldermen, came upon us, and turned us out; but seeing they could not make us refrain our meeting, they raised the train bands every last day of the week, in the evening, one band to keep us out of our places, and nailed up our doors, and put locks upon them; so they kept us by force and power, that we were fain to meet in the lanes and highways for several months.

'Then brother Terrill having moved his habitation from Corn Street, to his garden house, near Lawford's Gate, we had the benefit of being at his house until we had obtained the mercy to have another pastor; and the Lord so ordered it, that Alderman John Knight, of the Sugar-house, being mayor, he did wink at our thus meeting, and was not ready to receive every information; whereby the Lord gave us some rest there, until the sixth month, 1671.'—pp. 105, 106.

Mr. Hardcastle was subsequently elected to the pastorate, and showed himself worthy of the honour. A new bishop also had been appointed to the see of Bristol, who regarded the suppression of conventicles as his special vocation; and one Ralph Ollive, a vintner, 'a man given to much wine,' being mayor, the work of persecution was revived with great violence. Their chief instrument was John Hellier, an attorney, who, with the bishops' emissaries, sought diligently occasion against the separatists; but the recent proclamation of the king, granting 'liberty to all the dissenters in the nation to enjoy their meetings quiet,' afforded them, for a time, the means of resisting

\* 'Gilbert Ironsides the elder, was appointed to the see of Bristol in Dec. 1660, and died in 1671, aged eighty-three. The archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Sheldon, by a circular letter, dated May 7, 1670, strongly urged upon all his diocesans the execution of the conventicle act. 'It becomes us,' said he, 'to endeavour, as much as in us lies, the promoting of so blessed a work, . . . by God's help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provisions this act contains for OUR GREAT ADVANTAGES.'—Doc. Annals, ii. 276.'

the designs of their enemies. This proclamation was, no doubt, unconstitutional; but, before we condemn the persecuted men who availed themselves of it, we must look at their circumstances, and ask what other means of self-preservation were left them? A drowning man is not in a condition to make inquiry respecting the hand which is stretched out for his rescue, and the nonconformists of this period must not be held to have authenticated the royal prerogative, in availing themselves of the defence which it proffered against the malice of their persecutors. Some few of them, indeed, went further than this, and thanked the monarch; but the great body of our forefathers were faithful to civil liberty, whilst they availed themselves of the prerogative for the defence of their religious freedom. They saw through the design of the court, and abhorred its popish policy, but as men persecuted unto death, they sheltered themselves behind illegal power, from a still more threatening and imminent peril. Foiled in his design, the bishop repaired to London, in the hope of stimulating anew the persecuting spirit of the court, and the nonconformist congregations having united, sent an agent thither to counteract his efforts. In this, however, they were unsuccessful; for, 'though,' says our informer, 'we had many good words from the court, giving hopes of continuing our liberties longer, yet in the 12th month, February, anno 1674 (1675), the king, somewhat before the parliament's sitting, then coming nigh, he set forth a proclamation as against papists, but in the latter end of it declared, that all the licenses formerly given to the dissenters were made void.'

The royal proclamation annulling the licenses which had been granted, allowed free scope to the bishop and his clergy, of which they were not slow to take advantage. Three of the ministers were speedily apprehended, and some difficulty was, in consequence, experienced in maintaining public worship. Under these circumstances it became necessary to adopt extraordinary measures, and representatives of the several congregations met for consultation. The plan arranged is thus described:

'Three of our ministers being imprisoned, some of each congregation of the brethren met together to consult how to carry on our meetings, that we might keep to our duty, and edify one another now our pastors were gone. Some even were ready of thinking to give off, viz., of the presbyterians; that they could not carry it on, because of their principle, [which] was not to hear a man not bred up at the university, and not ordained. But the Lord appeared, and helped us to prevail with them to hold on, and keep up their meetings. And for the first, and [for] some time, we concluded this: to

come and assemble together, and for one to pray and read a chapter, and then sing a psalm, and after conclude with prayer; and so two brethren to carry on the meeting one day, and two another: for a while, to try what they would do with us. So we did, and ordered one of the doors of our meeting place to be made fast, and all to come in at one, but open it when we go forth: and to appoint some youth, or two of them, to be out at the door, every meeting, to watch when Hellier, or other informers or officers, were coming: and so to come in, one of them, and give us notice thereof. Also, some of the hearers, women and sisters, would sit and crowd in the stairs, when we did begin the meeting with any exercise, that so the informers might not too suddenly come in upon us; by reason of which they were prevented divers times.—pp. 222, 223,

We have already seen how Mr. Ewins sunk beneath his sufferings, a martyr for what he deemed truth, as really as were Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper. Mr. Thompson, another minister of the city, was sacrificed in the same manner, and with still greater heartlessness. ‘Diverse persons of note’ intreated that he might be released from prison, but without avail. ‘And his physician,’ says Mr. Terrill, ‘interceded that he might be removed out of that stinking prison, to some convenient house for air, and to administer somewhat more conveniently to him, and he showed the danger of his condition; yet, notwithstanding, they hardened their hearts, and would not grant it, because the bishop would not give leave.’ Such cases may well make us pause, when the metaphorical language of the Apocalypse is applied exclusively to the church of Rome. Murder may be perpetrated in other places than Smithfield, and by other instruments than the faggot and the stake. The men who, in Charles the Second’s time, filled our prisons with confessors, and witnessed the slow death of their inmates, would have adopted more prompt and violent measures had they lived during the reigns of Henry or Mary. Their moderation was apparent, not real; and would have taken any other form which the temper of the age, or the spirit of their contemporaries had allowed.

Deprived of their pastors, one being dead, and two others imprisoned, the churches of Bristol were reduced to great perplexity. Their persecutors knew little of their temper, and probably expected that their meetings would be discontinued when their ordinary teachers were withdrawn. In this, however, they were disappointed. They knew not the men with whom they had to deal, and must, therefore, have been annoyed as well as perplexed at the constancy evinced. ‘For our parts,’ says Mr. Terrill, ‘we presently made use of our ministering gifts in the church, as we did in former persecutions, contenting ourselves with mean gifts, and coarse fare, in the want of better.’

Every prudential measure, however, which their circumstances permitted, was adopted for the protection of the brethren, and the following passage bespeaks at once the severity of their trial, and the ingenious methods which were resorted to for their safety. We would have those who speak of the Restoration as a national blessing, to ponder deeply the state of things which such a passage indicates.

‘In order to which, at our own meeting, to prevent spies that might come in the room as hearers :—and yet that no strangers, or persons we knew not, might be hindered from coming into our meeting, whether good or bad, to hear the gospel :—we contrived a curtain, to be hung in the meeting place, that did inclose as much room as above fifty might sit within it; and among those men, he that preached should stand; that so, if any informer was privately in the room as a hearer, he might hear him that spake, but could not see him, and thereby not know him. And there were brethren without the curtain, that would hinder any from going within the curtain, that they did not know to be friends: and so let whoso would come into our meeting to hear, without the curtain. And when our company and time were come to begin the meeting, we drew the curtain, and filled up the stairs with women and maids that sat in it, that the informers could not quickly run up.

‘And when we had notice that the informers, or officers, were coming, we caused the minister, or brother that preached, to forbear, and sit down. Then we drew back the curtain, laying the whole room open, that they might see us all. And so all the people begun to sing a psalm, that, at the beginning of the meeting, we did always name what psalm we would sing, if the informers, or the mayor or his officers came in. Thus still when they came in we were singing, [so] that they could not find any one preaching, but all singing. And, at our meeting, we ordered it so, that none read the psalm after the first line, but every one brought their bibles, and so read for themselves: that they might not lay hold of any one for preaching, or as much as reading the psalm, and so to imprison any more for that, as they had our ministers.

‘Which means the Lord blessed, that many times when the mayor came they were all singing, that he knew not who to take away more than another. And so when the mayor, Hellier, or the other informers, had taken our names, and done what they would, and carried away whom they pleased, and when they were gone down out of our rooms, then we ceased singing, and drew the curtain again, and the minister, or brother, would go on with the rest of his sermon, until they came again—which sometimes they would thrice in one meeting disturb us—or until our time was expired. This was our constant manner during this persecution, in Ollive’s mayoralty, and we were by the Lord helped, that we were in a good measure edified, and our enemies often disappointed. *Laus Deo.*

‘We taking this course, after a little while Mr. Weeks’s people



did so likewise; they shut up one of their doors, and, instead of a curtain, they put a wainscot board, in a convenient place in their meeting, behind which he that spake did stand, out of sight of the greatest part of the people, and yet all might hear. And they suffer none to come into that part of the meeting but friends. And so, when the informers come, they had the convenience to convey him that spake out of that part of the meeting, into another house.

‘Brother Gifford’s people took this course: a company of tall brethren stand about him that speaks, and having near his feet made a trap-door in the floor, when the informers come, they let down the brother that spake into a room under. And so their conveniency led them to take that course, keeping one still at the door to give notice.

‘And so likewise Mr. Gifford’s meeting was frequently sheltered by our two meetings, which lay as the frontiers of their assaults. But when the bishop’s men did some week days follow Mr. Thompson’s meeting, they likewise contrived ways to frustrate the informers, and to save their speakers, having lost their minister as before. Now their meeting place being a lower room, and two lofts over head, one over another, they made a door to the stair-foot into the second story, and made the minister stand in that middle room; and [he] so preached that they below and over might all hear. And they caused a curtain to be made, that, when the informers came in, they might draw that curtain before the ministers, that the informers could not see him that preached, but only hear him; and could not come at him, by reason the new door at stair-foot was kept fast, and none suffered to go up but those that they knew friends. And if they went to break open the door, before that could be done, they could, from that second story, convey the minister away into another house; and if they had timely notice, they would be all singing when the informers came, as we and Mr. Weeks’s meeting did. These ways we took to maintain our meetings, and the Lord helped us.’—pp. 226—228.

Mr. Hardcastle died suddenly in 1678, and the following brief summary of his imprisonments sufficiently attests the severity of the persecutions to which our nonconformist forefathers were exposed, and the strength of the convictions under which they acted. His case was by no means singular.

‘He was a man, as it were a champion for the Lord, very courageous in his work and sufferings. His zeal provoked many, before he came to Bristol. After he had thrown off conformity, he suffered about eight months’ imprisonment in York Castle; and then, because he would not give bond to preach no more, as some ministers, his fellow-prisoners, did, to get free, he was carried thence, out of his county eighty miles, to Chester Castle, and there he was kept fifteen months more, close prisoner; and then, by an order from the king, he was released without bonds, and he came to London, and there he was baptized. After that [he] was taken up for preaching, and by

the Conventicle Act was six months prisoner in London. And then being called by this church to be their pastor, for the defence of the gospel, [he] was twice imprisoned in Bristol, two six months; still preaching as soon as ever he came forth, and so continued till his death, having been our pastor about seven years and a quarter. He was seven times imprisoned, for Christ and a good conscience, after he left off conformity.'—p. 388.

The conduct of the informers, in the prosecution of their miserable vocation, was disgraceful in the extreme. Of one of them, named Harris, Mr. Terrill reports, that he entered the assembly 'with a tankard of strong drink in his hand, and, sitting down on the pulpit-seat, he drank to his companions a health to the king, and then smoked tobacco and sung songs, and jeered us poor people.' Such conduct was not confined to the lowest of the class. On the 25th of December, 1681, we are informed that Hellier, with several others, disturbed the assembly, having 'three tankards of strong drink,' with bread and cheese, of which they openly partook. The brethren, however, were not to be moved from their steadfastness; and when several of them were apprehended and cast into prison, they continued, like Paul and Silas, to bear their testimony to the truth.

'On Friday the 30th,' (Dec.) says Mr. Terrill, 'we being above twenty of us in prison, considered we should keep a day of fasting and prayer. So we did this day, and Brother Fownes, our pastor, being also imprisoned, preached about the middle of the day; and in the close, we sung the 46th psalm. Which George Hellier, formerly an informer, now in prison for debt, overhearing, he sent to Sheriff Knight, to let him know we had a conventicle in Newgate. Upon which the sheriff, with several serjeants and artillery men, came up into the gallery over against the great room where we were met, and seeing the room pretty full, was in a great rage. Brother Terrill reading the psalm, he commanded us to be silent; so we ceased. And the sheriff stormed, and called for the keeper, saying he would turn him out of his place, for we should not keep conventicles there. And seeing two gentlewomen there, sister Hollister and a neighbour of hers, who came to visit us, commanded his attendants to take names; but finding no more than them, did not proceed. Brother Terrill seeing the sheriff in such a great rage, said, 'The law did allow a family with four more to meet, and we being then but one family, might meet.' He said we should be locked up in our rooms. Captain Arundell also blaming us, brother Terrill told him, it was contrary to law to throw us into prison for praying only. He said it was not; and plucked the Act out of his pocket, but could not find that power in it. And they all went away in a great rage.'—p. 443.

Such were the men whom it has been fashionable with our historians and novelists to describe as fanatic empirics, hypo-

crites in religion, and rebels in politics. The world is now coming to know them better. The time of their revelation has arrived, and even those who despise their creed, and hate their religion, are beginning to acknowledge their earnest sincerity, and to condemn the brutal violence with which they were assailed. The bad passions of the Restoration are passing away. The unhealthy re-action then experienced has spent itself, and men are asking for what crime, and to what end, the most religious of our countrymen were fined, imprisoned, or banished. We may well congratulate ourselves on the times in which we live. Our fathers laboured, and we have entered into their labour. They bore the burden and heat of the day, and it devolves on us to carry out and complete their work. They have left us a noble testimony, and we shall be unworthy of their name, if we do not manfully bear it up before the men of our day. At the sacrifice of property, liberty, and, in many cases, of life, they protested against the intrusion of secular power into the province of religion. For what they deemed truth, they were faithful unto death; and on us, their children and descendants, devolves the responsibility of achieving the end, which they saw but dimly. Their own position was in advance of the earlier puritans, as ours may be of theirs; but, throughout the whole, from the time of Hooper to the present day, there has been a radical unity, the sameness which exists between the successive series of one great manifestation. As the fidelity of the puritans was shown in a protest against popish garments and rites, and that of the nonconformists in a warfare with prelatical usurpation and superstitious forms of prayer, so ours must be seen in opposition to human authority, under every shape, in the maintenance or control of the truth. We are set for the freedom of the gospel, and this can never be achieved whilst kings or priests, parliaments or convocations, are permitted to legislate for the church.

We dismiss this volume with an earnest recommendation. It should be found in every nonconformist library, and is essential to the ecclesiastical student of the reign of Charles the Second.

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ART. III.—1. *The Vegetable Kingdom; or, the Structure, Classification, and Uses of Plants, Illustrated upon the Natural System.* By John Lindley, Ph. D., F.R.S., & L.S. With upwards of Five Hundred Illustrations. London: Bradbury & Evans. 1846.

2. *School Botany.* By Dr. Lindley. 1846.

3. *The Gardener's Chronicle, and Agricultural Gazette.* The Horticultural part edited by Professor Lindley. Published weekly.

WHEN the sacred records declare that 'the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed,' they promulgate a law of the human condition, by which, in a greater or less degree, it must always be controlled. Even if we should concede that the record is a *myth*, and not a description of a real transaction, the result is the same. It is an expression of the Divine will, that man, in every age, shall depend on the fruits of the ground for his support. This law was not abrogated on the expulsion of our first parents from the scenes of their innocence, although it received some alteration in its bearings. Toil now took the lead, and exacted its penalties with inflexible rigour; while pleasure, which had formerly been the ruling power, became the handmaid of industrious exertion. The delicate line of Milton thus becomes allusive to a state of things which has never since existed—

'Flowers of all hue, and *without thorn* the rose;'

for, although, physically, the roses of Eden doubtless had thorns, their growth was not associated with cares which the love of flowers might lighten or dispel. A merciful Providence has left us the rose, and we thank him for it, although it flourishes among thorns.

'God made the country, but man made the town.' When this latter process took place, and the growing necessities of men caused them to live in cities, and cultivate the arts of commerce, the native attachments of their hearts still developed themselves, and they embraced every opportunity of gratifying their tastes for the beautiful scenes and productions of nature. It is to the building of towns, probably, that horticulture owes its existence as a science, introduced and matured for the purpose of compensating for the loss of the operations of the field on a large scale. It is even now proverbial, that farmers are seldom good gardeners, and the reason is evident. The yearning after nature is amply indulged in the case of a man who rises with the lark, sees daily 'hedge-row beauties numberless'

and is acquainted from infancy with the wild Flora of the fields and woods. The breath of morn is sweet to him, and he is satisfied with inhaling it; and his spirit has no need to rest on the parterre, nor luxuriate in the green-house. But the child of toil is differently situated. Blue skies and green meadows enamelled with 'daisies pied, and violets blue,' must, in his case, be sighed after in vain; and, to make the best of his condition, he imitates nature in miniature. The objects of his solicitude receive a degree of attention which nature always rewards with exuberant gratitude; and, what is wanting in extent and magnificence, is made up by symmetry and compactness. Thus floriculture was nurtured and matured, although, when found out, it soon extended its benefits to those whose exigencies did not drive them to discover it, from the greenhouses and hot-beds of suburban villas to the princely conservatories of Chatsworth.\*

There are three great principles which present themselves in high relief when we contemplate the grand picture of Nature, inviting the beholder to solace himself in the midst of the abundance provided for him, and compelling him to exertion, if he would obtain the prizes presented to his view. The first is, *the attractiveness of natural productions*. For the mere support of the animal economy, the eye need not be pleased nor the taste gratified; yet both these objects are attained to a most bountiful extent by the productions of the vegetable world. If beauty were always allied to obvious utility, the case would lead to this conclusion; but to make the argument stronger, it is often thrown around productions which *appear* to have no important bearing on animal life, so that while the cereal tribes, so essential to man, have an appearance of humble rusticity, others,

\* The great conservatory at Chatsworth, erected and furnished at enormous expense by the present Duke of Devonshire, may be called one of the wonders of the world. Its arched roof, formed of plate glass, is seventy feet high, and a road runs through it, allowing of carriages passing one another. A writer in the 'Gardeners' Chronicle' (p. 51, 1842) thus refers to it: 'But the great conservatory itself!—how shall I describe it? Its outward aspect has something of the sublime and supernatural, well fitted to sustain those feelings of wonder and veneration with which all sincere worshippers of the Lady Flora approach her mystic precincts. No travel-toiled Mussulman at the sacred postern of Mecca—no Christian pilgrim at the foot of the holy sepulchre—not Mr. Beckford in view of St. Peter's, nor Capt. Harris gazing on three hundred wild elephants in Southern Africa—not Bruce at the source of the Nile, nor Lander at the termination of the Niger—no, nor even

—————'Paris at the top  
Of Ida panted stronger,'

than did the writer of these notes when the portals of the mighty plant-house of Chatsworth were thrown open to receive him.'

unused for food, display gorgeous and matchless charms of colour and form. Take, for example, the cactaceæ and the orchidaceæ so beautifully illustrated by Dr. Lindley in the volume at the head of this article. What wondrous loveliness do they exhibit, even in this country, so far removed from their own sunny *habitats*, and yet how comparatively useless are they as articles of food for man or beast! Of the orchids Dr. Lindley says, 'It often happens that those productions of nature which charm the eye with their beauty, and delight the senses with their perfume, have the least relation to the wants of mankind, while the most powerful virtues, or most deadly poisons, are hidden beneath a mean and insignificant exterior; thus orchids, beyond their beauty, can scarcely be said to be of known utility, with a few exceptions.' \* (p. 180.) In reference to fruits, the same effort to win attention and please the fancy is manifest, and no one can look upon a fruitful and well-trained peach-tree in the month of September, without feeling that it appeals to his intellectual nature, and in the silent eloquence of a divinely adapted instrument calls for his thoughtfulness and gratitude.

The *second* great principle is, *the necessity of culture* in order to secure the advantages which a bountiful Providence is willing, on that condition, to confer. Auriculas, indeed, grow on the Alps, and orchids in the recesses of forests, without asking for the aid of man; but the question is not whether Nature is beautiful without culture, but whether man, without it, can secure that which is necessary for his comfortable existence. Even in countries which throw forth spontaneously those productions which man welcomes as luxuries, the skilful hand is necessary to secure the crops demanded by commerce, as in the case of tea in China, the sugar-cane in the West Indies, and rice on the continent of India. But this spontaneous abundance is peculiar to certain regions, and we, in northern latitudes, can expect Nature's comforts and luxuries only as a return for expense, and toil, and exertion. Here, again, an appeal is made to intelligence, and our mental powers are manifestly called upon to be 'fellow-workers together with God.' The faculties must be put forth to make stubborn materials pliant; to counteract the differences and varieties of climate; and to ward off innumerable impending dan-

\* The value of orchids in this country is manifested by the prices they fetch at sales. Messrs. Stevens sold a lot at the Auction Mart in London on Wednesday the 25th of February, and the sum realized was £466 for 142 plants. These had just arrived from their native places, and the purchasers had to run the risk of failure in accustoming them to the climate and treatment of Great Britain.

gers. The thoughtless citizen, ignorant of the sources of the wealth of nations, may laugh at the zeal evinced by the members of agricultural societies; but he should remember, that these associations are founded in the knowledge of the fact, that brute force never was sufficient to compel the clods to yield a bountiful produce, and that now, more than ever, a high intellectual husbandry can alone follow the leading of Divine Providence, and promote man's physical well-being. This principle runs through all the various stages of vegetable culture, from a few pots in the window of a dwelling-house to the costly conservatory; from the cabbage-ground of the peasant to the largest farm. It is much more clear, that Nature abhors idleness than it is that she abhors a vacuum, and she takes infinite pains to engrave this truth upon the tablets of our memory, 'The hand of the diligent maketh rich.'

The *third* principle which commands attention in that department of the laboratory of nature devoted to vegetable life, is *the almost creative power which is granted to the exercise of human skill*; a principle well worthy our thankful and reverential regard, and the consideration of which opens up a wide field for thought. That man is able to *create* in other spheres of mental operations is well known; as when he carves an exquisite statue from the rugged marble, or arranges scattered words and phrases into an enchanting poem. But it was not suspected till lately, that, while vegetable life can only be called into existence by the Divine Artificer, it is allowed to his servant, man, to turn that life into new channels, and to impress upon it forms of beauty unknown and unseen before. Cultivation will do much in altering the size and other characters of flowers, but it is by hybridizing that art achieves its most exalted triumphs in this department of nature. That this observation may be understood by those of our readers to whom such topics are new, we will take two illustrations, which must be familiar to all of them—the pansy and the dahlia. In their indigenous growth, these plants are of a very humble and undistinguished character; the former being a native of many parts of the world, and a general favourite as a wild flower from its sweet simplicity; the latter, a native of the sandy plains of Mexico, whence it was brought by Baron Humboldt, in 1798, although, at that time, producing flowers which a cottager would now refuse to cultivate. Both these have become universal favourites; and immense sums have been spent and realized by those who have brought new varieties into the market. By judicious crossing the distinct varieties, and by careful cultivation, these flowers have attained a perfection almost inconceivable by those who have not studied the subject. The dahlias, pansies, and

pelargoniums, now found in most gardens are, to a great extent, works of art, such as the face of heaven would probably never have looked upon, had not man applied his ingenuity to their production. How boundless is the prospect thus presented to the human race in this compartment of nature! As long as man is willing to luxuriate in the midst of flowers, and to spend time and money in their cultivation, new varieties will still reward his care, and a perfection may be attained which is not now anticipated. In all these improvements, nature provides that nothing in bad taste shall be developed, and circumscribes man's power by her own refined laws. *Ars est celare artem*; and nothing savouring of the workshop will ever be seen in these products of combined skill.

Enough has been said to lead to the conclusion, that man is called to be an agriculturist and a gardener; in the first place, by his corporeal necessities; and, in the second place, by the alluring, though silent accents of natural things, which invite his skill and reward his efforts. In the unsophisticated season of childhood, the ear is tenderly susceptible of that eloquence; and the posey culled in the field or the garden, seems to hold sweet communion with the eyes and the heart of the infant worshipper. From the shrine of Flora, man goes, in after life, to the altars of Mammon; and, in the engrossing pursuits of business, is found sometimes to utter the degrading maxim, that the finest production of the garden is a cauliflower. But such an insensibility to the charms of natural things is an exception, and not the rule. In narrow alleys and crowded streets; in the workshop of the artisan, and the balcony of the wealthy, flowers assert their dominion over the human heart, and tell us, that man, in the elements of his being, was intended for such pursuits. No one can visit London, either in its centre or its suburbs, without feeling convinced that, with an increasing population, floral tastes bear an equal if not an increased ratio of progress. The shops of florists and seedsmen are multiplied; nurseries extend over cultivated acres; and publications devoted to gardening and botany, are too numerous to allow us even to catalogue them. This is, we think, a propitious sign of the times; for, while nature is allowed to be heard, although it may be only in the utterance of an admired bouquet, there is hope for man.

We are thus led to the consideration of the *moral* aspect of the pursuits of which we are speaking, and for which such great facilities are now afforded. A general observation may be made without fear of contradiction, that the love of natural objects must exert a refining influence on its possessor. That literature, under ordinary restraints does this, is admitted by



all; but the literature contained in the characters impressed by the Divine hand on trees and flowers, is of a higher nature than that which is ordinarily found in books. How can it be otherwise than beneficial for us to follow a guidance so unmistakable as that to which allusion has just been made; a guidance in which beauty and intelligence, and conscious responsibility, combine their efforts to lead us to exertion in the magnificent scenes which surround us! We do not mean to assert that the cultivation of vegetable life, must, in all cases, refine and make happy those who engage in it; far from it. Man may, (and in many cases unfortunately does) earn his bread by the sweat of his brow in a toil so severe that the iron enters into his soul, and the blue firmament witnesses not his contented smiles, but his tears! The man who is bound to the soil by the tyranny of his fellow-man, or by the heavy shackles of poverty, must loath that labour which wastes his energies, gives his body a premature decrepitude, and allows him no moments to contemplate calmly the smallest flower. Of such it cannot be said—

‘ O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona nōrint  
Agrícolas! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis  
Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.’

They know their lot too well, and are convinced by dire experience that it is a bitter one.

If the benign influences of nature fall not on the slave, nor the free victims of ill-requited toil, they refuse also to descend on him who is a florist for purposes of pecuniary profit alone, and estimates tulips, and carnations, and roses, by what they fetch in the market. We allude to this, because it is to be feared that the competitions of flower-shows are too often stimulated by the prizes offered to the successful exhibitor, and that the genuine lover of nature is not always the officiating priest in the floral temple. The adventitious and fashionable modes of cultivation adopted by some amateurs are as much opposed to genuine taste and natural beauty as their *motives* are contrasted with those of the real admirers of gardening and flowers. One man will disfigure his entire domains by the shades and other devices contrived to *get up* his dahlias for the show; another will *dress* a pink or a carnation until it assumes an uniformity in the disposition of its petals which nature rarely patronizes. In proportion as the motive has been sordid, the disappointment when the prize has been refused, is severe. The man who has grown a flower for the pleasure that employment gave him, may wish he had succeeded in eclipsing his competitors; but if he is himself thrown into the shade, he is still re-

paid for all his care. But the mere gamester, if not rewarded with a prize, has lost the only thing which gave a stimulus to his energies.

The devotion to botany and gardening which we plead for as a pursuit beneficial in all its influences, lies between the extremes of hard labour and mercenary skill; the *type* of which may be seen in Cowper the poet, whose delightful descriptions are the lively and exact reflections of his own experience. We admire the skill in numbers, which could so poetically describe the formation of a hot-bed, that 'stercoraceous heap;' and, in a few well-tuned lines, could, with so much technical correctness, lay down the rules for cucumber growing. But the psychologist will admire yet more the beneficial influence exerted by his pursuits on the mind of the poet. His morbidly sensitive spirit appears to gain a robustness, as his frame glows with manual labour; dark thoughts are driven away while tending flowers in the garden and the greenhouse; and the resources of a hidden and higher nature are poured forth in the meditations of a philosophic morality. We might quote here, but the 'Task' is in every house. One sentiment alone we must insert, showing that Cowper regarded his gardening labours as *intellectual*.—

—————' Strength may wield the ponderous spade,  
May turn the clod, and wheel the compost home,  
But elegance, chief grace the garden shows,  
And most attractive, is the fair result  
Of thought, the creature of a polished mind.'

To many, the advantages possessed by Cowper are denied, but thousands who have them, never properly employ them. As it is more the *taste* for gardening for which we plead, than an extensive sphere for its operations, there are few persons to whom our remarks will not apply; and while it is undoubtedly preferable to go forth and cultivate the ground, until health glows in the veins, and contentment beams in the eye, many of the ends of these pursuits may be secured if we possess only a window of a sitting room, and a few exotics to grace it.

While Cowper is fresh in the memory as a poet of gardening, it is only just to notice some others who have thrown the charms of song around this homely subject, and by so doing, have helped to raise it to its proper position as a science. Our Thomson is scarcely a gardener, but his descriptions of rural occupations are fascinating, although they want the conviction of personal experience which those of Cowper convey. Darwin, in his 'Loves of the Plants,' displays much devotion to his theme, and an extensive acquaintance with the science of

Botany, as understood in his day, and he has also some well-modulated lines. But his love of *finery* in writing mars all, and prevents his being popular. The most complete poem on these subjects is the Georgics of Virgil, when read in the original language, for the translation of Dryden loses much of the spirit of the great bard. In agricultural schools it is to be hoped all the classical pupils will be made familiar with this elegant production, for two reasons. The first regards the style, which confers on an humble theme the taste and refinement it is so well capable of receiving, and so richly deserves; the second respects the real information the poem conveys, not to be despised in these latter ages of artificial manures and steam-ploughs. Virgil also utters some fine sentiments, although he is more sparing of them than Cowper; as when he says, in reference to the *science* of cultivation—

‘Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,  
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum  
Subjecit pedibus.’—

In speaking of the moral influences of rural pursuits, it is impossible not to refer to that large class of Englishmen called agricultural labourers, whom many circumstances have tended to depress, and whose state of mind and heart it has become the fashion to depreciate. The peculiar position of landed property in this country, has entailed on the labourer the curse of low wages, by the adjuncts of which his heart has been vitiated and his spirits broken. In estimating the benefits of a moral character arising from tilling the ground, and constantly associating with the scenes of nature, we must not confound the precious with the vile, nor treat accidental qualities as necessary evils. If the *res angusta domi* does not interfere, we maintain that no happier class of men can be found than the peasants of this land; and we maintain, further, that their happiness depends in a great degree on the rural nature of their pursuits. Who will compare the crowded denizens of manufacturing districts, with the inhabitants of villages and hamlets, with the least hope of proving that the former are best situated for happiness? Man must be degraded indeed, if the glorious and beautiful truths of the book of nature daily uttered in his ears, (dull of hearing though he be) have not some effect on the training of his mind and heart.

The possession of a garden, with a disposition to cultivate it, and its non-possession, with a tendency to undervalue such an appendage to a cottage, constitute a broad line of separation between two great classes of the poor. It is impossible to look at the humblest dwelling with a few plants in the window, and

a tidy well-cultivated garden in front, without feeling a conviction that its inhabitants must be more contented and happy than their neighbours, whose plots are neglected, and whose rooms are guiltless of green leaves and flowers. We are not disposed to run into the absurd error of thinking that such tastes are always associated with purity—far from it. But we can affirm, from a long and close acquaintance with the habits of the poor, that a raised state of moral feeling is both the cause and the effect of a love of Nature. The productions we cultivate have a strong charm, and secure the attention with extraordinary power. If, therefore, a working-man has a garden at home, and loves to cultivate it, he will desert the public-house for that spot of quiet and cheering occupation. Domestic misery is in this way often prevented, and children are trained to find pleasure in a harmless and elevating pursuit.

‘Interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati;  
Casta pudicitiam servat domus.’—(Geor. ii. 523.)

The influence of horticultural pursuits on the middle classes is highly beneficial, although a more close examination and analysis is necessary to trace the modes of its operation on the morals and happiness of this large body of men. That the taste for gardening and flowers is extending in this department of society there can be no question, as the fact is indicated by many unequivocal signs. The *literature* of gardening is, to a large extent, fostered by the middle classes, in the form of magazines, newspapers, and separate volumes, devoted to the various operations of the art. The shops of seedsmen and florists tell the same tale, both by their number, and by the greater attractions they now offer to the passer-by. In our boyish days, the shop of the seedsman was a very lugubrious affair, containing, indeed, the elements of future beauty and usefulness in the shape of sacks, and bags, and boxes, but displaying no taste to catch the eye and win the patronage of the street-walker. The case is now materially altered, for few of the principal streets of London, and other large cities, are destitute of a flower-shop. Here the beauties of the season are often displayed. Hyacinths and camellias in the spring, and pelargoniums and carnations in summer, tempt the suburban citizen retiring to his villa, or the ladies, whose husbands living in the city, can allow them only the balcony and the drawing-room for their gardening operations. But the strongest proof of the increase of this taste in the middle classes is furnished by the decorated windows and pretty gardens which abound in the suburbs, and even in the heart of our towns. The influence exerted by this admiration of natural beauties, is op-

posed to sordidness and low habits. Home is rendered more delightful, and the mind, which if always fixed on business and tied to the countinghouse, would expire of atrophy, receives fresh pabulum for meditation and thoughtfulness by watching the growth of a plant or a flower.

It is among the middle classes, that *the florists par excellence* abound, who patronize what are called florists' flowers, and attain to an extraordinary degree of skill in their culture. It is necessary to inform the uninitiated in these mysteries, that by florists' flowers a particular class of productions is meant, although its boundaries are not defined with any scientific precision. The nearest approach to a definition is that which describes florists' flowers as those which sport into varieties when submitted to cultivation. As this is true of most plants to a greater or less extent, the definition is not correct; and it may be sufficient to remark, that florists' flowers are those favourites of amateurs which fashion, or intrinsic beauty, or ease of cultivation, have brought into notice. Auriculas, polyanthuses, tulips, ranunculuses, carnations, and pinks, were the principal florists' flowers a few years back, but many others are now included in the list. Some of these, as the auricula and the polyanthus, may be well grown in the most disadvantageous circumstances, and the silkweavers of Spitalfields, and the mechanics of Lancashire, have been renowned for their cultivation. As any back-yard admitting a little sun and air may be made available for the production of exquisite specimens of floral beauty, it is in this department that thousands excel who have no convenience for larger operations. In proportion as the attention is concentrated on a few objects, they become more intensely admired, and florists' flowers have often received almost passionate fondness. It is said that a genuine amateur would rather take a blanket off his bed than allow his pets to be injured by the cold. It will readily be imagined, that this pursuit may easily overstep the bounds of prudence, and occupy more than a reasonable amount of time and thoughtfulness; but in the midst of occasional excesses, there is something pleasing in the fact, that occupations so innocent and tranquil, furnish so many with amusement and delight.

If we ascend to the wealthy and aristocratic circles of our countrymen, we find floriculture occupying a conspicuous place among the items of their expenditure, and, apparently, exercising considerable influence over their mental habits. We say *apparently*, not because we doubt the fact, but because it is less susceptible of proof in their case, than in that of the classes before-mentioned. It is not a *sine qua non* of respectability for a man of the lower or middle ranks of society to have a well-

ordered garden; but it is so with the wealthy and the high-born. With them it is indispensable to have the luxuries of vegetable life, and, by consequence, the means of producing them; and there can be no question that some wealthy persons spend many hundreds a-year on their gardens without a genuine taste for flowers. Fashion demands the sacrifice, and it is made as a matter of course. In labour alone, the garden of a country-gentleman will cost, on a very moderate scale, £150 a-year, and often double or treble that sum. To these expenses must be added the cost of new productions; artificial heat; rent of land, and repairs, etc.; so that £1,000 per annum is often spent on the horticultural adjuncts of an establishment. All this *may*, in some cases, be unconnected with an appreciation of natural beauties, but in most instances the taste and the expense incurred go hand-in-hand. Many noblemen and private gentlemen find great pleasure in rural pursuits, and engage in them scientifically. At the head of the former class must be placed the Duke of Devonshire, the great and zealous patron of the Horticultural Society of London. One advantage to society at large is obvious, resulting from these tastes in the aristocracy—they necessarily bring their possessors into contact with their humbler fellow-subjects, and teach them daily the important truth that Nature knows no aristocracy of intellect or talent.

We now pass to the consideration of one aspect of our theme, which will be more didactic than descriptive, and will contemplate more the enforcement of a duty than the statement of a fact; we mean, the desirableness of the study of botany and gardening to men of literary tastes and studious habits. From some inexplicable, or, certainly, insufficient cause, an unnatural divorce is often found to exist between the labour of the wits and of the hands, as though the two were incompatible in one person, or each had an abhorrence of the other. *Physiologically*, it is clear the two should be united, if a healthy development of body and mind is desired, *mens sana in corpore sano*. Why genius, and wit, and eloquence should be necessarily associated with an unhealthy condition of body, cannot *naturally* be shown. That they often are so, is the result of a breach of nature's laws, which have imperatively demanded, in all ages, the performance of coporeal labour as the price to be paid for the benefits of a vigorous and healthy development. The modern estimate of the capacities of genius is different in this respect from that of the ancients, whose wise and great men appear to have cultivated the bodily powers as well as those of the mind. Homer was a sturdy wanderer, uttering his sweet notes from a frame hardened by exposure to the weather, and inured to the hard-

ships of travel. Cincinnatus could handle the plough. Demosthenes overcame natural imperfections by great corporeal exertions. Cæsar could be luxurious at times, but he was a great classical writer; and the reader of his Commentaries is often at a loss which most to admire, his clear head and masculine understanding, or his capacity for physical toil. We do not remember, in all the compass of ancient literature, profane or sacred, a reference to those topics which modern geniuses have consecrated to their service; such as, 'the soul being too acute for the body;' 'energies wasted by watching the midnight oil;' 'a frame unfitted by genius for manly and robust exercises,' etc. The sooner all this is expunged from our current language and literature, the better. Fine mental endowments and correct tastes are surely more to be admired when set in a chasing of a muscular and vigorous body, than when associated with attenuated features, quick pulse, and an eye of ominous lustre. We beg to express a firm conviction, that a return to nature's laws is imperatively demanded of all men of learning and genius, and that the prospects of the human mind will be brightest when we recognize the claims of the inferior but inseparable casket in which it is lodged.

Perhaps there are no professional men, whose pursuits are of an intellectual character, who would be more benefited by an attention to botany and gardening than Christian ministers. This class, indeed, has acquired renown by the successful pursuit of horticulture, from the earlier efforts of the recluses of the convent to the more scientific labours of our own Henslow and Herbert. A large proportion of divines of all denominations are favourably situated for such pursuits, either by the ease of their worldly circumstances, or their living in rural districts; their parsonages having generally attached to them some portion of garden ground. That every public and private duty may be conscientiously attended to simultaneously with such operations, is attested by numerous examples, and cannot be reasonably doubted. But it is well known that very many ministers are excluded from any extensive acquaintance with such matters, partly by their situation in large towns and cities, and partly by the numerous engagements which the modern character of the religious world lays upon them. Yet these are the very persons who most need the enlivening influences of floral pursuits, and who would receive from them the largest amount of benefit. A country pastor may never handle the spade, nor tie up a flower; but, whether conscious of it or not, he is moulded and fashioned by the scenes of nature around him, and daily assimilates to himself the healthy nutriment so abundantly provided. But in London, or similar localities, a pastor occupies a different

position ; is surrounded by contrasted influences ; and is, therefore, bound to seek voluntarily that which his sphere of life does not place at his feet—*bound*, we mean, if he has a due regard to his physical well-being, and to the buoyancy and right adjustment of his mind.

How eminently suggestive are all the works of the great Creator ! and how easily does the mind draw to itself the stores of wisdom and knowledge furnished by the books of Nature and Providence ! If it is supposed that a man of ordinary abilities loses time by a moderate attention to horticulture, or any other physical science, a fatal mistake is committed, which should be rectified at once. The social principle operates in the region of intellect as well as everywhere else, and it is not good for a mental faculty to pursue its investigations alone. Error appears to love the haunts of a man of one book—*homo unius libri*—although that book may be the revealed Word of God. To some minds, the claim to lofty piety appears to be sustained if its supposed possessor despises all literature but that which is sacred, and eschews all knowledge but that which is revealed. But past experience and observation have disclosed the fact, that a one-sided application of the faculties has never had the blessing of heaven. It is in the midst of the meeting and blending rays of light from all the quarters whence their Creator darts them, that truth loves to dwell ; and in that irradiated sphere she must be sought.

The Christian minister must in every case be the pioneer, and not the follower of the crowd. The moment he finds himself urged onwards by a pressure from without, he must be prepared either to confess his past sluggishness, or, feeling that his own opinions and practice are correct, to make a dignified and active resistance. Hence, if an exhibition of weakness, and dangerous concessions are to be avoided, he must habitually frequent an eminence from which the real state of things may be viewed, and the wisest courses discerned. In large cities, he has to do with many whose idolatry is wealth, and whose dangerous disease is inordinate worldly excitement. Unhappy is the condition of both the teacher and the taught, if the former dwells in an atmosphere which prevents him from seeing the common danger, and sounding an alarm ! If he is also unduly excited ; if public meetings, and numerous engagements on committees ; if much company ; or even if an excess of pastoral duties, cause him to live in a crowd, and deny him time for calm reflection, he will not be likely to see the excitement of his flock. An association with the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field—quiet musings among the grand, yet silent operations of nature, will place him in a proper position. He will learn, in such circumstances,



that man's life—his happiness—consisteth not in the abundance which he possesses; and he will come as a freeman of nature to tell his people, in words of authority enforced by the genuine dictates of his own heart, that *a state of mind*, and not outward circumstance, constitutes happiness. Of course, these great lessons will be learned most advantageously among natural things; but if this is denied, books should supply the place. Every student of divinity should be a naturalist either in theory or practice, and, if possible, in both.

But it is time to say something specific respecting the works placed at the head of this article, although all we have advanced is in perfect accordance with their spirit and intention. 'The Gardener's Chronicle and Agricultural Gazette' is, as its title imports, a weekly register of matters concerning the gardener and the farmer; it abounds in notices of natural history, and may be recommended as an interesting and unexceptionable family journal. The 'School Botany' will attract by the beauty of its illustrations, and, if used in our seminaries, cannot fail of being highly beneficial to the young, and of drawing them on to a more scientific admiration of the works of nature in after life. The principal work, however, is 'The Vegetable Kingdom,' the mature product of the long studies of Dr. Lindley; a distinguished monument of his patient industry, general scholarship, and scientific attainments. We will allow the professor to introduce his own work in the following extracts from his preface.

'Its object is to give a concise view of the state of systematical botany at the present day, to show the relation or supposed relation of one group of plants to another, to explain their geographical distribution, and to point out the various uses to which the species are applied in different countries. The names of all known genera, with their synonyms, are given under each natural order, the numbers of the genera and species are in every case computed from what seems to be the best authority, and complete indices of the multitudes of names embodied in the work are added, so as to enable a botanist to know immediately under what natural order a given genus is stationed, or what are the uses to which any species has been applied. Finally, the work is copiously illustrated by wood and glyphographic cuts, and for the convenience of students an artificial analysis of the system is placed at the end.'

We need scarcely intimate to our readers that Dr. Lindley's work advocates a *natural system* of botany, and not the artificial one of Linnæus. On the merits of the natural system he thus speaks:—

'The natural system of botany being founded on these principles, that all points of resemblance between the various parts, properties, and

qualities of plants shall be taken into consideration ; that thence an arrangement shall be deduced in which plants must be placed next each other which have the greatest degree of similarity in those respects ; and that consequently the quality of an imperfectly known plant may be judged of by that of another which is well known, it must be obvious that such a method possesses great superiority over artificial systems, like that of Linnæus, in which there is no combination of ideas, but which are mere collections of isolated facts, having no distinct relation to each other. The advantages of the natural system, in applying botany to useful purposes are immense, especially to medical men, who depend so much upon the vegetable kingdom for their remedial agents. A knowledge of the properties of one plant enables the practitioner to judge scientifically of the qualities of other plants naturally allied to it ; and therefore, the physician acquainted with the natural system of botany, may direct his inquiries, when on foreign stations, not empirically, but on fixed principles, into the qualities of the medicinal plants which have been provided in every region for the alleviation of the maladies peculiar to it. He is thus enabled to read the hidden characters with which Nature labels all the hosts of species that spring from her teeming bosom. Every one of these bears inscribed upon it the uses to which it may be applied, the dangers to be apprehended from it, or the virtues with which it has been endowed. The language in which they are written is not indeed human ; it is in the living hieroglyphics of the Almighty which the skill of man is permitted to inspect. The key to their meaning lies enveloped in the folds of the natural system, and is to be found in no other place.'

This volume is beautifully printed, and the contents will afford much interest to the casual reader. It will form a useful appendage to any library.

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**ART. IV.**—*Adventures on the Western Coast of South America, and the Interior of California; including a Narrative of Incidents at the Kingsmill Islands, New Ireland, New Britain, New Guinea, and other Islands in the Pacific Ocean; with an account of the Natural Production, and the Manners and Customs, in Peace and War, of the various Savage Tribes Visited.* By John Coulter, M.D., Author of 'Adventures in the Pacific,' etc. London: Longman & Co. 1847.

Most of our readers are aware, that a vast number of islands are spread over the Pacific Ocean, both north and south of the Equator, some in isolated positions, and others beautifully grouped so as to wear the aspect of a tropical garden, approaching in fascination to fairy land. An extensive trade is carried on between these islands and the western coasts of North and South America. The Georgian islands and the Chilian ports have extensive commercial transactions, and the Sandwich Islands and the ports of California are connected in a similar manner. The Chinese merchants compete in these markets with those of America and England, while Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and other British colonies, partake in the advantages of the lucrative trade. 'In fact,' as Dr. Coulter remarks, 'the Pacific Ocean trading is an occupation peculiar to itself, and one from which great emolument is derived; indeed, it is of so much value to the local adventurers engaged in it, that they have systematically concealed a correct account of it from the home ports, lest their profitable transactions should be interfered with by too many coming out.' The captains or supercargos are generally owners of the vessels engaged in this trade, and they steer from island to island, as may be deemed most expedient, until their cargo is exchanged for such commodities as they are desirous of obtaining. The vessels are well manned, and sufficiently armed to repel the attacks to which they are frequently exposed. Few of them return without some hostile encounter with the natives, which arises too commonly from the cupidity, recklessness, or ignorance of the traders. 'Some of them,' says our author, 'who have reckless captains and crews on board, never can end a trading transaction with the natives without a row.'

In a former work, entitled 'Adventures in the Pacific,' Dr. Coulter gave an account of his cruising adventures as far as Tahiti, and now proceeds, in the volumes before us, to carry his readers along with him through the subsequent perils of his

voyage. His work is full of incident, always interesting, and frequently instructive. It opens up many scenes of genuine romance, and reveals to the quiet stayers-at-home, how poor and inexpressive fiction is, compared with what is actually taking place in many regions of the globe. Dr. Coulter's style is well suited to his work. It is at once easy and flowing, sufficiently colloquial for the graphic description of incident, yet free from the coarseness of nautical speech. We have not met with a more readable book for some time past. The lightest will be pleased with its various and exciting incidents, while the more reflecting will gather from its narrative materials for sober and useful thought.

On leaving Tahiti, the ship *Stratford*, in which our author sailed as surgeon, steered northward in search of whales, and speedily fell in with an American vessel similarly employed. An exciting chase took place between them which ended to the advantage of the English, and it is pleasing to learn that 'a hearty good will prevailed on both sides.' When parallel with the Marquesas Islands, and in sight of one of its mountains, the weather, which had previously been stormy, cleared up, and there was scarcely wind enough to fill the sails. It was one of those tropical nights which wear the semblance of enchantment, and lull back the senses to the credulous superstitions of a former age. The watch was set, and the captain and remainder of the crew had retired to rest, when one of the officers came down to report that a strange sound, resembling a human voice, had been heard not far from the ship. Every thing of course was instantly in motion, and Dr. Coulter tells us—

'Both the captain and I put on our clothes hastily and went on deck; we listened for a length of time without hearing anything: as the ship made a little way through the water, the main was thrown aback in order to listen more attentively. After straining our eyes through the night-glasses in the direction pointed out, we were going to denounce it as the Flying Dutchman, or something of the kind, when a hoarse guttural shout assailed our ears; some of the oldest hands in the ship remained transfixed and powerless: again it was repeated, though nearer, and again all was still; by-and-by a slight splashing sound was conveyed to the ship, something like a log of wood was seen through the gloom, and the word "Pihii" (ship) was uttered as if from one in pain.

' "A native in distress," said the captain as he withdrew the night-glass from his eye; "a crew for the larboard quarter boat to pick him up." The words banished superstition, and the men instantly threw off their jackets to obey the dictates of humanity, through the orders given. It was yet intensely dark, and lanterns were brought to assist in carefully lowering the boat; a few minutes sufficed, however, to get her clear of the ship, and as we could not see her, we

passed the time in listening to the clank of the oars, as she pulled away through the gloom; there could now be only heard, and that occasionally, an odd jerk of the oar in the rullocks of the boat; they were evidently searching for the object of distress; a few minutes more the signal of success was exhibited in the boat, the concealed lantern and a hearty cheer followed, which was loudly responded to from the ship. I may here mention, that the lights in lanterns on board the ship and in the boats are generally veiled until the moment they are required, for this reason, that the men can better distinguish objects when all is nearly dark than when a light is glared on them, as it renders the obscurity doubly obscure.

One of the ship lanterns was now held up half way up the mizen rigging to direct the boat in the proper direction, which shortly reached the stern of the ship, with a small shattered-looking canoe in tow, with a native and child in it; when they came alongside, the stranger and child were put into the boat, which was hoisted up with a lively hand over hand song; when it was high enough, and resting on the cranes, the man and child were lifted carefully in on deck; one of his arms was dreadfully bruised and swollen, the boy safe, but both in a great state of exhaustion. Their story was soon told: he was a Marquesan, belonging to the Island of Fetuiva, was making an excursion with another man and his child to one of the neighbouring islands, when it came on to blow heavily, and drove them off the islands, with scarcely any food in the canoe.

The wind afterwards ceased, when a fresh disaster happened to them; a number of small whales had either been gambolling, or running very fast in the night, when they unfortunately came in contact with their frail vessel and capsized it. One of the men was killed and knocked overboard, to be seen no more; the other, with his child fast on his shoulder, contrived to right his canoe, and bale her out with the one, and only paddle he had now, as the other was lost; with this he contrived to make a little way towards the islands, though the current was sadly against him, and he was buried in the depths of despair when our ship was fanning her way close to him. He was a fine powerful-looking man, greatly tattooed over the body. His shoulders, and indeed the most of his body, was greatly scalded from the wash of the sea continually over him, and on placing my hand on his skin, he felt icy cold. We bathed him over with some fresh water, and rolled both him and the poor child, which was about four years old, up in thick blankets, and got them brought down into the cabin; after which, some warm wine and water contributed greatly to recover him. He then embraced his child, gave his deliverers a long look of deep-felt gratitude, that no painter could depict, nor any pen describe, covered himself up in the blanket, and fell off into a sound sleep.—vol. i. pp. 15—19.

It was now determined to search for whales on the coast of the Americas, but after a four months' unsuccessful cruize, having reached the northern point of Peru, the Stratford made

for Tacames, in order to obtain wood, water, and fruit. Whilst the needful supplies were being obtained, our author indulged himself with some days' sport in the woods. Dr. Coulter seems never to have remained on ship-board when he could safely trust himself on land. He is a thorough sportsman, who found his home in the woods. With a good rifle and a healthy frame, he trusted to the chances of the wilderness, and hence drew much of the information supplied to his readers. On the present occasion, he was fortunate enough to engage the services of an Indian named 'Jack,' who had an excellent gun, and knew well how to use it. Having filled his forage-bag with some hard-cooked meat and sea-biscuits, they soon left the region of civilization behind them. The monkeys in this region are of gigantic size, and startled our traveller not a little by stretching out their ugly faces at him, as if to see who it was that ventured to intrude on their solitude. 'As we passed along,' says Dr. Coulter, 'several times they were particularly bold, and stretched out their long arms in an endeavour to lay hold of the end of the gun, or the cap on my head. I had frequently the rifle dropt on my left hand to fire at them, when my worthy companion told me to let them alone. Certainly, the huge size and daring of some of them would justly alarm any one not accustomed to such creatures; yet Jack did nothing but laugh at them and me, said it was all tricks, and that they were only curious to look at a stranger.' Large snakes were also met with in abundance, and the howl of wild beasts enforced both silence and caution. What speedily occurred was much more serious, and will be best described in our author's own words.

'In this cautious manner we arrived at the brink of a deep ravine, at the bottom of which there was much brushwood, with here and there a pool of water. We sat down to rest ourselves, and listen for awhile to the music of the woods, which I must say was very discordant; the barks, howls, and roars of the beasts were incessant. The ravine was extensive, and there was a good deal of cleared ground in it, so that we could see up and down it a good way. We were in the act of descending half way down the bank when we heard frequent loud yelps approaching us fast: Jack now told me to drop down, keep close, and have the gun ready; he did the same, his dark expressive eyes dancing with half-concealed eagerness. We had not long to wait, for in two or three minutes a beautiful young wild black horse came tearing along the clear part of the ravine, in the direction of our concealment; he was going at his utmost speed, and closely pursued by two splendid tigers that ran much quicker, and whose bounds we could distinctly perceive were great, as at each, they rose several feet from the ground.

'As the poor horse came up nearly to where we now were (for

we crawled deeper into the ravine) he seemed to be nearly exhausted, and slipped down on his knees, about thirty yards from where we kneeled down ready for them. One of the tigers crouched with all the twisting motion of a huge cat, and made a spring of about twenty feet right on the back of the horse, and seized him by the neck with a fearful growl; the other animal trotted round the horse, lashing his tail about, and roaring with terrific ferocity; they were too busy now with their victim to scent us out. 'Are you ready now,' said Jack? 'I am,' said I. By agreement I covered the tiger on the horse, my guide the other; at a signal both guns went off together.

'The one I had covered rolled kicking off the horse, the other fell down and tumbled about in all directions, evidently badly wounded. 'Now for the knife,' said Jack; and we rushed up to where they lay. Mine was dead, but the other was still active, though unable to move any distance. I went up to him with the intention of firing my second barrel through his head, when my guide insisted upon my letting him alone, and drew his long knife. The tiger had yet great vitality, and I was much alarmed lest he might injure the man, and kept the gun ready for an immediate shot.

'Jack went boldly up to him; the infuriated animal grinned horribly and writhed rapidly about, throwing up a good deal of dust from the dry ground. One plunge of the knife, a roar, into him again, a hideous grin and a tumble about, some blood scattered on the ground, at him again, a miss stroke of the knife, try once more, both down and nearly covered with dust. I was now determined to put an end to this dangerous conflict, if I could; but the rapid motion of both man and beast prevented me firing, lest one should receive what was intended for the other.

'The tiger had now hold of either the Indian or his clothes, as both rolled together; yet the knife was busily at work. At last his arm was raised high up with the red dripping instrument, and after one more angry plunge of it, the tiger turned on his back, his paws and whole frame quivering, and with an attempt at a ghastly grin, he fell over on his side and died. Jack then stood up, covered with the blood of the animal, and his first ejaculation was 'un diablo,' in English, 'one devil.' I was anxious to ascertain if the man was hurt, and after washing himself in a pool of water near us, I was delighted to see that he escaped, with the exception of one faint bite on the shoulder, and a few tears of the paws on his arms, which he seemed to care nothing about. He was a brave man, told me he killed many of them, but this one he said died hard.—*Id.*, pp. 44—47.

Another adventure of a similar kind occurred soon afterwards, when our sportsman was accompanied by a negro as well as the Indian. In order, however, that such facts should be duly estimated, it must be borne in mind, that the tiger of this coast is

a comparatively timid animal, who never attacks man save as a last resource.

'We were thinking,' says our author, 'about descending into the even ground, when a rushing sound out of an adjoining patch of forest arrested our attention; there were a few low bushes near to the spot we stood on, and under cover of those we crouched; the negro was all anxiety, and now and then half erected his body to peep out. Jack uttered a few testy words to him in Spanish. I asked him what he was saying. 'I tell him keep him black skin under de bush.' After some minutes a few brown deer rushed out of the woods, dashing along with great speed, heads erect, and antlers resting back on the neck; they were running in nearly a line with the bushes that hid us from their view, but in order to head them completely, we writhed ourselves through the grass some way.

'Presently, two or three loud roars, and three tigers made their appearance, bounding in chace after them. The deer were now within a short distance of us; my guide whispered to me, 'shoot at deer, me watch tiger.' I fired at the advancing herd, one rolled over; the other barrel, a second dropped to his knees wounded. At this moment the foremost tiger came within the range of Jack's rifle, which cracked off with a report that echoed far, and the animal instantly dropped dead. It was a steady aim and true shot. The guns were quickly reloaded; the two remaining tigers stopped suddenly, looked wildly round, and sprang off apparently terrified, with as much speed as they came in view.—*Id.*, p. 58.

Their excursion was continued for several days, in the course of which they arrived at a small village called Tolo, where 'Jack' was well known. He acted as interpreter, and soon made the inhabitants acquainted with the medical character of Dr. Coulter. The consequence was as might have been expected. All claimed his aid, and fees in the shape of Spanish coins were pressed on his acceptance. What occurred was characteristic. Such a monitor is scarcely needed by the faculty at home. 'I thought,' says Dr. Coulter, 'I ought to refuse; and was in the act of so doing, when my very philosophic guide gave me a wink and a look, that plainly told me to pocket all that was offered; and I came to the conclusion that, although the medical profession was not generally a 'go-a-head' one at home, yet this instance, with many others I have experienced abroad, stamped it as one of the best recommendations I could have had; and particularly so, when favoured by the presence of so worthy a mentor as Jack had proved himself.' Our author's health subsequently failed by an injudicious exposure to the night-air, and it was consequently arranged that he should remain for a time at St. Francisco, in California, where the vessel had put in for supplies, and should rejoin the *Stratford*, if possible, at Tahiti, in the following



November. The object of his stay was speedily accomplished, and with returning health he commenced excursions into the interior, in company with a kind-hearted Jesuit priest. A brief account is given of the several missionary stations established by this fraternity, and of the methods which were originally adopted to induce the Indians to settle in their neighbourhood. These matters, however, are hastily dismissed, and may be found more fully treated of elsewhere. A lamentable view is given of the unsettled state of the country, and of the marauding habits of its people. Robbers are exceedingly numerous, and very active; and as they are generally on horseback, and are expert in the use of the lasso, they prove highly dangerous neighbours. 'The end of the dangerous lasso being firmly fastened to the saddle, enables the rider, as soon as his victim, either man or animal, is noosed, to whirl round his horse, and dash off like an Arab, dragging whatever he has fast after him.' The fur-hunters of the district are seldom molested by the robbers, though occasionally encounters take place, of which our author gives a desperate instance in the following passage.

'I once hunted for three months, in company with a hunter well known in California. In idea, he was wild, and imaginative in the extreme; but, in his acts of daring, etc., the most cool and philosophic fellow I ever knew. A comercianto, or merchant at St. Francisco, on whose veracity I know from experience I can depend, told me the following story of this man, which will at once illustrate his general character.

'This hunter was, some months before I had fallen in with him, making the best of his way down the valley of the Tule Lakes from the interior, with a heavy pack of furs on his back, his never-failing rifle in his hand, and his two dogs by his side. He was joined at the northernmost end of the valley by the merchant I have spoken of, who was armed only with sword and pistols. They had scarcely cleared the valley when a party of robbers galloped out before them. There were four whites fully armed, and two Indians with the lassos coiled up in their right hands 'ready for a throw.'

'The hunter told the merchant, who was on horseback, to dismount instantly, 'and to cover.' Fortunately for them, there was a good deal of thicket, and trunks of large trees that had fallen were strewed about in a very desirable manner. Behind these logs the merchant and the hunter quickly took up their position, and as they were in the act of doing so, two or three shots were fired after them without effect. The hunter coolly untied the pack of furs from his back and laid them beside him. 'It's my opinion, merchant,' said he, 'that them varmint there wants either your saddle-bags or my pack, but I reckon they'll get neither.' So he took up his rifle, fired, and the foremost Indian, lasso in hand, rolled off his horse. Another discharge from the rifle and the second Indian fell, whilst in the act of

throwing his lasso at the head and shoulders of the hunter as he raised himself from behind the log to fire. 'Now,' said the hunter, as he reloaded, lying on his back to avoid the shots of the robbers, 'that's what I call the best of the schrimmage, to get them brown thieves with their lassos out of the way first. See them rascally whites now jumping over the logs to charge us in our cover.'

'They were fast advancing, when the rifle again spoke out, and the foremost fell; they still came on to within about thirty yards, another fell, and the remaining two made a charge up close to the log. The hunter, from long practice, was dexterous in reloading his gun. 'Now, merchant,' said he, 'is the time for your pop-guns (meaning the pistols), and don't be at all nervous, keep a steady hand, and drop either man or horse. A man of them shan't escape.'

'The two remaining robbers were now up with the log, and fired each a pistol-shot at the hunter, which he escaped by dodging behind a tree close to, from which he fired with effect. As only one robber was left, he wheeled round his horse with the intention of galloping off, when the pistol bullets of the merchant shot the horse from under him. 'Well done, merchant,' said the hunter, 'you've stopped that fellow's gallop.' As soon as the robber could disentangle himself from the fallen horse, he took to his heels and ran down a sloping ground as fast as he could. The hunter drew his tomahawk from his belt, and gave chase after him. As he was more of an equestrian than a pedestrian, the nimbleness of the hunter soon shortened the distance between them, and the last of the robbers fell.

'Thus perished this dangerous gang of six, by the single hand of this brave hunter, and, as the 'comercianto' informed me, he acted as coolly and deliberately as if he were shooting tame bullocks for the market. The affair was rather advantageous to the hunter, for, on searching the saddle-bags and pockets of the robbers, he pulled forth some doubloons, and a few dollars, with other valuables, they had, no doubt, a short time previously, taken from some traveller; the saddle-bags, arms, and accoutrements of the four white men, were packed up, and made fast on the saddles of two horses, the hunter mounted a third, the merchant mounted another, his horse being shot, and thus they left the scene of action, the bodies of the robbers to the wolves, who were howling about them, and entered St. Francisco in triumph.

'The merchant told me he pressed this hunter to take money from him, for saving his life, but he would receive no favour from him but one, and that was a bed in his house to sleep in, whenever he came to St. Francisco; a room was at once allotted to his use, and he seems to enjoy the occupation of it much. 'And this is the reason,' said the merchant to me, 'why you see him loitering about my house so much.'—*Ib.*, pp. 164—168.

The black and brown bears of California are comparatively gentle animals, who keep themselves at 'a respectful distance' from the night-watch of the sportsman, 'wondering,' says Dr.

Coulter, 'what brought you there, and taking a look round to ascertain whether you have any spare meat left for their supper.' The case, however, is different with the grisly bear, whose size and muscular power render him a dangerous antagonist. Some idea may be formed of their strength from the fact, that they kill the largest bull with apparent ease. They are, moreover, distinguished by a singular tenacity of life.

'I was hunting one day,' says Dr. Coulter, 'at the foot of Mount St. Bernardino, situated in the parallel of 34° north latitude, in company with the hunter I have already spoken of. We were quietly seated, discussing a piece of roast venison, when the ugly visage of a grisly bear peeped out from some rocks about twenty yards on one side of us. We instantly jumped up and moved some distance off. The huge beast gradually drew himself out from his concealment and trotted briskly down to our fire, where, a few minutes before, we were roasting our venison. Not finding much there for him, he commenced galloping after us. The hunter said, 'I reckon this is an ugly customer. I'll take the first fire.'

'The shot was a true one: the ball hit the brute somewhere about the head, for all the blood was dripping down his face, and he gave a roar that echoed through the woods. 'What are you gaping at?' said the hunter to me, as I was watching the bear, expecting to see him roll over every second. 'Why don't you fire? A steady hand now!' I dropped on one knee to make sure of my aim, and fired. 'That's into his carcase. Give him the other barrel,' said the hunter. I did so, and with effect; yet he pursued us. 'This is a devil in earnest,' said my companion. 'Three balls in him now, and on he comes as fresh as ever. Run on, you, and load. I'm ready for him now.'

'I did so, and was quickly ready. As soon as my friend discharged his rifle into our pursuing antagonist, he ran past me further on to load again, whilst I stood and fired both barrels again at the bear. We continued on in this manner at a short distance from our dangerous enemy, like riflemen retreating. One stopped to fire while the other retreated to reload, until nearly a mile of ground was passed over, when this huge grisly bear dropped on his haunches and gave a thrilling roar, after receiving fifteen balls from our two guns.

'I relate this incident merely for the purpose of conveying to you an idea of the extreme tenacity of life these dangerous brutes possess. However, I have seen them killed with a single ball, and many of them with the second shot. But this one, that we ran so much risk with, was unusually large and fierce; and the hunter said, when he buried his tomahawk into the skull of the brute, as he yet, though blind with the shot, kept on his haunches; 'I'm of opinion, grisly bear, you're the biggest and hardest critter of your kind to kill ever I shot at.'

'As the hunter examined the huge brute now dead before us, he said, 'One gun would never have killed that bear. See, he has five

bullet-holes in his face and head. Only look at his claws ! I know well that the greatest Indian chief on either side of the Rocky Mountains would be proud to wear them as a necklace !' He cut off the paws, and told me they were mine. I declined, and said he must keep them. 'Very well, comrade,' said he. 'I'll just clean them handsome off, and wear them myself as a trophy. I judge there's not a man, either Ingin or white, in California, will have such a set of claws dangling on his breast.'—*Id.*, pp. 178—180.

Having thoroughly recovered his health, Dr. Coulter was now anxious to rejoin his ship at Tahiti, and gladly, therefore, availed himself of the offer of Captain Trainer, of an American schooner, the 'Hound,' to proceed on his voyage. At the Drummond Islands, which they first touched, the gross immorality of the people was revoltingly exhibited. 'They give way,' says our author, 'to all sorts of barbarism and licentiousness ; and I feel sorry to have it to say, that the generality of ships touching here (mostly English and American whalers), so completely encourage this immorality and vileness, that it is now the regular custom at the Kingsmill group.' This testimony is confirmatory of other reports, and goes far to account for the hostility to missionary labours which has been so frequently evinced by seafaring and commercial men. It is a lamentable fact, that the licentiousness of heathenism should be encouraged by men who have been reared amidst the institutions and teachings of Christianity. But so it is. The most formidable obstruction to the diffusion of our faith is found in the vicious morals of our own countrymen.

Dr. Coulter was present at a council meeting of the warriors of the island, and his description of the scene throws a fearful light on the state of society. One of the chiefs was killed in a dispute which arose, others were seriously wounded, and matters were with great difficulty prevented from proceeding to a general massacre. The atonement made for the slaughter of the chief illustrates the low estimate in which life is held, and the prevalence of a cruel sport formerly popular in England. It is thus described :—

'All differences were now at an end, but it was absolutely necessary, for honour sake, to appease the warriors of Hattā, and give them compensation for his death. This was soon effected by the party who killed him, presenting them with—what do you think ? Why nothing more than six fighting cocks ! Although I dare not laugh in the presence of the council, yet I could now, as I was clear of them, and did so in the most unequivocal manner, when I beheld and understood the nature of the peace-offering as compensation for the chiefs life ! They rolled Hattā's body up in a mat, put their game-cocks carefully up in small bag-nets, and marched off in the

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men, fore and aft?' Ay, ay, sir.' Let go, then.' The two carronades discharged their fatal showers of grape, and before the smoke had rightly cleared away, they were loaded, and again fired amongst the natives. 'Load again, my lads,' said the captain.

'There was scarcely any wind, and the smoke, which hung low on the water, was a few minutes in clearing away. The screaming of the wounded people was appalling. Some canoes were sunk or capsized, and numbers of natives were swimming towards the shore. Nevertheless, there were many of them yet that kept their ground, and had the reckless daring to make another bold push for the vessel's side.' 'Fire,' said the captain again, and another volley of grape flew amongst them. This discharge had not the great effect of the former ones, as the canoes were closer, and the contents of the guns had not distance enough to scatter. The savages seemed to comprehend this, and in another moment were clinging to the schooner's sides, endeavouring to board; but the rapid use of muskets and pistols ultimately drove them away in indescribable confusion, with, I am sorry to say, considerable loss.'—*Ib.* pp. 219—221.

In New Ireland, another of the islands visited, Dr. Coulter passed some time, and has gleaned many particulars, illustrative of the character, condition, and habits of the people. We can only make room for the following brief description of the punishment awarded to the indolent and vicious. Something of the same kind might be advantageously employed in cases nearer home:—

'The head chief often interferes in minor matters of a domestic nature; for instance, if a lazy fellow has a wife or two, and a few children, and through his love for fishing, dancing, and loitering idly about, neglects to bring in the necessary supplies for his family, a complaint is made, the chief visits the house in person, and if he sees just ground for punishment, he orders out the whole population of the village,—men, women, and children, arm themselves with a stiff birch made of small canes, they then form a long double line about six feet apart, and wait with anxious glee the approach of the delinquent.

'At last he is placed at one end of the lines amidst a shower of yells, screams, jibes, etc. The word is given by the chief, and away he darts at his utmost speed through the ranks, every one endeavouring to hit him as he passes. According to his deserts, he may get off with running the line once, or may have to do so twice or thrice; but he is skilled in cunning and fleetness that can run the lines even once, without having his skin tickled for him by the hearty application of the birch, wielded by some strong women!

'As the punishment is not of a fatal kind, the whole affair creates unrestricted merriment. If the victim is a smart fellow, he may escape with few blows; but if he is heavy, sulky, and dogged, he pays for it. Such a man comes off covered with welts on his bare

skin from his head to his heels. For one month afterwards his family are provided for by the public at large, under the fatherly superintendence of the chief. At the expiration of that time, if he has all his domestic matters in perfect order, as a good father and provident husband ought to have, he again resumes his place in society, and shortly afterwards, perhaps helps, with an experienced hand, to flagellate some one else.'—*Ib.* pp. 278, 279.

At New Guinea, the 'Hound' joined an American brig, commanded by Captain Stewart, an old acquaintance of our author, and of Captain Trainer. They agreed to proceed together, and it was well for the American that they did so. At M'Clure's Inlet, they fell in with a Dutch trader, the supercargo and part owner of which, 'a fine, manly, intelligent young man, named Miller, 'had married a daughter of one of the chiefs.' Dr. Coulter and he became warm friends, and it was speedily arranged that they should spend some time on shore. They proceeded in their canoe along a river which had much of the appearance of a canal, and the domestic circle and furniture of the European, thus strangely domiciled, are described in the following terms:—

'When better than half way through the town a platform, much larger than any of the rest, showed itself prominently forward. On it there were four houses, and one of them, larger than the rest, presented (here) the unusual appearance of a shingle roof, the sides of it were shining yellow, from its being formed of the split bamboo. This house, or rather crib, was my friend Miller's, and our canoe had scarcely touched the landing when we were vociferously received by his savage relations.

'The person of his father-in-law was particularly prominent in the group. He was a tall man, hair combed out about three feet from the head, light blue tattooing on his chest, sides, and legs; the tortoise-shell ring suspended from his nose was large enough to display his large mouth, with the red-stained teeth. The matting round his waist was particularly fine, and ornamented with the bright coloured feathers of the lorie; the nails of his hands were particularly long, indicative of his high rank, as well as his never having been engaged in manual labour of any kind. In his right hand he held a beautifully carved and ornamented spear, and was altogether a splendid specimen of savageism; but with all this barbarous display, there was a kindness in his look that prepossessed me in his favour.

'Miller's wife was squatted on a mat, with her infant son in her arms. She was fine featured, rather tall, and more muscular than my friend, her English spouse. She was partly enveloped in a mantle of blue Surat cloth; several strings of bright blue china beads encircled her neck. She seemed to take great interest in her child, and her eyes glowed with delight in beholding its smiles.

'The picture was sadly deformed by a broken-backed brother of her's who sat near her, grinning like a demon. You may guess the opinion I formed of this 'Caliban,' when my friend Miller told me he was guilty of every species of savage barbarity, cannibalism amongst the rest. Three comely young girls and four athletic lads made up Miller's friends and relations; and, after the introduction was over, I could not avoid congratulating him on his extraordinary alliance.

'The articles in the houses generally consisted of calabashes, china ware, and pottery of Papuan manufacture, made by the women, who are generally very industrious, often wielding the axe whilst their husbands are fishing, hunting the wild hog, or engaged in war with some of the neighbouring tribes. After viewing the centre and suburbs of this Papuan town, I was accommodated with an apartment in Miller's house. The partition (if I may so term it) consisted of a mat of cocoa-nut fibre suspended so as to form a separate room.

'The four boys were very amusing, and as it was not quite sleeping time yet, I beckoned them into this apartment of mine, where the young urchins began and continued a wild Papuan dance, which highly diverted me, but annoyed my friend so much, that he bawled out, 'For goodness sake hunt them out, and let's have quietness.' The little fellows crouched and crawled out in silence, making all sorts of grimaces, and the buzzing of the mosquito alone disturbed me during the remainder of the night.'—Vol. ii. pp. 139—142.

On leaving M'Clure's Inlet, the American brig was attacked by four large Malay prows, and the 'Hound' being at a distance, and the weather foggy, its position was extremely critical. Captain Trainer, however, speedily bore down in the direction of his friend's guns, and, happily, arrived in good time. The Malays were repulsed, though not until they had done considerable damage to the hull and rigging of the American:—

'The Malays who manned the prows appeared to be a hardy, athletic set of men, and seemed to have daring enough for any exploit. They were of a dark brown complexion, had a kind of turban on their heads of blue cloth, and a fold of the same round the waist, something like a Highlander's kilt, kept up about the waist by a belt or sash of cloth. Their arms were pikes, a few pistols, and the deadly 'creese,' a long curved dagger, an instrument of formidable appearance, and deadly effect in close combat. The gun they had fitted on a strong platform in the bow of the prow; but we had no opportunity of examining it, as all sank when the vessel was destroyed. It was the opinion of both Stewart and Trainer that they belonged to the islands more to the westward, were cruising piratically about here for the present, and had merely taken temporary refuge at the island of Ceram.'—*Ib.* pp. 158, 159.



They subsequently again made the land of New Guinea, and in sailing along it, in a south-eastern direction, could distinctly see at night the flames of a large volcano. Entering a wide river, they proceeded up it some miles without discovering any trace of inhabitants. Captain Trainer and our author, with four active young sailors, went on shore for the purpose of reconnoitering. Snakes were found to be numerous, and of a great size, but timid, and not venomous. Rats, as large as an ordinary cat, also abounded, together with lizards, wild ducks, and black hawks. Hungry and tired, they shot a wild hog, and were engaged in the agreeable occupation of consuming it with some wild plantains, when they were startled by the appearance of an unexpected visitor. But Dr. Coulter shall tell his own tale:—

‘ Whilst engaged in this agreeable occupation, a man of wild and strange appearance, with a hog-spear in his hand, and a large dog at each side of him, was observed walking towards us; we all started to our feet, gun in hand. As the land far beyond him was clear of forest, or cover of any kind, we allowed him to approach near to us, and to our amazement discovered that he was a white man! only well browned by exposure to the sun; he was tall, very athletic; his long brown hair hung low on his shoulders, divided at the forehead, so as to allow a bold, open, manly face to show itself between each portion of it. His only garment was a small mat round his loins.

‘ ‘ In the name of all that's happy,’ said Trainer, ‘ who are you?’

‘ ‘ I'm a Horrify.’

‘ ‘ A what?’

‘ ‘ A Horrify’—(meaning a Horrafora).

‘ ‘ I'm king of a tribe of Horrifies now; my people's not far off; but tear-an-agers, gentlemen, di yees think I was always here? No, be me sowl, I wasn't; I was born in the ould country, I mane ould Ireland, and that's all about it now. Have yees any of the dead pig left? I'll taste some first, and tell yees my whole hithory afterwards; for throth I'm tired and hungry after some divarshion among the wild pigs.’—*Ib.* p. 170.

The story of this white man was soon told. He was an Irishman, who had deserted from the army, and was subsequently transported to Australia, for joining the midnight riotings of his country. He had escaped from Sidney with two others, and after having endured almost incredible hardships, they reached New Guinea, when eight of their number were slain in an encounter with the natives. Terence Connel and his companion ultimately effected their escape, and fell into the hands of a tribe which was at war with their first captors. To this tribe they rendered material service in a great battle that was soon afterwards fought, and in which Hutton was slain. Connel was

ultimately made chief, and his authority was now exerted for the safety of our author and his companions. It is an undoubted fact that the Europeans who become naturalized amongst savages, prove more treacherous than their adopted countrymen. This is not to be wondered at, and it was some time, therefore, before the 'man of Kerry' had the confidence of his visitors. He invited them to proceed to his village, and a moment's consideration satisfied them that it was best, on the whole, to comply. They had but a choice of evils, and the following considerations determined their preference:—

'We hesitated at first to place confidence in him, or accept of his invitation to proceed with him to his tribe; but, situated as we were, night near at hand, the Horraforas not far off, together with the fact stated to us by Connel, that his tribe were at present at war with another on the opposite side of the river, and that, probably, after night the very spot on which we enjoyed our refreshing meal would be occupied with the scouts of either, armed with poisoned arrows, was altogether an argument sufficiently convincing to make us place ourselves under the protection of our new friend, the chief of the Horraforas.

'Gintlemen,' said our guide and protector, 'av it's plasín to you all, I think we had betther be movin down, for troth and faith, it won't be safe travellin hereabouts much later.' We took his advice, and he headed our party as guide. As we proceeded along he kept the more open forest, or conducted us circuitously to the open ground where there were neither trees, thicket, nor any other kind of cover, and the cautious manner in which he acted otherwise, stopping occasionally to look well ahead of us, as well as all round, made it evident that we were traversing a part of the country where danger might be expected: so we kept our guns thrown forward ready for instant use.

'The scenery as we passed along was beautifully varied: we might term it ruggedly wild. The trees were of magnificent height, some of them with stems of sixty feet high before a branch was thrown off,—timber capable of making splendid spars for a first-rate man-of-war: indeed, they closely resembled the pine-tree of New Zealand. There were other trees that contrasted strongly with the one I have mentioned, particularly a kind of mahogany tree: it had a very spreading branchy top, with a clean stem of not more than fifteen or twenty feet high, but of such enormous girth that it took four of us, with joined hands, to encircle it, and in some instances even that did not suffice. Its branches and thick foliage formed an agreeable shade for the birds, or lodging for the night, as they were full of them, particularly the black and red lorie, together with owls, etc., all of whom seemed to rest harmoniously together in this extensive common abode. The wild cat was plentiful here, and whole flocks of the bird of paradise whisked over our heads, flying very low, but fast, to their resting-place for the night.

'At last, after an annoying, hurried, and zigzag march of it, he suddenly wheeled into a dark wood, and we no longer avoided any thicket that might afford a favourable spot for an ambush. We now proceeded straight on in the direction of the setting sun, and were soon not a little surprised to find ourselves within a line of scouts in close ambush, to all of whom, as we passed along, Connel spoke a few words, giving them directions of some kind or other. They were all armed with lances, a bow, and a kind of quiver full of arrows, fully five feet long, all of which were poisoned.

'We're safe now, captain,' said our guide; 'we're within our own lines; these scouts are all my min, and a clane set of boys they are too. It's well, gentlemen,' addressing us all, 'that I'm with you, for if you'd come near this ambush unprotected, the arrows would be sticking in your blessed bodies as thick as pins in a pincushion; and yees not know where they came from. Look up into that tree, to the right, di yees see that brown-hided garsoon taking a look all over the country before the sun goes down? See him how he gapes across the river.'

'It was quite evident that Providence protected us here by the timely arrival of Connel, for it was the same route that we intended to have taken prior to bivouacking for the night. Our guns would have availed us nothing, for the arrows would have killed us, without our being able to discover an enemy to shoot at.'—*Ib.* pp.183—186.

The whole district was, in fact, possessed by two hostile tribes, in a state of warfare, and it was marvellous that our travellers had escaped unhurt. On arriving at an immensely spreading tree, Connel gave a loud and shrill whistle, when 'flambeau after flambeau flitted down the pole out of the trees, and soon the whole wood was gradually illuminated by hundreds of torches borne by the natives, and all wending their way,' says Dr. Coulter, 'to where we stood:—

'Every object around was distinctly visible, even to the bright green leaves on the trees, and what astonished us most, was their plan of building the houses amongst the branches; the notched stick was the ladder to go up and down by. In fact they were like crows in a rookery; for they had their houses, or rather nests, up in the trees; and after each family retired for the night, the pole also was hauled up, to guard against surprise. Connel made Trainer and me ascend into his house, having first bundled out a lot of children.

'The inhabitants of two neighbouring houses were ordered by the peremptory Connel to quit, and our four men were housed, two in each nest. Then, with all the warmth of an Irish heart, did this poor outcast place before every one of us an abundance of pork, bread-fruit, young cocoa-nuts, plantain, and the sap of sugar-cane, etc., and told us to make ourselves as snug as we could among the savages. 'If he had betther, he'd give it to us; and we might sleep sound too, for wee'd be well guarded.' We first really and heartily

enjoyed our supper, and afterwards, perhaps, as sound a sleep as any white men ever did amongst the barbarians of New Guinea.'—*Ib.* p. 191.

Their houses were, in truth, built in the trees, and their habits were of the simplest possible kind. A sanguinary battle subsequently ensued, in which the fire-arms of his guests afforded Terence Connel material aid, which he faithfully rewarded by reconducting them to their ship. The parting scene has in it more than an ordinary mixture of romance:—

'Being now ready for sea, Connel left the 'Hound,' being well satisfied with his trading with us, and particularly the possession of a double-barrelled fowling-piece with four ships' muskets and bayonets, and ammunition enough to last him a long time. We accompanied him to the water-run, where his warriors were encamped waiting for him. Trainer, having previously pressed him hard to leave the savages and come with us, made him a last earnest offer of a passage to any part he chose to land at. 'Captain, jewel, yeer mighty kind, intirely; and if I'd go with any man living, it 'ud be with ye. It's myself 'ill be sorrowful many's the long day after yees go: but no matter.'

'The last words were spoken in a low voice, hoarse with emotion, then he shook himself up and continued, 'What's the use in a disarter and a runaway convict, iver draming of returning agin to the ould counthry. No, no, captain, jewel, I'll stop may be as long as I live with this tribe of Horraforas, and my bones most likely 'ill be burned with the rest, for that's the way we ind it here. Yees were all in a scrape with thim, 'White Paints.' I tould yees I'd see all safe aboard again. Didn't Terry Connel keep his word?'

'You did, my brave fellow,' said Trainer. 'Can I do any thing else for you?' 'Nothin,' said Connel. With that he took a hand of each of us, and pressed it warmly awhile. This, as it were, demon of a man in fight, seemed overpowered with deep feeling. He stared at us for a few seconds. His eyes glistened with moisture, and, without uttering a word, suddenly let go our hands and rushed madly away amongst his own savages, who were already on the move; who, as soon as he joined, gave a parting yell to us, and continued their march at a rapid rate up by the water-run.

'We gazed after Connel and his wild body-guard, until they entered a patch of forest which concealed them from our sight. Thus disappeared from our view, a bold, warm-hearted man, though wild and reckless in character; by folly of his own, making him an outcast from, I may say, all Christian society. We were soon on board, and taking advantage of a fresh breeze, we got under weigh and stood out for the eastward.'—*Ib.*, p. 254.

What a strange compound is human nature! Who can say what such a man might have been, under other, and more favourable circumstances?

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ART. V. *A Catholic History of England.* By William Bernard M'Cabe. Vol. I. 8vo. London: T. C. Newby. 1847.

THIS work professes to be a 'History of England as written by the ancient Annalists, Chroniclers, Biographers, and Historians of England,' being monks. The author says, that these were, 'in every instance, beyond the sphere of those motives by which but too many of our modern writers have been prompted to make the materials of our annals subservient to the prejudices and interests of party.' No doubt they were; for it is obvious that the influence of modern parties could not be felt in the middle ages. But were they wholly free from other influences equally fitted to shake our confidence in the truth of their narratives? Were they not ignorant of the laws of historical evidence—were they not superstitious, and excessively credulous? But, supposing these monkish narrators to be perfectly trustworthy, not only from their integrity and love of truth, but also from their general intelligence, and the soundness of their judgment; still we might have some difficulty in receiving their testimony, as arranged and dressed up by such hands as those of Mr. M'Cabe.

He tells us, indeed, that this will not be the 'history of the individual whose name appears on the title-page;' it will not be like '*Lingard's* History of England,' or '*Hume's* History of England,'—in which 'the names of the respective authors assure us where we may hope to meet with truth, and where we have to fear the wiles of insincerity. We find in these, as in all others, the materials of history exposed to a purifying or a debasing process; but in none is there afforded to the reader the opportunity of judging for himself.' Now, if in the pages of Dr. Lingard, to whom Mr. M'Cabe here alludes, we may be sure of meeting truth; if he has subjected the materials of history to a purifying process, our author's '*Catholic History*' must be a work of supererogation. Surely, the modern reader suffers no loss by having the vague, incoherent, declamatory and turgid narratives of the monks subjected to a careful sifting, so that facts may be separated from the masses of fiction in which they are buried? We do not find that anything is here added to those facts which the students of history need care about; and few intelligent catholics, we fancy, will thank Mr. M'Cabe for his additions to Dr. Lingard.

What proof have we of his impartiality in the selection and arrangement of his materials? Who can tell how much he has suppressed that might have given a different colouring to the

narrative? He has, in fact, given us ample reason to consider him an unsafe guide, in the bitterly-controversial notes with which his work abounds. He constantly labours to disparage protestant England and its institutions,—to place modern times in the shade, and make them appear dark and barbarous, in comparison with the middle ages—that golden era, when ‘the church’ reigned over Europe. We shall have to notice some curious specimens of this *animus* in the course of our subsequent remarks.

Another claim put forth by the author is, that a leading feature in the work will be a *history of the poor*, eschewing the evil custom that has too long prevailed, of ‘marking only the movements of the few and gaudy figures that float upon the surface, while the particles of the mighty mass by which they are upborne, have remained unexamined, unanalysed, and unknown.’ We are sorry to say, that in this part of his plan Mr. McCabe has wholly failed. He has thrown little or no light on the condition of the masses of the Anglo-Saxon people; and he has alluded to the poor only when it was necessary to glorify the church and the monks, and to point a sarcasm at protestantism and poor-laws.

Of the boundless credulity of the author, the easy faith with which he receives the most enormous fictions, we shall have illustrations enough as we proceed. These will be found such as wholly to destroy the credit of his work as a contribution to history; and the arrogance with which he treats the most eminent modern historians, excites a mingled feeling of anger and contempt, which the reader finds it difficult to restrain. How ridiculous is it in a writer, of whose name nobody knew anything till it appeared on the title-page of a ‘Catholic History,’ to call Thierry and Michelet ‘unfortunate persons,’ ‘slandrers,’ devoid of every noble sentiment, (p. 171.) All through the work, wherever the statement of a historian clashes with a monkish record, however incredible or evidently false that record may be, the statement is rejected with disdain, as coming from an ‘anti-catholic’ authority, and, therefore, not worthy of a moment’s consideration. In fact, we know of no author who has undertaken to write history, whose spirit is so uniformly intolerant. When men of the highest character for talent, intelligence, and integrity are denounced as ‘unhappy persons’ for differing in opinion with the church, we may be sure that persecution is not dead,—the dragon only sleepeth; and the sunshine of power would soon restore him to the fierce life which he had when pampered by the inquisition.

A collection of the narratives of the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman period of our history would no doubt be valuable, as

presenting a picture of the times, and showing how men believed, and what opinions and customs prevailed in the days of the writers. But no man who is not blinded by bigotry or prejudice, can take the authority of a monk of the middle ages for any fact of his own or preceding times, without corroborating evidence, or internal credibility. They had quite a passion for the marvellous. They saw miracles everywhere, and unless we greatly wrong them, they often cunningly got them up in order to gull the ignorant multitude. Perhaps the reader will be of the same opinion, when we give a few specimens of the most presentable prodigies, which Mr. M'Cabe has selected, exercising a discrimination quite unwarrantable, in dealing with the supernatural. Genuine miracles are too good to be left in oblivion; and when the same authority on which we rely for those which we adopt as true, is as solemnly pledged for the credit of the spurious, honesty and candour, that love of truth, of which our author boasts, would require us to reject the whole mass.

Our author puts into his text, for a respectable beginning, the legend of Joseph of Arimathea, with twelve saints, being sent by St. Philip, in the year 63, to preach the gospel in Britain. They founded the Abbey of Glastonbury, 'and here they passed their time, in watching, in fasting, and in prayer, and here we may well believe, for it is consistent with piety to do so, they were often aided by and through *her* (the virgin) in all their necessities.' In a note, the author states that Dr. Lingard rejects this legend, and he himself admits that it cannot be credited. Then why print it in large type, as part of the history of England? (p. 21.) Mr. M'Cabe, however, has no misgiving about the miracles of St. Alban, the proto-martyr of England, especially as his faith is sustained by the admission of the credulous Collier, the misnamed Protestant historian. On the top of a hill, 'fittingly joyous in its aspect, and pleasing in appearance,' St. Alban prayed to God,—

'And instantly a fresh fountain of water, running in a confined stream, burst upon the earth beneath his feet; so that all present might testify that the torrent was obedient to the martyr. . . . The stream then having performed its office,—and its ministration being completed in thus giving proof of its *obedience*, returned to that course, which, according to its nature, it was destined to pursue. . . . . As to the man who had laid his impious hands upon the sacred person of Alban, he was not permitted to rejoice over the dead body; for *his eyes fell out of his face on the earth*, along with the head of the blessed martyr.'

Can any of our readers imagine a connexion between the death of Alban and the penal laws against catholics? Perhaps not. Then let them hear Mr. M'Cabe:—

‘St. Alban was put to death, because he had given shelter in his house, and endeavoured to save from persecution, a Christian priest. By the twenty-seventh of Queen Elizabeth, all persons, who received, relieved, comforted, aided or maintained a priest, deacon or other ecclesiastical person, were destined to be felons without benefit of clergy. This law was violated by catholics, and for its violation, they were, like St. Alban, martyred.’—p. 39.

St. Germanus performed many miracles when he came over from Gaul to convert the British Pelagians. He embarked in the winter season, and was overtaken by a furious tempest, ‘which he appeased by casting some drops of blessed oil, according to St. Constantius; but according to Bede, of holy water into the sea, having first invoked the adorable Trinity.’ Everywhere Germanus and his colleague Lupus, were welcomed and obeyed by the people, chiefly because of their power of working miracles :—

‘The malignant propagators of the heretical doctrines for a long time hid themselves from the public view—like evil spirits, they groaned to behold the good they could not prevent ; but at last they took courage and ventured to enter into a contest with the holy priests. They came to it arrayed in rich attire, making a display of their great wealth, and supported by the opinions of many. . . . The people were listeners and judges ; the litigants were most unequally matched, for here was Divine faith ; there, human presumption : with the one was Christ, with the other, Pelagius !’

In argument the Pelagians, of course, lost the day, and the people could hardly be restrained from laying violent hands on them. But a still greater triumph awaited the orthodox missionaries. With admirable theatrical effect, the art of producing which was well understood by the monks of the middle ages, a miracle was arranged, to crown the victory :—

‘It was at this moment,’ says the Catholic History of England—‘that a person vested with the powers of a tribune, and accompanied by his wife, on a sudden presented himself in the midst of the multitude, and tendered his daughter, a child ten years of age, to the priests, in order that they might cure her of her blindness with which she was afflicted. The priests desired the child might first be brought to their adversaries ; but these now completely conscience-stricken, joined their prayers to the request of the parents for the cure of the young girl. Germanus filled with the Holy Ghost, invoked the aid of the Divine Trinity, and then removing from his side the small casket containing the relics of saints, he, in the view of all, applied it to the eyes of the child, and instantly the darkness that had clouded her vision was dispersed, and the light of truth shone upon them. The parents rejoiced, but the people trembled



at this miracle: and from that day forth the pernicious error was obliterated, whilst the doctrines of the church were imbibed by all, who now showed an eagerness to receive and a determination to retain them.'—p. 85.

Bede is the authority for these wonders. He was by far the most eminent, learned, and trustworthy of the monkish chroniclers. We may therefore safely apply to him and his order the maxim, *Ex uno disce omnes*.

The next exploit of Germanus was somewhat military in its nature. The Saxons and Picts united their forces to make war upon the Britons, who, unable to meet their enemies on the field, applied to the holy priests. 'Germanus declared he would act as the general of an army, who were now truly Christians. He selected an active troop, and, with them, having reconnoitered the adjacent country,' the general took up a proper position; and when the enemy was coming up, according to previous arrangement,—

'The priests three times repeated the word *Halleluiah*, and with one voice the same word burst forth from their followers—the sound reverberated through the hills, and came back again in the thundering clamours of a thousand shouting echoes. The enemy was panic-stricken with terror—it seemed to them as if not merely the rocks were falling down to crush them, but as if heaven itself were descending to annihilate them. Confused, amazed, horrified, they fled, &c.'—p. 87.

At length Gregory sent his missionaries to convert the Saxons. 'And who and what they were,' says John Milton, in his History of England, 'may be guessed by the stuff which they brought with them—vessels and vestments for the altar, copes, relics; and, for the archbishop Austin, a pall to say mass in; to such a rank superstition that age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of apostolic zeal.' At Canterbury they built a monastery; and Bede relates that 'Peter, the first abbot of this monastery—the Priest Peter—was drowned in a bay. . . . The body was picked up, and buried in an obscure place; but God, wishing to give proof of the extraordinary merits of the deceased, a shining light appeared every night over his grave. It was at length perceived by the inhabitants, and, upon their inquiry, they were at last able to ascertain the name of the saint. The body was subsequently removed to Boulogne, and there interred in a manner suitable to the merits of so good a man.' (p. 189.)

Augustine set about refuting the schismatic Britons in the same manner which proved so effectual with Germanus, against the Pelagians. Arguments, prayers, and exhortations, having

proved unavailing, to make them submit to the chair of Peter :—

‘ St. Augustine put an end to the lengthened and troublesome controversy by saying :—‘ Let us pray to God—to Him, who gives to those who have but one thought and one mind, a dwelling in his Father’s mansion, that he may, by some sign or miracle, intimate which tradition is to be followed, and by what way there is the easiest access to his kingdom. Let some sick person be brought amongst us, and by the prayers of whomsoever the cure of that person is effected, be his faith and rule of knowledge received, as that which is the most approved of by God.’ ‘ The adversaries of St. Augustine, unwillingly acceded to this proposal. An Englishman deprived of sight was brought into the midst of the synod. He was first presented to the British priests ; but no alleviation, much less a cure for his affliction, was received through their ministry. Then Augustine forced by a great and just necessity, fell upon his knees, and prayed aloud to God, &c.’ ‘ The blind saw ! light was given to his eyes, and Augustine was proclaimed by all as the preacher of that which was true.’—p. 193.

The Roman missionaries had ‘ a short way of ending disputes about religion.’ A blind man or woman, trained for the occasion, could at any time be made the *ductor dubitantium*, and thus triumphantly terminate a long and troublesome controversy. Mr. McCabe can, of course, see no proof of arrogance in the stranger, Augustine, declining to rise from his seat when the British bishops were introduced to him. His reasons present us with a singular specimen of catholic logic, as well as catholic history :—

‘ The life of Augustine was one of obedience ; his coming to England at the command of St. Gregory, when the perils of death, as he had been persuaded lay before him, showed his willingness to submit to his superiors. The ‘ arrogant’ archbishop is described by the ancient writers, as travelling about England, Tam post praesulatum quam ante pedes absque vehiculo, patiens laborum.’

*Ergo*, there was no arrogance in his refusing to stand up to receive brother bishops delegated to meet him on equal terms in conference. Our author forgets to tell us of his attempt to get jurisdiction over the bishops of Gaul, for which he was rebuked by Gregory ; and of his vain-glory in regard to his miracles, which called forth some broad hints from the same quarter. It is thus that our catholic historian shows his partizanship. He is a thick and thin defender of everything which priests and monks have ever done in England ; while in everything Protestant, his lynx-eyed bigotry detects the cloven foot. It is really painful to read such a work, after laying down Dr. Lingard’s

*Anglo-Saxon Church.* That gentleman, priest though he is, has too strong and liberal a mind, to force upon his readers such undiluted doses of the marvellous, as those which Mr. M'Cabe draws from his monkish pharmacopœia.

It is well known that the catholic ritual is now stereotyped; that you meet the same mass, in the same language, all over the world. This is the boast of its champions. It was not so in the days of Augustine, and this is a point which our author has disingenuously tried to evade. Questions relating to forms and ceremonies, are enforced as rigidly as articles of faith. Gregory had much more liberal notions in these matters.—

'It is my wish,' wrote he, to Augustine, 'that you sedulously select what you may think most acceptable to Almighty God, be it in the *Roman*, in the *Gallican*, or in *any other church*; and introduce into the church of the Angles that which you shall have so collected; for things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose, therefore, from the several churches, whatever is pious and religious, and right, and these, gathered as it were into one whole, instil as observances into the minds of the Angles.'—p. 198.

Here is a clear proof of diversity of forms and ceremonies in the churches of those times. All had not yet been cast into the mould of Rome. Nor was the mould itself finished at this time.

Laurence, the successor of Augustine, was greatly discouraged by the unbelief of the Saxon princes. He was about to abandon the country in despair; but before doing so, he directed that his bed should be placed in the porch of the church of St. Peter and Paul at Canterbury. There 'the blessed prince of the apostles appeared to him, and then, in the dead hour of night, *afflicted his body with stripes*, and shook his soul, with severe rebukes, because he was about to fly from the flock. Next he went to the king, and exposed his lacerated shoulders, stating that St. Peter had done it all, because he was going away, and intimating that all this was for the king's salvation. His majesty was overwhelmed with sudden fear, and filled with an abhorrence of idolatry; he put away his wicked wife, and embraced the faith.

The author of the 'Catholic History of England,' devoutly believes that Peter came from heaven specially to inflict this flagellation—to convince St. Lawrence by this *striking* argument; and he is very angry with the 'anti-catholic' historians, Sharon Turner and Lappenberg, who represent the miracle as a 'contrivance' and a 'device,' designed to work on the fears of the king. The latter says, justly, that this affords a striking instance of the means, it is to be feared, too frequently em-

ployed in propagating the new faith among our simple forefathers.' This is answered by Mr. M'Cabe, by abusing these simple forefathers as pagans, savages, and great sinners! And he accuses such writers as Turner and Lappenberg, of 'barbarous ignorance of past history.' (p. 223-4.)

Prince Edwin, persecuted by the opponents of his rights, was one day musing alone, when a stranger appeared to him, and obtained a promise that, if restored to the kingdom, which the stranger assured him he should be, he would be obedient to the instructions of him by whom so great a favour would be obtained. The stranger then laid his right hand upon his head, and said—'When this sign shall again be given you, think of this time, and of our discourse, and do not then delay to fulfil that which you now promise.' He then disappeared, and Edwin at once perceived that he had spoken not with a man, but with a spirit.' So says Bede. This vision was very opportunely *revealed* to St. Paulinus, who meant to profit by it, and, as may be easily guessed, needed no ghost to tell him the whole affair. One day, when Edwin had reached the throne, Paulinus came in suddenly, laid his hand on the king's head, and asked whether he recognised that sign. He did so at once, submitted to the bishop, and embraced the Christian religion. Here, again, our author complains that the 'miraculous revelation to Paulinus, of the vision of King Edwin, has excited the ire of anti-catholic historians.' Rapin, Tindal, Turner, are guilty of 'utter unfairness in every thing that relates to the catholic church,' because they cannot see the finger of God, in the pious tricks of the Anglo-Saxon bishops; and he says, loftily, 'we prefer ancient catholic authority to the modern anti-catholic, and not very sensible, nor very honest suggestions of Mr. Turner, or of M. Rapin-Tindal.' 'One Protestant authority,' however, old Collier, comes to the rescue of St. Paulinus and his advocate, and, 'to his honour,' treats the matter in a different manner.' (p. 240.)

King Oswald obtained a victory over 'the accursed king of the British' (says Bede), by fastening a cross in the ground, and praying before it. And Bede tells us, that 'innumerable miracles are known to have been effected on that spot, where he prayed in presence of his army; and even to this very day small chips taken from the wood of that cross and placed in water, of which men or cattle have drunk, or been sprinkled with, have been known to restore them to health from a state of sickness.'

Bede, whom Mr. M'Cabe regards as a careful and 'scrupulous author,' speaking of his own times, and from personal knowledge, relates the following:—'A monk of Hexham, while

incautiously walking on the ice, fell, and fractured his arm. But having obtained a portion of the dried moss taken from the surface of the cross, he placed it in his bosom (for our author, not Bede, but Mr. M'Cabe, reminds us that the monks had no pockets, not having any money to put in them); through forgetfulness, he did not remove the moss when going to bed. When awakened at midnight he felt something cold lying by his side. He moved his hand to see what it was, and then discovered that his hand and arm were as perfectly recovered as if they had never suffered any injury.' The brother on whom this miracle was performed was living when Bede wrote. The reader may judge what credit is due to him as an historian. And if we cannot believe him, which of the fraternity, who looked up to him with admiration as a father and a guide, is worthy of the least attention when they touch on the marvelous? (p. 271.)

St. Aiden worked a famous miracle with King Oswald, *teste* the Venerable Bede. The king and the bishop were seated at a table covered with dainty food, arranged upon one large silver salver. The king desired all to be given to the poor, and the salver, itself, to be broken in pieces and divided among them. The bishop grasped the royal hand, and exclaimed, 'May this hand never perish!' 'It was,' says Bede—

'A benediction destined to be fulfilled; for when this generous sovereign was afterwards killed in battle—the hand that had been thus blessed, was with the arm cut from the body, and both remain to this day, free from the taint of corruption.'—p. 281.

Still more wonderful was the miracle performed by Birinus. The apostles never attempted anything like it. We must give the very words of this narrative from the 'Brompton Chronicle':—

'As Birinus was about to proceed upon his voyage, he offered up the mass, which he celebrated for the prosperity of the mission on which he was about to enter. He was called in haste from his holy duty to go on board. He hurried to the vessel,—the anchors were raised—the wind blew freshly for the voyage, and the waves rolled as if hastening towards the port to which he was to proceed. At that moment, Birinus recollected that a corporal, on which the body of the Lord had been consecrated, and itself containing the holy sacrament, which had been given him by the Pope, and that he always wore, except when saying mass, had been left by him on the altar in Genoa. Amid the tumult, it was vain to hope that the sailors would wait for him to go again on shore, and return with that precious relic. What was to be done? Birinus was armed with faith. He descended from the ship to the sea, and on the sea he walked

to the shore, as if the path on which he trod was dry as the firm sand! His hope was fulfilled—his faith rewarded—what he sought for was recovered; and again he returned the same way in which he departed to a vessel moveless amid the bounding waves, and a gale freshly blowing for a prosperous voyage!

Mr. M'Cabe quotes some authorities in his notes on this miracle, which are too curious to be omitted:—

'Thus,' says the Right Rev. Dr. Milner, 'our apostle began the conversion of the West Saxons, before he landed in their territory. *This prodigy is so well attested by the most judicious historians*, that those who have the greatest interest to deny it, have not dared openly to do so. If there is any faith in history, and unless an absolute scepticism takes place, it must be admitted that miracles were frequently wrought, not only at the conversion of our ancestors, but also during the time that they continued in their primitive fervour and strength of faith.'—Milner's History of Winchester, vol. i. p. 68.

Mr. Hearne, in his notes on 'William, of Newburgh,' vol. iii. p. 773, remarks:—

'I know of no truly religious person but what is affected with what now remains of the historical painting in Dorchester windows, relating to Birinus's voyage thither, and his converting the heathens.'—p. 283.

King Oswald, of the incorruptible arm, died fighting for his country.—

'The mere soil on which his body lay in the battle, seems to have been consecrated by his blood, for many, by taking a mere particle of the dust, mixing it with water, and drinking it, have been relieved from their infirmities. Such benefit has been felt from this, and so much has it been practised, that the gradual removal of the earth, has caused the formation of a foss, so deep, that a person can stand in it to his full height. Brompton who wrote,' says Dr. M'Cabe, some centuries after Beda, observes, '*in loco autem coedis illius miracula usque hodie plura fierunt.*'—p. 301.

What a melancholy picture does all this present of the intellectual and moral condition of our Saxon forefathers! Think of such matters being gravely related by the most enlightened men in the country; and of this miracle of the holy clay, believed in by generation after generation, for centuries! There is nothing now in these islands to equal such credulity, except the superstition of the most ignorant of the peasantry in the wildest parts of Ireland; though the prodigies of the holy coat of Treves, and of the sacred heart, show that the most civilized

nations of the continent may, even in the nineteenth century, become the theatre of impostures as daring, and credulity as widespread, as any which flourished in the most barbarous ages. The church of Rome and human nature are still the same. Mr. M'Cabe must excuse us when we say that in our judgment Wade, in his *British History*, has truly described these miserably dark ages :—

‘Reverence towards saints and relics was deemed, almost a higher object than adoration of the Deity; monastic observances were esteemed more meritorious than the active virtues. The knowledge in natural causes was neglected, from the universal belief of miraculous interpositions and judgments; bounty to the church and pilgrimages to Rome, atoned for every violence against society; and remorse for crimes was appeased not by amendment, but by penance, servility to monks, and abject devotion. It was a religion of forms, not of practical uses; and the disputes which divided the clergy, relative to the tonsure and the festival of Easter, attest it to have been an age of unprofitable theological trifling.’

If we dwell upon visions and prodigies, our excuse is, that the book is full of them, and that they are the staple of all that is peculiar in this ‘Catholic History.’ There is a long account of the monk Owini, who saw a choir of angels descending to a bishop, and singing for his comfort :—

‘I beseech you, then, tell me,’ said Owini to the bishop, ‘what was the meaning of that canticle of joy, that I heard descending from heaven, upon this oratory, and after a short time again ascending from it? The bishop answered—‘If you have heard the sounds of the hymn, and have been able to notice the celestial choir coming down upon this place, I command you, in the name of God, not to utter a word, respecting either, before my death. They were the spirits of angels who came to call me to that heaven and its joys which I have always loved and ever desired, and they have promised at the end of seven days, to return and bring me with them.’ Bede says that they did return at the appointed time, and bring him as they had promised.—p. 376.

At the end of sixteen years from the interment of the Abbess Etheldreda, they opened her coffin, when—

‘The body of the sacred virgin was found to be as free from corruption as if it had been that very hour interred. This is a fact which Bishop Wilfred did, (and many others who knew it to be true) testify. Even the very linen in which her corpse had been buried, appeared as fresh and new, as the day on which it had been first rolled round her sacred limbs.’

Mr. M'Cabe remarks, in a note, that Bede, who relates this, and Bishop Wilkins, were contemporaries, and that Bede states,

in another place, his conversing with this bishop about St. Etheldreda. Of the same abbess it is related that she was afflicted with a great and painful swelling in her neck, because, when she was a girl, she wore 'gaudy, useless, and jewelled ornaments.' (p. 390.)

Bishop Wilfred was a first-rate Thaumaturgus. He was, on one occasion, cast into prison. But a light, brighter than day, filled his cell; its dazzling rays flashed upon the eyes of the guards, who were almost blinded and altogether confounded. 'On a sudden the jailer beheld his wife start up—her mouth distorted, and her lips covered with the foam of madness—and then fall, motionless and speechless, before him.' The husband threw himself at the feet of the bishop, who, of course, instantly cured the maniac. When King Egfrid heard of this wonderful light, and the marvels wrought by his prisoner, he was incensed greatly, and ordered the holy man to be loaded with heavier chains. Vain and impotent revenge! When the chains were applied to the limbs of the bishop, it was found that they could not be made to adhere to his person:—'Their clasps widened; their links sprang asunder; they fell from the hands and feet of the bishop, as the bonds of sin are loosed from him, who worthily receives the sacrament of baptism.' (p. 408.)

Having been liberated from prison, and having restored the queen to health, in consequence, Wilfred extended the sphere of his miraculous operations:—

'He rescued men not merely from the horrors of everlasting damnation, but from the dire misery of bodily death, in its most afflicting form. *For three years* before his arrival in that province, *no rain had descended upon it*, and a frightful famine had inflicted its tortures upon the miserable population, and doomed them to the worst of deaths, driving the hapless pagans to precipices and the sea beach, in order that they might rid themselves of an existence that had become intolerable. *Upon the day this unhappy nation received the sacrament of baptism*, copious and gentle showers descended upon the earth, giving verdure to the parched soil, and vegetation to the perishing seeds, &c.—*Bede* (Catholic Hist. p. 414.)

Imma was another man whose limbs could not be bound. The strange event excited the wonder of his noble captor, who demanded the cause. It turned out that he had a brother named Tunna, a priest, who, believing him to be dead, *said masses for the repose of his soul*; and these were so effectual, that no chains could be fastened on his body; and it was found that the time of their falling off, was the exact hour of the day when the mass was said:—

'These circumstances were stated to the writer (*Bede*), by son



of those who had heard them from the very person to whom they had occurred ; and having been clearly ascertained to be true, have been, without hesitation, inserted in this history.'—p. 425.

Further on we have an account of Caedmon who had a vision in which a celestial visitant appeared to him, touched his dull soul with inspiration, so that he awoke a famous poet, from whom it is said Milton stole some of the finest ideas of his 'Paradise Lost.'

'It is strange,' says Mr. M'Cabe, 'that the learned republican, the virulent hater of monks, should be suspected of plagiarising from a monk—and that monk an humble and unlearned herdsman.'—p. 438.

St. Cuthbert was a very hospitable monk ; and one day he entertained a very beautiful angel unawares, washing his feet, rubbing them dry with a towel, and as they seemed numb, resting them on his bosom. He left the stranger eating savoury food, and while he went away for some hot bread his guest mysteriously departed. Cuthbert cured a sick person by the use of 'holy water,' against which, says our author, 'non-catholics have written volumes of abuse, as being nothing better than 'popish superstition !' The catholic believes that with faith and virtue, miracles may be, and are, accomplished—but what right has the infidel to ask for them, or the vicious man to expect them?' (p. 456.)

Cuthbert performed a great many other miracles. Bede, who was his contemporary, and who, we are told, took the greatest possible care to ascertain the facts, vouches for the truth of them all. Now, as this same Bede has been admitted by protestants to be a man whose piety, talents, astuteness, and cleverness cannot be questioned ; as, in fact, 'he is a phenomenon easier to praise than to parallel,' it follows that we have nothing for it but to swallow all these prodigies, though they smell so strongly of imposture, and seem a mass of fables not very cunningly devised. Here then is the sum of the whole matter put into a logical formula by no less a person than the author of the 'Catholic History of England.'

'We leave anti-catholics to deal with this dilemma. Either what Bede has stated of St. Cathbert is true, or Bede himself must have been an impostor or a dolt. In struggling to get out of that dilemma, we believe that all they can prove is, that they are as destitute of arguments, as of faith : and that the worst that can be said of their 'philosophy' is, that it is 'foolishness.'—p. 463.

Our author subsequently adds, that he is not aware 'that the accomplishment of a miracle has ever been ascribed by an

author to a *married clergyman*, even Luther, himself, is not an exception to this general observation !'

The inference *we* would draw from this, if it be a fact, is—that marriage is favourable to veracity and integrity, that its healthful sympathies and associations are at war with the sacerdotal *esprit de corps* through whose demoralizing influence so many shameful frauds have been committed. However, we shall give a few more specimens of the miracles for which Bede vouches, and which M'Cabe is ready to swear to, and then we shall leave the reader to deal with the formidable dilemma as he may think proper.

'The Hewalds suffered martyrdom on the 3rd of October. Their sanctity and devotion were testified by miracles, for upon their bodies being cast into the river by their pagan murderers, *they ascended for forty miles against the current of the stream!* and were at length borne to that place in which their priestly companions were located. During the night an immense ray of light was seen to descend from heaven, and to rest upon the place whereto their bodies had been wafted; and this even was observed by some of those who had dipped their hands in the blood of the English saints. . . . It is even said that in the place where they were killed, a spring gushed from the earth, which has ever since flowed in a copious and abundant stream of water.'—p. 483.

Ambitious churchmen in the middle ages were quite as anxious to be *canonized* as to be saved. For this they endured much self-inflicted mortification, and consented to play many a game of deception, by pretending to visions and to the working of miracles. At their death they had friends who laboured to realize their plans by getting up stories about miraculous streams of water—rays of light—choirs of angels, etc. These frauds were also designed often to enrich churches and monasteries, to each of which it was essential, as a stock in trade, that it should have bones of a miracle-working saint, or of a martyr. The religious novelties then introduced about the Virgin—the saints—the sacraments—the cross—images, etc., all created a constant demand for miracles to make them pass with the multitude. The demand produced the supply in most ample abundance. Miracles were made cheap. They were produced gratuitously. A man walked on the sea for a relic which he had forgotten; when there was nothing to hinder the vessel to wait for him, and the same vessel remained immovable on the bounding waves till he returned; dead bodies floated forty miles against the current of a stream merely that they might join other dead bodies; and then a light from heaven must come to tell their friends where they lay, that they might be buried in consecrated

ground. The reader will have observed how many of these prodigies were evidently designed to sanction doctrines that have no warrant in Scripture, as in the case of the man whose chains fell off when mass was said for the repose of his soul.

A considerable number of the miracles recorded in this volume were designed to encourage the homage paid to the crucifix, which in those ages amounted to absolute idolatry—an idolatry which is fully sanctioned by the Roman ritual. When St. Aldhelm died, his funeral was conducted a distance of fifty miles. At every seven miles of the road crosses were erected, 'memorials of the event, which were long celebrated, by the miraculous cures of persons affected with various ailments.' To this text of his history Mr. M'Cabe adds the following note:—

'In the life of St. Aldhelm, many miracles are recorded of him by William of Malmesbury. One of these performed in his life time we hope we shall be pardoned for mentioning. When a storm was raging, Aldhelm produced a perfect calm, by making the sign of the cross! The persons whose lives he thus preserved from shipwreck made him a present of a book which he had been desirous of purchasing from them—that book was the *Bible*! Persons of strong anti-catholic prejudices, and especially those who have been educated in a hatred of the monks, ought to read an account of the miracles performed at the shrine of this monk—this founder of one of the greatest monasteries in England. They will find it stated by one cognizant of the facts, that through the intercession of St. Aldheim, and by the mercy of God, the blind, the dumb, the lame, the paralytic, and even the insane, were restored to health.'—p. 525.

After all, there is nothing more marvellous in this book than the fact, that any sane gentleman should submit it to the English public at the present day as a true history of England. What shall we say of the advice gravely tendered to the 'anticatholic' reader in the last quotation? Does Mr. M'Cabe really think that any mind, accustomed to examine and weigh evidence, can be convinced by such stories? If so, he will thank us for aiding in their conversion by the extracts we have given.

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ART. VI. *Numismatic Illustrations of the Narrative Portions of the New Testament.* By J. Y. Akerman. 8vo. London. 1846.

‘THE scripture is a field or vineyard, which finds work for a variety of hands, and about which may be employed a great diversity of gifts and operations, but all from the same spirit and for the glory of the same Lord.’ So said Matthew Henry, and so we say. Classical authors, old coins, and inscriptions, will throw light on many an interesting narrative; and the antiquary, while removing a doubt which the change of manners and customs may have left upon a passage, sometimes helps us to understand the moral command which follows. We shall give a few examples, some from the work at the head of this article, and add some from our own researches. The reader will thus be enabled to see what might be done in this way to help the study of the Bible.

I.] ‘What man is there,’ says the town-clerk of Ephesus, (Acts xix. 35), ‘that knoweth not how the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image which fell from Jupiter?’ We must begin by correcting the translation; the difference will not be great, but still important to the antiquary. ‘What man is there that knoweth not that the city of the Ephesians is temple-keeper of the great Diana, and of that which fell from heaven?’

Here the coins of Ephesus satisfactorily prove that the city took that most curious title of ‘Temple-keeper to Diana.’ Other cities styled themselves ‘Temple-keepers’ of other gods, as one European sovereign calls himself ‘His most Catholic Majesty;’ another, ‘His most Christian Majesty;’ and a third, ‘Defender of the Faith.’

But further, the more ignorant among the pagans confounded in their notions the gods and their statues; and an ancient author tells us, that at Athens there were three Minervas; the Great Minerva, the Minerva of Phidias, and the Minerva that fell from heaven. The last was, of course, so called from its age; it had existed time out of mind; nobody knew when, or by whom it was made; and it was of a rude, bad style of art. Such, also, was the Diana of Ephesus that fell from heaven. The coins give us a representation of this grotesque, but time-honoured figure. It is supported by holding a staff in each hand, and its head is as wide as its shoulders. There is a statue of it in Sir John Soane’s museum. The Great Diana was a larger statue, of more modern and better workmanship. Here, again, the coins help us; by telling us that the city of Ephesus

was 'twice temple-keeper of Diana,' and that this meant in two temples, not on two occasions, is proved by other coins, which after the building of two temples to the emperors, style the city 'four times temple-keepers,' and give representations of the four temples.

2.] In Acts xxvii., Paul, when a prisoner, was delivered to a centurion of Augustus's band. Here again we must correct the translation: it was to a centurion of the Augustan band.

There were three legions which were honoured with this title of Augustan—the second, the third, and the eighth; and from the coins of Beryttus, now called Beyrut, we see that the eighth legion was quartered there. It is true that, from an inscription found in Strasburg, it seems that the Eighth Augustan Legion was there quartered; but this does not contradict the former: though legions were not often moved from Germany to Syria, it was not unfrequent to find half a legion quartered in one country and half in another.

3.] In the sermon on the mount our Lord says, 'Whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain.' We can all of us easily understand the other part of this command, that when struck on one cheek we should in humility offer the other; because, unfortunately, we know what striking is. But many must have wondered what can have given rise to the command of going a second mile with the violent man who has already compelled you to go one mile. Nobody now, and in this country, is ever injured by such treatment. But we learn from coins and inscriptions that the couriers in the service of the Roman government had the privilege of travelling through the provinces free of expense, and of calling upon the villagers to forward their carriages and baggage to the next town. Under a despotic government, this became a cruel grievance. Every Roman of high rank claimed the same privilege; the horses were unyoked from the plough to be harnessed to the rich man's carriage. It was the most galling injustice which the provinces suffered. We have an inscription of the frontier town of Egypt and Nubia mentioning its petition for a redress of this grievance; and a coin of Nerva's reign records its abolition in Italy. Our Lord could give no stronger exhortation to patient humility than by advising his Syrian hearers, instead of resenting the demand for one stage's 'vehiculation,' to go willingly a second stage.

4.] When Ptolemy the Third returned home to Egypt from a successful Syrian campaign, and brought back to the temples many of the ornaments which had been carried away by Cambyses, the priests in gratitude gave him the title of *Euergetes*, *the benefactor*. The same title was also borne by one of the worst of his successors, who was also more appropriately

named Kakergetes, *the mischief-maker*. Egypt at this time usually set the fashion to all the neighbouring kingdoms; and the coins of Syria, Parthia, Phrygia, Pontus, and Paphlagonia, show that this title of *Benefactor* was a favourite with the hateful tyrants of the east during the two centuries before the Christian era. It had lost its first meaning, and was often used ironically. Such was its meaning when our Lord said to his disciples, 'The kings of the Gentiles lord it over them, and they that have authority over them are called Euergetes, or Benefactors. But ye are not so; but let the greatest among you be as the younger, and the chief as he that serveth,' Luke xxii. 25.

5.] Matt. xvii. 24; translated literally: 'And when they came to Capernaum, those who received the didrachms [or money for the tribute] came to Peter and said: Doth your Teacher pay the didrachms?' And further on, 'Cast an hook, and take the first fish that cometh up; and on opening its mouth, thou wilt find a stater, [a coin, worth two didrachms] take that and give to them for me and thee.' These Greek coins are well known to all collectors; and the stater is nearly equal to the Jewish shekel, and of course the didrachm to half a shekel. Hence the question naturally arises, whether the Romans, in levying a poll-tax of half a shekel on the inhabitants of Judea, were imposing a new tribute, or seizing the well known temple tax, which, by the Levitical law, every male above the age of twenty-one, was ordered to pay towards the maintenance of the services. Commentators have been divided on the question, though we think it might have been settled by remarking that at this time the temple-services were maintained by a voluntary gift, or corban, in the place of the old tax. And that the two taxes were the same, is proved by a coin which commemorates its repeal under Nerva. The coin proves that the Roman tribute, like the Levitical tax, was payable by every Jew, wherever he lived, not by those in Judea only, and that it was thought not only an injustice, but a disgrace, as we might suppose the Jews would feel the appropriation of their sacred temple tax to the service of their pagan masters. The words on Nerva's coin are, *Judaici fisci calumnia sublata*.

Two or three of these remarks we would recommend to Mr. Akerman, as suitable additions to his elegant little volume.

Interesting matter of this kind crowds upon the student of antiquities, whatever be his subject, whether Greek and Roman coins, ancient geography, or Egyptian history and hieroglyphics. But, at the same time, it forces on us the remark, that we ought to have a more exact and literal translation of the New Testament. Not that it is much needed when we are reading for the higher devotional purposes; but, certainly, one

of the strongest proofs of the authenticity of the New Testament is lost, when we give up the exact expressions relating to manners and customs, for the too general expressions of the authorized version. A bungling forger might have told us that the city of Ephesus was a worshipper of Diana, and that the Romans levied a poll-tax on Judea; but he would hardly have ventured to call the city a temple-keeper to two divinities; or to say, that the Roman poll-tax, was a didrachm or half-stater; or that the Augustan Legion was quartered in Syria, against the authority of the Roman historians.

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ART. VII.—1. *The General Interests of French Protestantism*. By Count Agenor de Gasparin, member of the Chamber of Deputies, Paris. 8vo. 1843.

2. *Reports of the Society for the Protection and Extension of French Protestantism*. Paris. 8vo. 1843—1847.

3. *Report of the Judgments against the French Baptists*. Paris. 8vo. 1847.

MODERN history offers nothing fit to be compared with the struggle carried on by the French protestants during the three centuries prior to the revolution of 1789; whether that struggle be looked at in reference to the dreadful sufferings of the persecuted, or to the enormous damage done to the French nation through that persecution;—to its bad influence on the general policy of Europe, or to the great success which at last crowned the resistance made most heroically, during so long a period, against oppression. But the success so gained is not complete. At this moment, protestantism in France is subject to serious attacks in one of its chief attributes—the right of private judgment as to forms of worship, long termed by the French constitution, *la liberté des cultes*. Upon various grounds, the French authorities habitually infringe this right, as was done in a late judgment at Amiens against the French baptists, whose church it will suppress, if it be not annulled by the supreme court appealed to in Paris. The frequency of such cases, and the analogy which their chief motive bears to that *official jealousy of freedom in religious matters*, which is clearly traceable throughout the whole history of French protestantism, gives urgent importance to that history,

the following brief sketch of which is here introduced by a narrative of the proceedings against the baptists.

This church is not new in France, nor does it differ materially from the churches of the same denomination in England and America. It has been established, at least, twenty years, in the department of which Amiens is the chief city; and where its members are numerous. About five years ago M. Victor Lepoids came to this department to preach. The *prefet* having last year warned the district officers to proceed against all new comers of this sect, M. Lepoids was interrupted by the police; and, towards the end of the year, the severest measures were taken against him and other preachers. M. Besin, an old resident, was found reading the bible to a small, quiet congregation, and was immediately carried to prison. After five days' detention, he was taken away, chained with a body of felons, to a central gaol, from which, however, he was released by the public prosecutor. A month afterwards, M. Lepoids was taken up, and confined for seven days. M. Besin, who accompanied him to the gaol, was then seized again, and confined also. These seven days passed without any examination,—a thing against express law. A third party, M. Foulon, a young man preparing himself for the baptist ministry, was also taken up about the same time. All three were tried at Laon, in January last. They were asked if they had taken holy orders in the way prescribed by law; when it is notorious, that the law has prescribed no form in such cases as theirs. Again they were asked, whether they had studied theology in the colleges appointed by the government for them; when it is equally notorious, that the protestant colleges do not admit them. M. Lepoids defended himself upon the charter of 1830, which guarantees to all the right of worship in the way they prefer. He insisted, that the necessary consequence of the words of the charter is, the right to be a religious teacher without a licence. He did not ask to be paid for his services; he demanded the protection due to all by the law. The court, nevertheless, condemned the three parties to pay a fine of twelve pounds each for having 'assembled people to teach them a new faith, which they called that of the protestant baptists.' A second judgment by the superior court at Amiens, has confirmed that of Laon, but it reduced the fine to two pounds against each defendant. A fresh appeal is pending before the supreme court, in Paris; and, although the French law prohibits subscriptions to pay fines, so great an interest is felt for the parties, that a fund is being raised to pay the expenses of the several trials.

The importance of the question involved in these trials will be readily perceived. It really is a question whether the pre-



sent modes of Christian worship in France shall bind the whole country now, and for evermore; and whether those whose consciences are uneasy at the existing state of religion in any of the churches, shall be refused peaceful change, unless when sanctioned by the authorities. The crisis has been foreseen; and M. de Gasparin devotes a large portion of his book to the topic.

‘Liberty of conscience is won, (says he) in England, in Switzerland, in America—I was about to add, *in France*. The letter of the charter of 1830 is clear. *Every one* (it states) *has an equal right to profess his own creed, and is entitled to the same protection for his mode of worship*. Nevertheless, this right is perpetually infringed by the local authorities. They have been rebuked, indeed, by the minister, in some instances; and they are ready to admit the application of the charter to the old recognised congregations. The supreme court of appeal also applies the several principles which regulate public meetings and associations, only to sects which it distinguishes from those recognised congregations. Other courts of justice do not admit even this distinction. It is now attempted to make a license indispensable to all worship, and to prevent the laity even reading the bible, in the service of any religious assembly, without such license. In some quarters, the police peremptorily prohibit all preaching of protestants to catholics.

‘These things are quite recent (says M. de Gasparin) and the spirit of hostility which they betray, increases in asperity. It breaks out in strange forms. It has succeeded in removing the bust of Luther from the pedestal of a statue to Guttemberg, at Strasburg, although Alsace is full of protestants, to whom a special treaty guarantees their old faith, and although the bible, which printing made popular, is their peculiar pride. This act is only equalled by the conduct of the bigot who rules Bavaria, in exposing himself to the scorn of Germany, by excluding the same bust from his Valhalla. It is this persecution which is daily reducing the provisions made by law for the protestants. Whilst the catholics receive 36,000,000 of francs yearly, for their thirty-three millions of souls, or 1s per head, the protestants, who are one million and a half in number, receive only 1,260,000 francs, or about 6d per head. The catholics have thirty-four thousand pastors, or one to every thousand souls; the protestants only seven hundred, or one to two thousand souls. In the early days of the French protestant church it had two thousand one hundred and fifty distinct cures of souls; and that was the time when France did not comprise Alsace and Franche Comté within its territory.’

This is the solemn statement of M. de Gasparin, an able and zealous advocate of French protestantism; and to him is mainly due the foundation of a new ‘society, for its protection and extension.’ One of the various objects of that society is, to

secure the execution of the charter in favour of every denomination of protestants; whose danger it has pointed out with great energy. It even insists that a *settled design* is formed to put down religious liberty as guaranteed by the charter. The case might be put more correctly by showing, that as the fact is, restriction upon protestantism in France has been imposed from political jealousies, as well as from religious bigotry; and thus at the present day, the hostile proceedings pursued against particular protestant churches, are concurrent, as those of times past, against all the protestants, with great political corruption. The history of French protestantism, indeed, affords complete means of solving a difficulty which is exceedingly perplexing; for the irresistible evidence of that history fully accounts for the very same thing being done, although with a less degree of violence, under the institutions established by the revolution of 1830, which happened at the worst period of the expelled Bourbons.

2 France shared largely in the sentiments which, in the fifteenth century, prompted all Europe to seek a reform in the church; and the revival of learning with the invention of printing, did not fail to produce at the outset, in that country, the same effects, which endangered an hierarchy of a thousand years, wherever these effects were not counteracted by a concentration of the powers of the Romish church, as in Italy, or as in France, by a combination of them with certain political powers inconsistent with reform. So early as 1485, a French priest, Jean Laillier, had preceded, even surpassed, Luther in the advocacy of some most important doctrines. He maintained publicly, that the claim of superiority by the pope, as the representative of Peter, was an assumption founded on error; that all ministers of religion have equal authority; and that papal indulgences are a gross abuse; and papal infallibility, a deception. The Sorbonne condemned these doctrines, but did not punish the preacher. If the brutal passions of Henry VIII. laid the foundation for narrowing the authority of Rome, the ambition of two French kings had, before him, tended seriously to the same result. The independence of the Gallican church was directly proposed by Charles VIII. and Louis XII., after their Italian campaigns. At this period the States of France assembled from all the provinces declared, that there must be a general ecclesiastical reform; and that they would no longer endure the abuse of the prodigious contributions sent every year to Rome. In four years, before 1599, two millions of francs in gold had thus been lost to the country.

These discontents were followed in 1515 by a refined act of policy on the part of the pope, in ceding the nomination of all

ecclesiastical benefices to the kings of France for ever. This interested them in the opposition to church reform. It was immediately after this event, that Luther appeared in Germany; and although his doctrines soon found great favour in France, this powerful new interest disposed the king to resist them. Other circumstances had the same tendency. Calvin was far more austere than Luther, and, without reserve, denounced the disorders of the court, which irritated the king, whilst the followers of Calvin proclaimed free principles of government, which alarmed him. Hence the cruel persecutions which disgraced the reign of Francis the First, notwithstanding that under special circumstances favour was occasionally shown to the advocates of the new opinions, as in the instance of Erasmus, whom he invited to live in France. Still the reformation spread far and wide into the remotest provinces; and it was no small addition to its strength, that as in Germany and England Huss and Wickliffe were not forgotten, so throughout the south of France, the old opinions of the Albigenses had left religious, as well as civil traditions, which resisted conquest and the inquisition. The mountainous character of some regions, and the recollections of the free municipalities of more than a thousand years' existence, had formed a race singularly calculated to take an active part in the civil and religious strife, which was to last for two hundred years to come. From 1555 to 1562, only about thirty-five years after Luther's appearance, more than five hundred churches were formed in France. They were all distinct from each other, each separately governed by its minister and a consistory. Their doctrines were espoused by many of the highest nobility, as well as by great numbers of the people. At this period, however, as at the first, jealousy of the free political character of the reformers was associated with the dislike exhibited by their opponents to their religious opinions. 'Illegal meetings, held on pretence of this reform, must be suppressed,' says an edict of Francis the Second, in 1559; 'for at these meetings many mischievous and infamous charges are made against our person, to excite the people to sedition, therefore all such illegal meetings, *whether on account of religion, or any other purposes whatever*, are prohibited, on pain of death.'

The sovereigns of the house of Valois, with all their cruelties, were unable to crush protestantism. Only five years after the horrors of St. Bartholomew had been perpetrated by Charles ix., his successor, Henry iii., granted to the protestants the exercise of their faith as freely as was settled for them by the famous edict of Nantz, under Henry iv. They must then have been far more than a million in number; and judicious men have thought, that if Henry iv. had been as firm and as con-

sistent as he was able and brave—if he had not purchased the fickle friendship of the pope by reconciliation to the church of Rome, France would in his reign have exhibited a very different character. The catholics would have yielded obedience to the kindly precepts of the gospel, and have ceased to persecute. The protestants, an undoubted minority, and daily more enlightened, would not have abused their influence over the king. The result must have been a great improvement in the constitution of the government, as the free spirit of the protestants would have moderated the old tendencies of the court, and what the court lost by restrictions in its power, would have had a compensation in the increased energies of the nation. By curbing bigotry, Henry iv. would have been able, in this happier condition of France, to have boldly opened a refuge to the millions of oppressed Jews and Moors of Spain, who earnestly sought from him a home and protection in the wilds of Gayenne. The civil wars of the next reign could not then have taken place; and Louis xiv. would probably have avoided the disgrace which brought him to a dishonoured tomb. Finally, his successors, sheltered by timely reforms, would not have been overwhelmed in revolution after revolution to the ruin of their dynasty.

But Henry iv., the great king of his time—the son of a protestant queen—was far more ambitious of power than sincere in his religious principles. From mere worldly considerations he sacrificed the affections of the church in which he was cradled, in order to obtain authority over men he could not conciliate by abjuration. He expiated a great error by a violent death; and the golden opportunity at his command was lost, because the interests of protestantism were with him made subordinate to a political intrigue.

How correctly the probable results of a different policy from that pursued by Henry iv. are here conjectured, is plain from what occurred in the reign of Louis xiv.

The number of French protestants, at the time of the murder of Henry iv., may be stated at one million.\* Their interests were represented at the court by two commissioners, elected for three years, in a general assembly formed of deputies from all the provinces in France. The gene-

\* In February, 1614, subscriptions were collected in France to help the Genevese against the Duke of Savoy. '*If every congregation,*' said Du Plessis-Mornay on this occasion, '*will but give 20 crowns, that will be 10,000.*' This, on an average of 2,000 souls to a congregation, and only 500 congregations in France, would be a million of Protestants for the whole country. The estimate is low. This curious passage quoted is from Bazin's '*Louis XIII.*' t. i. p. 140.

ral assembly named six, of whom the sovereign chose two for the service. They came furnished with papers declaring the grievances and wants of their constituents. They had regular audiences with the king and his ministers; five hundred churches, divided into fifteen provinces, used to elect thirty gentlemen, twenty pastors, sixteen citizens, called ancients, and four deputies, for Rochelle. The great men of the Protestant Society, such as the Duc de Bouillon, the Duc de Rohan, Du Plessis-Mornay, and Sully, used to be invited to the meetings of this elected assembly to give advice.

This form of association, without a strong popular government to satisfy the reasonable claims of the protestants, and to keep their intriguers in check, could not fail to produce a civil war. It was really a republic within the realm, headed by a powerful oligarchy. The result was a Protestant war of twenty years, which Richelieu put an end to by the greatest exertions. His system of combined bribes, force, and conciliation, extinguished the hostile spirit of the protestant party, along with the last sparks of freedom in the whole French people. The struggle against despotism, which was carried on by a portion of the discontented nobility, the *Fronde*, was not shared by the protestants, and Cardinal Mazarine was their friend. Their tranquillity relieved his administration from extreme embarrassment.

In both these periods, politics were mingled largely with religious considerations, in determining the one minister to attempt to crush the protestants, and the other to spare them. In both periods there existed still a bigoted party anxious to destroy them as the only means of uprooting heresy; but that party obtained little influence over the two able cardinals, although later, Louis XIV., permitted it to revive in its worst spirit; and to lead him into the commission of acts of which it is hard to say, whether cruelty, or folly, was the chief characteristic.

Louis the Fourteenth's design to establish a despotism excited him to attempt to destroy the protestants; notwithstanding that they had proved themselves loyal to the crown, and cordial to their fellow-subjects; both excellent titles to consideration. Their kindly feelings, however, towards those fellow-subjects were really no recommendation at all to the king. The catholics had not yet forgotten the *States General*, and the habit of electing delegates on all important questions, which was familiar to the protestants, would, if allowed, be of dangerous example. They were intimately connected with their fellow protestants all over Europe, who everywhere steadily vindicated *constitutional* government. In England they had gone

further. They had put a king to death; and whilst Louis was enforcing uniformity of faith in France, they were struggling against Charles the Second's measures to the same extent. It is perfectly well known, too, that a treaty existed between France and England at this time, by which Louis, Charles, and James, were bound, at any cost, to suppress dissent in both countries.

Up to this time the French protestants had steadily increased in number; and their population, shortly before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685, is stated in contemporary books at two millions. They had abandoned all schemes of sectarian aggrandisement, and ceased to give the government disquiet. Nevertheless, in consequence of a return to bigotry, which prompted Louis xiv. and Louis xv. to authorise a succession of violent persecutions from 1666 to 1744, France lost at least six hundred thousand protestants, by seven distinct emigrations; and many of these emigrants were great capitalists, eminent merchants and manufacturers, learned persons, excellent seamen and soldiers, and commanders of rank and eminence. The bitter unscrupulous character of these persecutions may be inferred from this single fact, that it was under their influence, and at a later period of their occurrence, that the awful cases of Calos, and his fellow victims of Toulouse, were such as to rouse the indignation of the whole world against the system and its abettors. Every form of cruelty had been exhausted to aggravate the sufferings of the protestants during nearly a hundred years; and they became in this period the victims of new political intrigues, not unlike many which to this day disgrace the best governments.

The administrative power, which Cardinal Richelieu had substituted for old feudal influences, was become thoroughly corrupt in the hands of his successor. Colbert reduced this administrative power into order, but could not render it honest; his *protestant* functionaries were the purest he could find in France, and he exhausted his own influence to prevent the persecutions, which were not only unjust, but also deprived the crown of its best servants.

Every species of fraud and violence was resorted to, in order to support the monstrous plan of the next hundred years, for establishing uniformity of religion throughout France. The leaders of the protestants were seduced, or terrified, to feign conversion. The masses were bought or massacred. The places of worship were destroyed by hundreds. The ministers of religion were hunted down like wild beasts. The professions, and many trades, were closed to their flocks.

To effect these things, immense sums of money were lavished, and a series of deceptions, which have no parallel, except in our own Irish administrations of past times, and in those of some of our colonies to the present hour, were pursued, in order to lead the government to persevere in a scheme, the inutility of which must have caused it to be abandoned, if the truth had been fairly told. The frequent misgivings of Louis xiv. and of his successor, and their alarm at the melancholy consequences of their policy, betrayed its iniquitous character. More than once designs were formed to abandon it for mild measures; and at last, before the revolution of 1789, two of the ministers of Louis xvi. had successfully urged upon their unfortunate king the absolute necessity of a change. It was in vain that the law presumed the extinction of protestantism. The body prospered in defiance of every oppression, and when that revolution procured for the protestants an equality of religious rights, which their sovereign had already meditated for them as an ordinary measure of his government, they were in a condition to produce candidates for every grade of political employment. Their conduct under frightful oppression is often contrasted with that of the Irish catholics in the like case. The superiority of their personal character, it is said, has made up for the inferiority of their position; and a conclusion has been drawn from the double example to the advantage of protestant institutions.

‘When refused admission into public offices and the learned professions, they became *farmers*, and merchants, and manufacturers. They are more intelligent, and, for their numbers, richer than their fellow catholics. In a calamitous state resembling theirs, two millions of Roman catholics would have sunk into the deepest degree of helplessness and want, as is proved by the case of Ireland.’

Such is the practical conclusion drawn from the remarkable history of French protestantism by one of its ablest members of our day. Its general truth well deserves a candid application by the thinking men of all creeds; with the exception of one topic of vast importance, *the occupation of the soil*, which was allowed to the French protestants, when refused to the Irish catholics, and the effects of which great distinction, seem never to have been examined with care. A comparison of the two persecutions justifies the contrast of their different consequences. But a more consolatory result from the inquiry is, that there is nothing in the character of the two creeds, however distinct, to prevent the kindly communication of those who sincerely profess them, in every station of public and private

life; and thus, if false political motives and designs do not destroy their harmony, there is enough in their common Christianity to unite them by the bond of charity.

The revolution of 1830 opened with a confirmation of the principles of equality, gained for all religious worship, by the revolution of 1789. Since 1830, the government of Louis Philippe has gradually abandoned that principle; and, at present, the worst abuses of the worst times, short of personal violence, against the persons and property of protestants, are become common. This occurs at a time when protestantism is fast extending its influence; when, in some quarters, it is reviving old connexions; and preparing the way for new conversions in others. In remote villages, where, for a hundred years, sheltered by their forests, laymen have preserved the reformed service in their families, regular pastors now find zealous congregations. In great towns, the very head quarters of modern catholicity, the memory of old persecutions, which effectually did the work of ruin, now encourages the restoration of the protestant faith there associated with the greatest triumphs of science; and the best successes of industry.

An interesting example of the former case has just occurred in Normandy. From that province alone, twenty-six thousand protestant families emigrated at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and thousands more yielded a reluctant submission to the Romish church. This explains the readiness with which protestant preachers are now heard there. In many cases, tradition has preserved distinct recollections of the old reformed worship, as at Chefresne, where a little flock, originally unnoticed in the day of general trouble, continued, from father to son, for several generations, to attend the services of the elder men, with no other pastoral guidance, except when a minister occasionally came from Caen to bless the married, and baptize the young. It is only since 1830, that these poor people have had a stated minister.\*

The fine old city of Blois offers an instance of the latter class, too interesting to be described in the short space now at our disposal.†

It is little to the credit of the French government, that, instead of making a stand against the remains of bigotry in France, it shows itself eager to thwart the natural progress of religious reform. Its motive for thus persecuting the baptists, and other independent sects, is plain. It fears the civil liberty to which these persecuted advocates of religious freedom are

\* Fourteenth Report of the Société Evangelique of France. Paris, 8vo. p. 33. 1847.

† Ib. p. 25.



probably devoted friends. Its jealousy of the spirit which may strengthen its own enemies, overcomes its sense of justice, and its respect for a cause which should be essentially its own. It countenances by its conduct a charge unquestionably well founded, in regard to all former French governments, and urged with great appearance of reason in the present case—namely, that religious persecutions in France owe their virulence far more to political intrigues, than to sincere religious convictions of any kind.

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ART. VIII.—*A Commentary on the Book of Leviticus. Expository and Practical; with Critical Notes.* By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar. London: Nisbet and Co. 12mo. pp. 488.

THE Book of Leviticus, so named first by the Greek translators, because it contains those laws of the Jewish religion which the tribe of Levi, or the priests out of it, were to see executed, is deeply interesting on this very account, that it contains the *ipsissima verba* of the Divine institution, in all their fulness. Some of the laws, indeed, had been previously given; but here we have the entire code, as it was received by Moses from the mouth of God, and recorded for the government of Israel. This book is, therefore, the text book upon which the Epistle to the Hebrews is, in a great measure, founded. Here is 'the shadow,' the adumbration 'of the good things to come,' and upon the principle that a designed type or figure is, by necessity of its nature, also a prophecy, every Christian must read, with deep interest, the words of infinite wisdom, which drew so remarkable a description, so instructive a picture, and long beforehand (1490 years) of that one sacrifice which takes away the sin of the world.

The book itself presents comparatively few difficulties requiring critical solution; perhaps no book of scripture so few. Yet no one in the Old Testament has engaged more, or more learned, commentators in its elucidation, from the Talmudists down to Mr. Bonar. This has doubtless arisen from the universal impression that these laws were promulgated less for the sake of the ceremonial observances they enjoin, than for the important truths they teach, and the momentous reference they contain to that event which occupied the Divine counsels, and was completed on the cross of Calvary.

The Commentary before us embodies a large portion of the more important explanations offered by the earliest writers. The great difficulty, and therefore the great excellence, in attempting to explain these ceremonial laws, is to avoid the two extremes of finding nothing in them beyond mere unmeaning ceremony, which no evangelical commentator can be guilty of, and finding too much in them, by the exercise of mere fancy. The rule which seems to be suggested by sober criticism, and enlightened piety, is to follow, as far as traceable, the footsteps of inspired explanation and allusion, and not to affix a fanciful and arbitrary sense upon ceremonies or circumstances that are mysterious to us; and, especially, not to assume that every minor point must have a spiritual meaning which we are to tax our ingenuity to discover: but to treat these laws much in the same way as a judicious commentator would treat the parables of our Lord. Every portion need not be supposed to convey a distinct meaning, but one general or principal lesson, with occasionally some subordinate ones. This is the best clue to their sense, and the best safeguard against trifling, unfounded, and weakening comments, which only prove the ingenuity of the commentator, and lessen the effect of the great truth enforced by the Divine Teacher.

Jerome, in his epistle to Paulinus, has carried the notion of a spiritual meaning to the wildest extreme, and, under his sanction, many commentators have sedulously set themselves to discover it. The father's words are, '*in hoc libro singula pene syllaba celestia spirat sacramenta.*' '*Almost every syllable in this book breathes a celestial mystery.*' Mr. Bonar does not profess to go quite so far, but at any rate his ingenuity savours of the microscopic, and very frequently appears to us to transcend the example of the apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is not difficult, with the New Testament in our hands, to find out or invent endless analogies between its facts and doctrines, and the ceremonies of the Jews; but to be sure that these analogies were designed, and never to force our own conjectures on the Divinely instituted rites, without evidence that such was their author's intention, is quite another matter. The following citation will sufficiently explain Mr. Bonar's general view of the nature of the book he has undertaken to explain.

'The rites here detailed were typical; and every type was designed and intended by God to bear resemblance to some spiritual truth. The likeness between type and anti-type is never accidental. The very excellency of their rites consists in their being chosen by God for the end of shewing forth 'good things to come,' (Heb. x. 1.) As it is not a mere accidental resemblance to the Lord's body and blood, that obtains in the bread and wine used in the Lord's supper, but, on the contrary, a

likeness that made the symbols suitable to be selected for that end, so it is in the case of every Levitical type. Much of our satisfaction and edification in tracing the correspondence between type and anti-type will depend on the firmness with which we hold this principle.

'If it be asked why a typical mode of showing forth truth was adopted to such an extent in those early days, it may be difficult to give a precise answer. It is plain, such a method of instruction may answer many purposes. It may not merely meet the end of simplifying the truth, it may also open the mind to comprehend more, while it deepens present impressions of things known. The existence of a type does not always argue that the thing typified is obscurely seen, or imperfectly known. On the contrary, there was a type in the garden of Eden—the tree of life—while life, in all its meaning, was fully comprehended by Adam. In all probability there will be typical objects in the millennial age; for there is to be a river which shall flow from Jerusalem to water the valley of Shittim, (Joel iii. 18), the same of which Ezekiel (xlvi. 1), and Zechariah (xiv. 8) speaks. This river is said to be for the healing of the Dead Sea, while on its banks grow majestic trees, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. No doubt a spiritual significance lies hid in their visible signs; the visible symbol seems to be a broad seal and sign of the peculiar truth manifested in these days, viz., the over-flowing stream of the Holy Spirit (who shall be poured out at Jerusalem in the House of David first), winding its course over the earth to convey saving health to all nations. Certain it is, that types do not necessarily imply that the anti-type is dimly known. The Lord may use them as he does gospel ordinances at present, to convey light to us, and leave more indelible impressions. A German writer, (Kaber), has said, 'Types were institutions intended to deepen, expand, and ennoble the circle of thoughts and desires, and thus heighten the moral and spiritual wants, as well as the intelligence and susceptibility of the chosen people.' And not less truly is this point touched upon by the reformer, Tindal, in his 'Prologue into the Third Book of Moses.' 'Though sacrifices and ceremonies can be no ground or foundation to build upon—that is, though we can prove nothing with them—yet, when we have once found Christ and his mysteries, then we may borrow figures, that is to say, allegories, similitudes, and examples, *to open Christ and the secrets of God hid in Christ, even unto the quick*; and can declare them more lively and sensibly with them than all the words of the world. For similitudes have more virtue and power with them than bare words, and lead a man's understanding further into the pith and marrow, and spiritual understanding of the thing than can be imagined.'

'The Epistle to the Hebrews lays down the principles upon which we are to interpret Leviticus. The specimens there given of types applied, furnish a model for our guidance in other cases. And the writer's manner of address in that epistle leads us to suppose that it was no new thing for an Israelite thus to understand the ritual of Moses. No doubt old Simeon (Luke ii. 25), frequented the temple daily, in order to read in its rites the future development of a suffering Saviour, as well as to pray and worship. Anna, the prophetess, did the same; for all of them knew that they pro- of the grace that was to come to us, and, therefore,

inquired and searched diligently, (1 Pet. i. 10.) Had Aaron, or some other holy priest of his line, been 'carried away in the Spirit,' and shewn the accomplishment of all that these types prefigured, how joyful ever after would have been his daily service in the sanctuary. When shewn the great anti-type, and that each one of them pictured something in the person or work of the Redeemer, then, ever after, to handle the vessels of the sanctuary would be rich food to his soul. It would be 'feeding beside the still waters and in green pastures.' For the bondage of these elements did not consist in sprinkling the blood, washing in the laver, waving the wave shoulder, or the like; but in doing all this without perceiving the truth thereby exhibited. Probably, to a true Israelite, taught of God, there would be no more bondage in handling these material elements, than there is at this day to a true believer in handling the symbolic bread and wine through which he 'discovers the body and blood of the Lord.'

If Mr. Bonar has somewhat exceeded his example in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and stretched the apostle's principles into refinements of allegory, yet his views are always evangelical and pious, and to most of his readers will prove instructive and edifying.

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ART. IX.—*Daniel O'Connell: Reminiscences of his Life and Times.* By a Munster Farmer. Portrait by T. Carrick. London: Fisher, Son, and Co.

DANIEL O'CONNELL died at Genoa on Saturday the 15th of May. He had lived several years beyond the allotted three-score and ten of human life. When the Irish people will be recounting to their children the dire calamities of the year of famine, they will not omit, what they will deem the crown of them all, the death of the Liberator.

The greatest Scotchman and the greatest Irishman of their day died within about a fortnight of each other—the man who had been most prominent as a protestant, and the man who had been most conspicuous as a catholic. Scotch and protestant writers have drawn parallels between O'Connell and Chalmers, of course considerably to the advantage of the Scotchman and the protestant. The Irish and catholic writers never dream of making the comparison. They are more ignorant of Chalmers than the Scotch are of O'Connell. Those of the who are somewhat intelligent, scout a comparison between 'tl

hero of Christendom,' and 'a distinguished Scotch divine.' Each has his circle of bigotted admirers. Admiration of the one almost implies scorn of the other. Of course there is the greatest difference of opinion about both these great personages. In England and Scotland the depreciation is of O'Connell, and in catholic Europe of Chalmers. The news of the sudden death of Dr. Chalmers made many Scotch people ill in London. The news of the death of Mr. O'Connell was expected, and in Ireland it fell on ears made apathetic by famine. In Dublin successive groups of serious faces came to Conciliation Hall to inquire the truth of the sad rumour on the day the news arrived. The news of the death of Thomas Chalmers affected profoundly the Scotch and evangelical circles in London, but beyond these it was necessary to explain who he was and what he had done. The death of O'Connell was news to which the whole heart of the metropolis throbbed. Everybody knew somewhat of him. Penny memoirs filled the windows of the humblest news-shops, and penny portraits of O'Connell were thrust upon the passers-by in the crowds of the Strand along with those of Jenny Lind. The funeral of Chalmers, in Edinburgh, was, from its magnitude, a national one. The funeral honours of O'Connell have been European.

We are not about to estimate either of these men, or weigh their respective characters. This is neither the time nor the place for such a task. We enjoyed for the last ten years the friendly acquaintance of both of them. We had many conversations with them of the most intimate kind. Both poured into our ears bitter complaints of the injustice they had sustained from the hands of the English press. We know well that the readers of this journal did full justice to the character of Dr. Chalmers, but protestant as we are, we beg permission to doubt, whether British protestantism has looked with clear and unjaundiced eyes at the character of Daniel O'Connell, the Irishman and the Romanist.

The British press, we submit, is playing the game of young Ireland—the Irish physical force party. The disparaging misinterpretations of the character of Mr. O'Connell are injurious, and hostile to the interests of Great Britain, and of protestant truth. The man who underestimates his enemy, is never the man to beat him. When the struggle began between the parliament and Charles the First, the parliament were defeated in almost every engagement. Oliver Cromwell pointed out the cause. The parliament undervalued their foes, and employed an army of common men to fight an army of gentlemen. Cromwell beat the gentlemen by training men of piety to fight them, and was victorious over gentleness by the might of godliness.

The great secret of successful warfare, especially in the battles of opinion, is the moral superiority. Whoever wins, must do so by being more in the right than his opponents. O'Connell has been victorious over Irish protestantism and British aristocracy, all his life. In regard to the things he sought, throughout the greater part of his career, he had the strength of justice and right on his side. The wickedness of political protestantism in Ireland, has been the weakness of protestantism and the strength of catholicism in the world. Protestants make much—as we have a right to do—of the St. Bartholomew massacre, and the Spanish inquisition; but the catholics have abundant matter for retort in the conduct of protestants in Ireland. When O'Connell was born, a catholic father might be deprived of his estate, and made the tenant for life on two-thirds of it, if any of his boys chose to call himself a protestant at the mature age of fourteen. Any protestant could take the horse from under any catholic by swearing that it was worth more than five pounds. A catholic, thrice convicted of keeping a priest in his family to educate his children, might be punished by the confiscation of all his property, real and personal. Any catholic over sixteen years old was liable to imprisonment for twelve months if he refused to inform the magistrate of all he knew about any celebration of mass. A catholic was incapable of buying land, and restrained from cultivating it properly, because prohibited from holding a long lease. The church, the university, and the professions of law, physic, and arms, were shut against the catholic. Such was the actual condition of a people whose historic recollections were all of confiscation and persecution. O'Connell found his countrymen a Celtic population, whose lands had been confiscated, and their religion persecuted. After he had laboured for a quarter of a century, the children of Irish peasants, by marriages duly solemnized by catholic clergymen, were treated as illegitimate, and their mothers as concubines. English catholics, from the Duke of Norfolk downwards, were incapable of holding the meanest public appointment, without abjuring their religion. The cabin of the poor cottier was often stripped bare for the tithes of the protestant parson. On every 'first of July,' any catholic might have been insulted and maltreated, with impunity, in any Irish town. The hedge school was the only school open to the poor Roman catholic boy. In the lists of the county grand juries scarcely an Irish name appeared, when O'Connell came into public life. From all these, and many other wrongs, Daniel O'Connell has been the Liberator of his religion and his race.

Most of the good which others have done, and are yet to do, has been made possible by his labours. All the world honours

Father Mathew for the good he has done by his temperance pledges. He had the help of O'Connell by speech and example. But, in truth, Mathew only carried out the work which O'Connell first did, and showed him how to do. We have seen the crowds of the Irish kneeling before Father Mathew, while the red and white came and went, in alternate flushes on their excited faces, and we have heard their voices repeating the temperance pledge after him, and deemed the scene one full of moral sublimity. But we have not forgotten the thrilling interest with which the British public beheld, in 1826 and 1828, the peasantry, during the Waterford and Clare elections, abstain from beer, spirits, and blows, in obedience to the words of the great agitator. Observing people then said, 'The man who can do that, may do anything with the Irish people.' Father Mathew worked out these feats in permanent and general details, on the basis of the support of O'Connell, and when aided by the temperance agitation in America and Great Britain.

Without the labours of O'Connell, the industrial movement henceforth the national one in Ireland, at the head of which the Irish council have placed themselves, would not have been possible. Persecuted and oppressed people are never industrious. It was the accusation of Lauderdale and Claverhouse against the Scotch covenanters, that they neglected husbandry to meddle in affairs of church and state. The rapid advance which Scotland has made in industry, did not begin until after the persecutions and the Stuart troubles were happily over. It is not a just reproach to a people that they prefer their spiritual to their industrial affairs.

It is related of O'Connell that such was his horror of the blood-thirsty scenes of the French Revolution, that on leaving France, on completing his education, he and his brother trampled the tricolour cockade under their feet in the bottom of the boat. One of his sayings was, 'nothing we can gain is worth a drop of human blood;' another, 'He who commits a crime gives strength to the enemy.' He was a Samson, whose strength lay in the might of constitutional and peaceful agitation. This was the great idea of his life, the birth of his genius, the core of his heart. Seldom has the world seen a more energetic teacher of any doctrine than this great man was of this; and on the degree of his efficiency depends whether the advocates of peaceful industry, or the zealots for violence, shall henceforth be the leaders of the Irish people.

In these circumstances, every assault on the memory of O'Connell is a blow favourable to the dismemberment of the British empire. Assaults on O'Connell tend to make the O'Connellites young Irelanders. Born of a people as prone to

buy arms, as to drink poteen, O'Connell, by moral *kingliness*, taught them to abstain from the use of both, and to triumph by the abstinence. The Irish were always an insurrectionary and sanguinary people, and so deeply had the past fixed this notion in Scotch and English minds, that the hatred of O'Connell was grounded wholly on the misconception that his agitation meant rebellion, his peace, blood, as if the aged lawyer of seventy was likely to take off his wig, and put on a helmet, and doff his gown, and sport a saber-tash!

O'Connell has done his work. Coarse, abusive, vituperative, calumnious, a Celtic savage, a Romanist, educated by the Jesuits, and a *nisi prius* barrister, who never left off his professional habits, the bad side of his character was obvious enough, and his hard words and hardy mis-statements, were irritating enough; but if he has taught his countrymen to seek justice by arguments instead of arms, all may well be forgiven, and all the spots lost in the splendour which surrounds one of the greatest benefactors of the human race. While agitating for repeal he was conciliating Ireland to England, by interchanges of opinions, concessions of justice, the knowledge of evils, and the application of remedies. Never before has a people been led to rely solely on argument for the attainment of their ends. The O'Connell lesson has been a beneficent one, not confined to Ireland. The physical force chartism of England and Scotland would never have been the insignificant thing it was, had not O'Connell been an illustrious example of moral power.

If the British press and government use wisely the name of O'Connell, though dead, he may still frustrate the men of blood in his country. While in his name, and by his authority, reliance on moral suasion is continually instilled into the minds of the Irish, the industrial movement may become an enthusiasm and a passion among them. His name will make the O'Briens and the O'Meaghers as insignificant as his example made Feargus O'Connor. Of his power, the deportment of the people during his imprisonment, and during the sore famine, are striking proofs. O'Connell was as favourable to industrial improvement as he could be, in his position; and the men to come will honour him as the indispensable precursor of the industrial development of his country.

O'Connell is dead, and the event is a favourable one for the cause of protestantism. His vast political power was of late used not to obtain justice and equality for his religion, but to achieve the triumph of ascendancy for his sect. We have reason to believe that in this his private convictions were overruled by the authority of his church. He sent his heart to Rome, and he was a most sincere and bigotted catholic. His influence has



changed the position of his church from that of a persecuted one to the verge of ascendancy. But we question if he will not prove to have been the precursor of protestantism as well as of industry. Romanism may be a religion suitable to a peasantry prone to buy arms and drink poteen; but it is very unsuitable for a people with a rapidly advancing middle class, accustomed to gain their ends by argument and discussion in the press and in their clubs. O'Connell is one of those large men who are not to be viewed in reference to a sect or a nation. He belongs to mankind. The friends of human progress, who dislike the Romanist and the Irishman, ought to reverence the man who taught a Celtic people to abstain from blood, and rely on justice.

The death of Daniel O'Connell is an event which must be productive of vast consequences. What these may be, nobody can foresee. But to all eyes the whole aspect of Ireland is altered. The man, whose sayings and doings were the history of his country for half a century, is gone. Little as the bulk of the English and Scotch people loved him, they like less the men his giant dimensions overshadow. Daniel O'Connell is gone, and the place which knew him so well shall know him no more for ever. Among those Irishmen who adhered to him in his principles of moral force and progressive reform, there are none of his qualities, his energy, sagacity, and wisdom. But there will be successors to his business as an agitator. The Young Ireland party, though they lost their best man in Thomas Davis, contains men of considerable talents and genius, fired by the fiercest zeal. Repeal with O'Connell meant a parliament on College Green; repeal with Young Ireland means an independent Irish republic. The favourite study of these men is, 'how America became a nation.' Every act of O'Connell's was accordant with his wish to keep Ireland connected with England by means of the golden link of the crown. In the disguise of a repealer, he was the reconciler of the sister kingdoms. He has left us, and we are in the presence of the men who mean us all the evil of which we accused him falsely.

His heart to Rome, his body to Ireland! This was his dying wish. The old man died on his way to receive the benediction of the pope. We observe with a wondering pleasure, the admissions which the journals which reviled him most make, when writing under the impression of his death. He was, says the *Standard*, a sincere and consistent Romanist of the sixteenth century. In fact, his Romanism was not so modern. It was thoroughly mediæval. His mind was haunted by the memory of St. Thomas à Becket. Of this champion of Romanism, civilization, and the conquered Saxons, the writer of this article has

published a life. Though a protestant of no lukewarm sort, he cherishes an admiration for the saint and hero of the twelfth century. This was a common enthusiasm with the writer, and Mr. O'Connell. He would talk for hours while delight, made his face radiant about St. Thomas à Becket. With a twinkle of humour in his eyes, and a tone of it in his voice, he said, 'I make a pilgrimage, a post-chaise pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas, every year. Once, when the woman was showing me the tombs of the cathedral, I said, 'All these people were papists.' 'Eh!' cried the woman, with a start, 'were they really papists?' It is curious it had never occurred to her before, that they were papists.' We met Mr. O'Connell immediately after his return to London from Birmingham, where a splendid demonstration was made in his behalf, in reference to the outrage on constitutional liberty in his person, in the state trials. But, on clasping hands, his first joyful exclamations were, 'I have been to Oscot, and I have had on the robe and mitre of Saint Thomas à Becket,—he must have been a man about my height.' The reverence of Mr. O'Connell was profound for Christianity. At dinner, once, a gentleman was guilty of an irreligious joke. 'My dear sir, you pain me—you distress me; my dear friend, I must talk with you about this to-morrow,' said he. On rising from dinner, the joker asked an Irish member, 'Was Dan serious? will he really give me a rowing to-morrow.' 'Faith, that he will!' was the reply; 'as severe a lecture as ever you had in all your life.' Accordingly, at the hour he had named, Mr. O'Connell sought the offender, from whom we have the anecdote. We urged him to tell us what O'Connell said in his admonition. We were seated over a tumbler of whiskey toddy,—a state in which we are not usually soft-headed,—but all the reply we received, was, 'Oh, he is very serious!' and the eyes of the joker filled with tears. The death-bed of Mr. O'Connell is described as one of serenity and peace, amidst the last rites of his religion, and in this was only in accordance with the devout observances which occupied much of the later years of his stormy life.

Of the strength of his love for his family, the constancy of his friendships, and the power of attracting affection and confidence which he possessed, many proofs might be adduced. It has been well said, that he loved his children, not like a father, but like a mother:—this huge, strong, and impassioned man. The love of the Invincibles for Napoleon was not equal to the love of the Irish for O'Connell. 'I will give you a shilling,' said a gentleman to an Irish beggar-boy, 'if you will curse O'Connell.' 'God bless O'Connell,' was the responsive shout.

An English gentleman, travelling in Ireland, abused O'Connell to every group of Irishmen he met, but the remonstrance always was, 'Ah! but sure your honour he loves Old Ireland.' O'Connell loved Ireland as a bridegroom loves his bride. Of this love he died. He is the most illustrious victim of the famine. The progress of the famine might have been learned from the study of his face. It was a subject, latterly, on which it would have been a cruelty for an acquaintance to address him. The buoyancy had gone out of his step, the humour had fled from his face, and he had become a stooping and an aged man, shuffling along when we saw him last. But there was a look of suppressed commiseration in his features, a silent agony which showed that pity for his countrymen was painting the wrath of death in the face of Daniel O'Connell. The slanders on his character as a landlord, at Cahirciveen, he felt bitterly, he said to us—'Oh! it was cruel as false, my people are all comfortable.' But he continued himself, (though his vigour had been declining from the change in his habits to total abstinence from wine,) after the state trials, after the Cahirciveen calumnies, and even in spite of Young Ireland quarrels, until the famine advanced among his beloved countrymen, and changed his face, and death took him away.

The heroism of a life devoted constantly, for half a century, to serving his race, religion, and country, is a thing so obvious, that it must in time force itself into minds which hate his religion, and dislike his countrymen. England and Scotland cannot for long continue to gainsay the world regarding such a fact. Born of a conquered race, and a persecuted religion, conscious of great energies and great talents, to what nobler work could he have devoted himself, than to redress the wrongs which had for centuries fallen crushingly upon his race and his religion? He might have sought places, titles, honours, wealth. But his soul was nobler. He resolved to make every Irishman the equal of every Englishman. For the first seven long years he laboured amidst indifference, discouragement, and neglect, six or seven hours a day, paying the expenses of the Catholic Association from the hard-won gains of his profession. In a quarter of a century he obtained catholic emancipation. By this great service he made himself the embodiment of the best moral life of Ireland,—the impersonation of, at least, six millions of the Irish population—the representative of a race cruelly oppressed for seven centuries, and of a religion subjected to the direst persecutions for many generations. The result is, that the Irish are ascendant in Ireland; and every year sees every Irishman becoming, politically and ecclesiastically, more

and more the equal of every Englishman. Anglo-Irish protestants, who remember Ireland for the last forty years, describe the revolution as wonderful.

But, let us repeat, the means are nobler still than the results. O'Connell has been the great teacher of the power of moral force. This has been the greatest birth of his genius. He has been the greatest example of the power of reason in governing nations, furnished by the history of mankind. He has taught the giant that he is never so formidable as when subduing prejudices by evidences. He was a Hercules, whose weapon was justice; a Samson, whose great strength lay in his mind. Napoleon, a lieutenant of artillery, made his sword a terror to all the monarchies and empires of Europe. O'Connell, an Irish barrister, exhibited the spectacle for the first time since the world began, of a wild people of seven millions, governed by speech.

To know a man, you must love him. Loving eyes alone can see the amiable and loveable aspects of other men. No man of modern times has been viewed with the eyes of affection by so many fellow-creatures, as Daniel O'Connell. His loveable qualities were seen by his countrymen, by liberal Europe, by all the catholics of the whole world. But aristocrats hated him as the voice of a people, and protestants detested him as the champion and avenger of Romanism. To their eyes his excellencies were invisible. The English and the Scotch vulgar dislike the Irish, and cherished, therefore, an aversion to the impersonation of Irish nationality. There is a wonderful prating about the power of the *Times* newspaper. But its leaders broke against the power and popularity of O'Connell, like spray against a rock. Its calumnies wounded the man, but only added to the glory of the uncrowned king. However, the British press could place his faults in a strong light, and they did it. They could construe him malignly, and they did it, daily, hourly, continually. He quoted the Poor Law Commissioner's report on the subject of illegitimate births, and for repeating what Englishmen reported, every house was made to yell against him as a slanderer of English woman. He named a sum—'say two thousand'—as the probable cost of contesting an Irish seat in parliament, and the journals denounced him as a boroughmonger. All controversy and hostility causes malignant interpretation. As violent as his assailants, and fighting almost single-handed against so many hosts, he was nearly as angry, abusive, and perverse as his enemies. His tongue was never more coarse, and never more slanderous, than were the anonymous pens of Captain Sterling in the '*Times*,' and of Dr. Gifford in the '*Standard*.' For him there were excuses which

did not exist for them. He was a Celt, whose forefathers had not been long under the softening and restraining influences of civilization. Lord Byron makes one of his characters say, 'He is always of the religion of the persecuted.' O'Connell was of the religion of the persecuted, and Sterling and Gifford of the religion of the persecutors. O'Connell was the representative of a race, whom in six centuries the Anglo-Irish Sterlings and Giffords, and others, had despoiled of eleven-twelfths of their land. The sting and venom left by the penal laws was in O'Connell. His assailants were of a race and religion which had fattened on the wrongdoing. This Celtic man, educated by the Jesuits, in large practice as a *nisi prius* barrister, and daily and hourly disgorging extemporaneously the feelings of the moment, was undoubtedly occasionally abusive, false, and libellous. He had not time to write. Most of the reporters were his foes, and they gave a coarser colouring to all his coarseness, and a falseness turn to all his mis-statements. His daily talk went constantly into print. His political briefs were prepared by irresponsible whisperers, of whose statements he was necessarily the mouthpiece. Carefully prepared speeches, like those of most other orators, with nicely adjusted draperies and exactly laid colours, his circumstances did not permit. Besides veracity is not the characteristic of this generation of public men. Was Peel veracious when, prior to the general election of 1841, he demanded if any body had defended the corn laws more than he had done? Was Russell veracious when shuffling on the appropriation clause, and deluding the methodists respecting the education grant? Undoubtedly there was much of the Celtic savage, the Jesuit, and the *nisi prius* advocate about O'Connell. But he was not a politician in an age when the 'yea' of statesmen was 'yea,' and their 'nay' just 'nay.' Adam Smith denounced this class of men generally as 'cunning and crafty animals.' 'The morality of politicians is the morality of horse-jockeys'—was the aphorism which embodied the personal experience of Thomas Chalmers.

A genuine fund of humour is the characteristic of all good fellows and of most great men. They have always a good laugh in them. His humour was a source of the power of O'Connell. It was in early life and manhood, wild and rollicking, and continued almost to the last. When Honan's statue of the Liberator had just been erected in the Exchange, Dublin, O'Connell and Mr. Pearce Mahony were passing on their way to the castle. Mr. Pearce Mahony is well known as the solicitor in whom Mr. O'Connell placed the utmost confidence, though neither a repealer nor a catholic. He knew whom to trust; and Mr.



never master of cabinets, and never, therefore, the most powerful personality concerned in the government of an empire. Of course, there is a difference between the greatness of a man's qualities, and the greatness of his position. There may have been a concurrence of circumstances which gave his greatness to O'Connell, but the weakest theory we have seen of it, is the one which refers it to the obstinacy of George the III. in refusing Catholic emancipation. In conversation, Mr. O'Connell himself gave a satisfactory explanation of the matter. 'A man has energy,' he said, 'and his circumstances determine the use he is to make of it.' 'There is a dumb war,' he used to say, 'always going on in Ireland.' He had energy, and he gave it to the cause of his race and his religion. The war did not make the energy, which unquestionably made itself powerfully felt in the battle and in the victory. There is always work to be done demanding the greatest energy, and it waits until the strong man rises to do it.

'Never perhaps has any man lived and acted whose life has equalled that of Daniel O'Connell in consistency of agitation. If this be a virtue, he is the perfection of it. Though the horrors of the French Revolution almost made him a Tory when a boy, as soon as he made up his mind in early manhood, his opinions and purposes at twenty-five were nearly what they were at seventy. We have somewhere seen in one extract, the earliest expressions of his mind forty years ago, a list of the reforms he pledged himself to effect. There was no mincing modesty or timidity in this list. He said, 'support me, and I will do them.' 'The Parliament in College Green' was a late promise, which every now and then was modified by an 'or'—'*Repeal or justice for Ireland.*' Writers who make much of the differences of race—a theme about which there is much nonsense in vogue—will be pleased to explain why this chief of the Celts—the Irish Celts—the mercurial, impracticable, versatile, talkative, unsteady Celts—has been for five-and-forty years the steadiest politician in the three kingdoms. The Saxon Peel has been a teetotum, the Anglo-Irish Wellesley a drifting iceberg, the half-Scotch half-English Brougham a 'Will-o'-the-wisp' compared with this dogged, steady, obstinate Celt, O'Connell. His principles and purposes, his views and aims, and all his modes of carrying them out, have been the same for half a century. The greatest example of the Saxon qualities of steadiness and practicality in these days has been this great Celt. O'Connell had none of the imaginative genius of the Anglo-Irish, which displays itself in the splendour of the eloquence of Burke, Curran, Grattan, and Shiel. Compared with theirs, his was the eloquence of business. His rhetoric was all second-hand. He convulsed his audience at Covent Garden by describing the Corn-Law Dukes as fellows whose shadows were afraid to follow them. O'Connell, we said, *can* produce a good and witty joke of his own, when a friend interrupted us, saying—'It is taken from Hudibras, whose couplet is—

'A man he was so ghastly and so grim,  
His very shadow feared to follow him.'

There was no original Irish wit in this greatest of the Irish. O'Connell had Saxon steadiness, and was destitute of Irish fancy; and to this curi-

ous fact must be ascribed the consequence that, while the florid orators of Ireland were weak and beautiful as flags on a ship of war, he was powerful and terrible as the guns within her port-holes.'

In this journal, we cannot omit a few remarks on the conduct of Mr. O'Connell, in reference to the voluntary principle. Thomas Chalmers and Daniel O'Connell met but once, we believe, in their lives, and they came into controversial collision, once, only, on the voluntary principle. They were introduced to each other in the speaker's gallery of the old House of Commons, and agreed wonderfully in condemnation of Poor Laws. It is notable respecting these men, that Mr. O'Connell, though coarse and vituperative in his speeches, was polished and courteous in private life; reminding one, by his manners, in these free and easy days, of the graceful and dignified bearing ascribed in memoirs to the abbés and nobles of France, under the *ancien regime*. Dr. Chalmers, whose speeches never contained anything unworthy of the scholar, the gentleman, and divine, at first sight appeared to be an honest Scotch peasant, *Fifeshire* in his pronunciation, and awkward in his demeanour. Among gentlemen, O'Connell always maintained the tone of equality and courtesy, except when some remark about Ireland would make him seem every inch a king. Among gentlemen Dr. Chalmers never seemed an equal; he was a peasant, in clerical black; until an emotion of benevolence, or a conception of genius, lifted the white-headed orator up as if into the regions where the good and great seem glorified.

They came into collision on the voluntary principle. Chalmers had an extraordinary reverence for rank and wealth. Once at dinner at the table of a nobleman, he was noticed poising a gold spoon in his hand, and surveying it with wonder and admiration, and at length his thrilling voice remarked, 'its a' solid.' When made a member of the French Institute, he visited Paris, and though he could not understand the debate in French, he listened for some time in the Chamber of Deputies. On retiring, he stopped on the steps, and leaning on his umbrella, burst into a loud 'guffaw' of laughter. His companion, from whom we have the anecdote, inquired what amused him. He said—'I am looking at the miserable hacks of the wretched cabs in which the French members come to their Parliament, look at that horse with a poke of corn at his mouth—and I am thinking of the splendid horses and superb equipages in Parliament Street.' This weakness of character explains the appearance of Dr. Chalmers in London, delivering eloquent eulogiums on the splendours of prelacy. He used to say, that if the bishopric of Durham had never produced any thing but



'Butler's Analogy,' the book was an ample return for all its revenues. But the establishment he defended was a creature of his imagination. It was a church like the Englishman's cottage, through which every wind of heaven may whistle, but which the king must not enter. The shrewd and practical intellect of O'Connell saw clearly the delusions of Chalmers,—the catholic scorned the reverence paid to Anglican episcopacy, the Irish liberal despised the worshipper of the English aristocracy. Mr. O'Connell replied to Dr. Chalmers, at a meeting of the Protestant Dissenters, in a speech full of all his qualities, acuteness, vehemence, and coarseness. London has never heard more impassioned voluntarism, than came from the lips of the great catholic. In the course of the ensuing ten years, the positions of these men became substantially reversed; Dr. Chalmers became practically a voluntary, Mr. O'Connell the clamourer for an establishment. Probably their inward convictions remained unchanged, but their public aspects became just the opposite in both. They thus saw each other always through controversial aspects. Chalmers would turn away from the name of O'Connell with a condemnation of his vituperative coarseness. O'Connell laughed at the practical gullibility of Chalmers. When Dr. Chalmers returned to Scotland, he found the king not merely entering the church, on whose spiritual independence he had been so eloquent, but ordering every thing there, ordination, discipline, and sacraments. He became practically a voluntary, and cast his endowments away from him as dishonourable. He was requested to come up to London and explain the change. When the rumour of his coming was mentioned to Mr. O'Connell, he said, 'To be sure, he ought to come up, and reply to himself, by unsaying all he said. He told us that a religion could not be free without an establishment, and now he should tell us a religion cannot be free with an establishment. I told him, a religion which was not independent was no religion at all, and he has found out that his religion was not independent.' In a few months after this conversation, Mr. O'Connell was, himself, employing the whole of the resources of his eloquence to get his religion made an establishment, or no religion at all. His chief argument was, that the religion of the majority had been established in Scotland with happy advantage, and, therefore, the religion of the majority ought to be established in Ireland. The next time we met him, we twitted him on the change, telling him that the catholics of Ireland were only in the same condition with half the English and two-thirds of the Scotch. His reply was, 'But they have been the majority both in England and Scotland, and they have been established; but my religion never

has been established.' Mr. O'Connell changed the subject immediately, and his manner flashed the conviction into the mind of his friend, that the *Liberator* had abandoned his voluntaryism, and changed his demand of equality for one of ascendancy, in obedience to ecclesiastical authority.

It was reverence for what he understood of the will of God in the Bible respecting the position of Christian churches, which made Dr. Chalmers become practically, though not theoretically, a voluntary. It may have been reverence for what he accounted the authority of God in his church, which made the voluntary O'Connell the advocate of catholic establishment and ascendancy in Ireland. It were equally wrong to blame Chalmers for being a sincere protestant, and O'Connell for being a sincere catholic.

We do not mean these views to be regarded as a final estimate of O'Connell; they are merely observations thrown out as helps towards a just appreciation of certainly the most extraordinary political figure of this era.

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### Brief Notices.

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*The Works of Josephus: a New Translation.* By the Rev. Robert Trail, D.D., M.R.S.A. With Notes, Explanatory Essays, and Pictorial Illustrations. London: Houlston and Stoneman. Parts I.—IV.

THIS publication supplies an obvious and very important desideratum. A pictorial Josephus, well illustrated by the researches of travel and by the skill of art, cannot fail to be in request among a large class of readers. To those who are acquainted with the pictorial works so ably edited by Dr. Kitto—his 'Commentary,' his 'Palestine,' and especially the 'Bible' which is now appearing a second time, and in a greatly improved form—this edition of the Jewish historian is sure to be welcome, as furnishing many supplementary illustrations of the sacred volume. Next to the inspired records, Josephus is confessedly entitled to the attention of every student of the history of Palestine. It is high time, therefore, that his works should be given to English readers, with every improvement and advantage which good scholarship, in combination with the exploring enterprise and the artistic skill of the age, can command. The present edition is designed to accomplish this desirable purpose.

Dr. Traill informs us—'it is his wish to give Josephus anew to English literature, in the spirit of modern'—he should say of *recent* 'historical science;' bringing to bear upon pages, which in themselves are so important, every available means of elucidation, not only with due industry, but in a temper free from solitudes, from predilections, and from party impulses.'

The distinguishing features of this edition, which constitute its peculiar claims to public favour, are the following:—First, we have a new translation. This makes, we believe, the seventh in our language. The one best known is by Whiston, which first appeared in 1737; and it so far surpassed its predecessors as to become the standard version, which distinction it has also maintained for a century. This fact is a strong proof of its general excellence; but we must not infer that the present translation is uncalled for. Dr. Traill is decidedly superior to Whiston in the style, and also in the fidelity, of his version. Some may think the new translation too free, and the style somewhat stilted, but none will question its superiority.

As the second feature in this edition, we must mention the notes and explanatory essays. These are intended to make the reader better acquainted with the personages, the places, and the scenes of the history. In the Parts before us we have an able essay on the personal character of Josephus, with a number of valuable topographical and other notes. All this is very good, but we regret much that the editor has not added brief marginal notes, after the manner of Whiston, in illustration or confirmation of the Bible. Dr. Traill's omission of such marginal comments is to be deplored, for without them his edition will be deficient in one important source of interest and utility.

Lastly, and pre-eminently, our attention is claimed by the pictorial illustrations. These may justly be regarded as the crowning merit of the edition. Respecting them, Dr. Traill says—'the plates accompanying this work, whether they be more or less pictorial and ornamental as to their style and subject, are intended to subserve three distinct purposes.' The first is to aid the conceptions of the reader, by bringing before him graphically the scene of any signal transaction; the second is to furnish direct elucidation or confirmation of particular passages of the history; and the third is to elucidate some points of Jewish archæology, bearing on the scriptures more than on Josephus. The first portion of the work, comprising the historian's autobiography and the Jewish war, is to be enriched with *one hundred and twenty engravings*, most of which are views of the scenes of the history, taken on the spot and expressly for this work, by W. Tipping, Esq.; and executed on steel in a finished style, or in imitation of the original sketches. The remaining plates consist of medallion heads of the chief personages mentioned, and plans of architectural remains, maps, &c. With all that have already appeared we are greatly pleased; and we trust that the remainder will be equally well executed. If a good map of

Palestine, adapted to the time of Josephus, be given, we shall feel really obliged; for no such thing exists as yet, so far as we have seen or heard.

The accuracy of the impression is very creditable. Some errata are, however, to be found; *e. g.* p. iv. ΣΕΒΑΘΗΣ for ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ; p. xvi, *Reize* for *Reise*.

In conclusion, we heartily commend this edition of Josephus to public patronage. It cannot fail to be recognised as the standard work in its department. And it is cheap, considering the excellence of the typographical execution and the cost of the literary and the artistic preparations. The death of Dr. Traill, which we regret to announce, will not hinder the completion of the undertaking. We are happy to find, that Mr. Isaac Taylor, who rendered valuable aid from the commencement, now comes forward as the editor and continuator of the work.

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*Iberia Won: A Poem descriptive of the Peninsular War; with Impressions from Recent Visits to the Battle Grounds, and Copious Historical and Illustrative Notes.* By T. M. Hughes, author of 'An Overland Journey to Lisbon.' 'Revelations of Spain.' 'The Ocean Flower,' &c. London: Longman, and Co., 1847.

MR. HUGHES is favourably known to the public by his books on Spain and Portugal. This work, he tells us, is the result of six years' residence in the Peninsula, devoted to literary pursuits. The climate of the British Islands would be fatal to him, and severe sickness has during the last three years made his life isolated and his habits meditative. His mind having for years been filled with the great Peninsular struggle, he has traversed, at the risk of his life, the whole Peninsula, from east to west, visiting battle-grounds. His task, we agree with him, if ambitious, is honourable. He tries to give us a great historical event in a poetical shape. Though he tries to inculcate a horror of war, he celebrates splendid military achievements. Now, for ourselves, we think the poets have sung the deeds of soldiers quite enough. There are nobler themes unsung. Were we to believe the poets and their preferences, the most heroic men who have ever lived have been professional men of blood. Our want of sympathy with his subject may be the cause of the fault, if our admiration is not great of this poem. Byron seems to have been the poet most familiar to the youth of Mr. Hughes, but he has not caught the wonderful mastery of versification of his master. In fact, when we consider the intelligence which Mr. Hughes undoubtedly possesses, and the proximity to the unseen world in which his peculiarly precarious life is passed, we regret that his mind is full of battle-grounds and military exploits. Had the object of his journeys been to benefit the people of the Peninsula, his conduct would

have been more like the example of Him of whom it was said—'He went about doing good.' God said—'Let there be light and there was light'—is a sentence, the sublimity of which—the grandeur of the act of creation has been frequently admired, but there is a moral sublimity, equally admirable, comparatively unnoticed in the sentence—'He went about doing good.'

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*Crime and Education: the Duty of the State therein.* By the Rev. William J. E. Bennett, M.A. Late Student of Christchurch, Oxford, and Perpetual Curate of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. London: W. J. Cleaver. 1846.

MR. BENNETT has collected in his pamphlet a good deal of valuable and interesting information upon the subject of crime and education. His views, however, are far from being the most advanced of the age. A clergyman who condenses into the following sentence his notions of the duty of the state, has much to learn. 'The toleration of dissent in a reluctant charity: the propagation of the church with an obedient faithfulness.' Such a writer does not know where he is, nor what o'clock it is. At a time when the most powerful elements of society are collecting their strength against all state churches, when the most energetic and determined spirits are banding together for the severance of church and state, to talk of tolerating dissent, and propagating the church, is as wise as it would be to establish a society for the revival of mail-coaches.

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*The History of the Saracens, comprising the Lives of Mohammed and his Successors, to the Death of Abdalmelik, the Eleventh Caliph; with an Account of their most remarkable Battles, Sieges, Revolts, &c.* By Simon Ockley, B.D. The Fourth Edition, revised, improved, and enlarged. London: H. G. Bohn.

THIS work is probably known to but few of our readers. Its author was born at Acton, in 1678, and in 1711, was chosen Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. He died in 1720, and experienced his full measure of the trials of life. His 'History of the Saracens' was published in two volumes octavo, the first appearing in 1708, and the second in 1718. A third edition of the work was printed at Cambridge, in 1757, to which Dr. Long, the Master of Pembroke Hall, prefixed 'An Account of the Arabians or Saracens, of the Life of Mohammed, and the Mohammedan Religion.' The laborious research and sound scholarship of the author have obtained unqualified praise, and insured for his production a permanent place amongst the sterling literature of his country. Gibbon speaks of

him as 'a learned and spirited interpreter of Arabian authorities, whose tales and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times.' The present edition, contained in a single volume, is reprinted from that of 1757, and is enriched with a large number of notes, from the researches of Major Price, Burckhardt, Mills, Lane, Don Pascual de Gayangos, and other writers on Arabian history. A Memoir of the Author, with a Table of Contents and an Index, and other valuable matters, have also been added, and it is intended in a future volume to give a continuation of the history to the extinction of the Bagdad Caliphate. Altogether the work presents a most attractive aspect, and we hope that its enterprising publisher will be rewarded by a large circulation. The sterling character of the history entitles it to a place in *The Standard Library*, to the purchasers of which it cannot fail to prove highly welcome.

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*A Commentary on the Apocalypse.* By Moses Stuart. 8vo. pp. 839. Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart, & Co.

THE biblical students of this country are greatly indebted to Messrs. Maclachlan, Stewart, and Co, for the republication of this work. It is brought out at one-third of the price of the American edition, and is printed with a clear and readable type, on good paper. We need say nothing more in commendation of it than repeat the opinion which we gave in February, 1846, and which was to the following effect:—

'The present work of Professor Stuart is well adapted to excite the inquiring student to fresh investigations. It opens up a mode of interpreting the Apocalypse almost new to the reader. Few English commentators have trodden in the same exegetical path. Following out the method of investigation opened up by Herder, Eichhorn, Ewald, and Lücke, the learned author has been highly successful in the dark and difficult region through which he has passed. Henceforward this commentary must be a standard book in the estimation of impartial and independent inquirers. There is none in the compass of the English, or even of the German language, that can be compared with it in depth of learning, fundamental research, and general correctness of results. The venerable author has laboured long over it—not in vain. As the last great work which the world may expect from his pen—the legacy he bequeathes to the people of God—we accept it with thankfulness. \* \* \* The views developed in it are novel in this land, a circumstance sufficient with many to ensure their rejection. They are contrary to old opinions and current prejudices, and therefore by a species of logic not uncommon, they must be *neological*.—In all the higher qualities which constitute proper commentary, it is pre-eminently abundant. The writer has entered into the spirit of the inspired composition, and shed a welcome light on its dim drapery. Future commentators, grateful for the assistance here afforded, will be stimulated to obtain a clearer insight

into the meaning of the prophet, to correct what is erroneous, and to confirm the characteristic outlines of the exposition now submitted to the public.'

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*Youthful Life, and Pictures of Travel; being the Autobiography of Madame Schopenhauer.* Translated from the German. In two vols. London: Longman, and Co.

THESE small volumes are a translation of the 'Ingendleben und Wanderbilder,' of Johanna Schopenhauer, one of the most popular female writers of Germany. They constitute, in fact, her autobiography, so far at least as she was permitted to execute the plan. She lived to complete only about one-third of her design, and we are therefore indebted to her daughter for supplying some important omissions. The life of Madame Schopenhauer, was full of incident. Born at Danzig, she witnessed the dismemberment of Poland, rejoiced with republican sympathy at the breaking out and success of the American revolution, visited Paris just prior to its fearful tragedy, was present at Versailles, when Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette celebrated, for the last time, the Fête de St. Louis, resided subsequently at Weimar, when the battle of Jena proclaimed to Germany, as with a voice of thunder, the new order of things that was arising, and associated on intimate terms with Goethe and the most distinguished men around her. Such were the opportunities she possessed of obtaining correct and multifarious information, and the style of the present work is ample proof of her ability to improve them. Her descriptions of Danzig, its architecture and institutions, the characteristics of the various people by whom it was visited, its political fortunes and ultimate decline, possess a vivacity and truth not often surpassed, and which cannot fail to charm the intelligent reader. Altogether, the work has more than ordinary attractions. It is the production of an intelligent woman, who has seen the best society, and is well skilled to make use of the information acquired.

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*The Works of Frederick Schiller.—Historical Dramas.* Translated from the German. London: Henry G. Bohn.

So much has lately been written respecting Schiller, that we are under no temptation to enlarge on the theme. He has had many passionate admirers amongst us, but the great bulk of our countrymen know little of his writings. This has resulted principally from the fact that his magnificent productions have not existed in an accessible and popular form. Had it been otherwise, they could not have failed to command universal admiration, for he was at once, as Mr. Carlyle says, 'fiery and tender; impetuous, soft, affectionate; his enthusiasm clothed the universe with grandeur, and sent his spirit forth to explore its secrets, and mingle warmly in its interests.' The present volume, forming the third of *The Standard Library* of his

works, contains, Don Carlos, Mary Stuart, The Maid of Orleans, and The Bride of Messina, four of his most admired dramas. 'Neither labour nor expense,' says Mr. Bohn, 'has been spared in the production of the present volume, and scarcely any sale of it, in this popular form, can reimburse the publisher; but if he should succeed in diffusing among his countrymen a more enlarged appreciation of the beauties of Schiller, he will feel abundantly requited.' We need not say one word in commendation of such an edition. A simple announcement will suffice to induce its purchase by a large and increasing class.

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*A Whim and its Consequences.* In three volumes. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

WE know nothing of the author of these volumes; but whoever he may be, his powers are far from inconsiderable, and his skill in using them indicates a practised hand. His characters are sketched with distinctness, individuality, and truthfulness; the course of the narrative, though shaped for effect, does not so far deviate from the probable, as to awaken painful emotions; the development of the plot is clever; and the moral tone pervading the whole unexceptionable. A few words and phrases might have been omitted with advantage, but if our writers of fiction had usually respected the limits observed by the author of '*A Whim and its Consequences*,' their productions would have escaped much of the censure which they have provoked. The characters of Chandos, Whislom, and of Rose Tracy, of little Tim, and of his Gipsy mother, not to forget William Lockwood, General Tracy, and the hard-mouthed but really kind-hearted surgeon, Woodyard, are drawn with great skill, and possess, in consequence, the power of deeply interesting the reader.

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*Lectures delivered at Broadmead Chapel, Bristol.* By John Foster. Second Series. 8vo. pp. 476. London: Jackson and Walford.

Few of our readers will need a single word to be said in commendation of this volume. The reputation of the author stands too high for this. One feeling only will be excited by its appearance, and that will partake of the nature of satisfaction and thankfulness. It is due to the editor to remark, that the volume is not made up of shreds and patches, the mere refuse of Mr. Foster's genius. On the contrary, the most fastidious of his admirers will read the thirty-five lectures which it contains, with unalloyed satisfaction, and will rejoice that no one of them has been lost. The productions of such a mind are sterling. All of them have inherent worth, and none can be lost without irreparable injury to the best interests of mankind. We thank Mr. Ryland for the pains with which he has edited the volume, and doubt not that it will readily take its place by the other productions of its gifted author.

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*France, her Governmental, Administrative, and Social Organization, Exposed and Considered in its Principles, in its Working, and in its Results.* 8vo. Second Edition. London: James Madden.

WE are glad to see a second edition of this work. It augurs well for the country, and we cordially repeat the strong and emphatic recommendation which we gave it on its first appearance. The author has rendered a European service by its publication, and deserves the thanks of every friend of popular institutions. 'Three years have now elapsed,' he says, 'since the first publication of this work; and yet I have nothing to alter in its objects, in its plan, in the statements and facts which fill it, or in the opinions, judgments, and anticipations or predictions, which it fearlessly, because conscientiously, expressed. Nay, even more, the altered circumstances under which it reappears, render the pursuit of my object more necessary, and convince me that the exposure of the governmental, administrative, and social organization of France is, at this very moment, of still greater importance than it was in 1844.' To our own countrymen the volume supplies an instructive warning, and we trust that its exposure of the centralizing system of France, will put them on their guard against the efforts which are made to introduce the same policy amongst ourselves. The work has some important bearings in connexion with grave questions recently agitated amongst us, and may be studied with immense advantage. It has our warmest approval, and should be found in the hands of every intelligent Englishman. Its veracity defies exposure, while its spirit is at once earnest, high-minded, and largely patriotic.

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*Digest of the Laws relating to Bribery and Treating at Elections of Members to serve in Parliament, and for the better Discovery thereof; illustrated by the Cases decided in the Committees of the House of Commons and Courts of Law. With an Appendix, containing the Statutes.* By James Cook Evans, Esq., Lincoln's-Inn. 12mo. pp. 86. London: Thomas Blenkarn.

A VERY useful volume, to which the friends of purity of election should give a wide circulation. Its appearance just now is opportune, and parliamentary candidates and their friends will do well to secure its extensive currency in their respective circles. Such a publication has been long needed; and the manner in which Mr. Evans has prepared it, does great credit to his diligence and legal research. Nothing more, as Blackstone remarks, is needed, to complete the efficacy of the laws against bribery, 'but resolution and integrity, to put them in strict execution.'

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*Stray Leaves from a Freemason's Note-book.* By a Suffolk Rector. London: Richard Spencer.

THE author is entitled to a commendation which the literary value of his book would not secure, from the fact that the profits arising from its sale are dedicated to charities connected with the masonic order. It consists of a series of papers, some three or four of which have already appeared. The first gives some anecdotes of the late Sir William Webb Follett, when at the school of Dr. Lempriere. The boy was truly the father of the man. Passing over the two following sketches, 'The Soldier Mason,' and the 'The Anti-Masonic Vicar,' we have one on the 'Curse of Talent,' when possessed without regulating principle, as exemplified in the history of Edmund Kean, the end of whose life was unrelieved, even by competency, after having received nearly ninety thousand pounds during his professional career; and by another—whose name we wish had been omitted—though with a very different inference, namely, the lamented Dr. Lant Carpenter. The next chapters are respectively entitled, 'Canning in Retirement,' and 'A Literary Soirée;' of the former we may remark, that the sketch is a very meagre one, and of the latter, that if the persons introduced did talk as they are here represented, we should be compelled to adopt a very different estimate of them to that we entertained. These are followed by a tale entitled, 'The measure meted out to others, measured to us again,' the next to which, and the most curious in the book, 'The Foreign Sorceress and the British Statesman,' is an account of the visit of Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Canning to a mystical lady in Paris, who, in a fountain of water, made to pass before them the manner of their deaths. To these succeed several other papers on various topics which we need not specify, and which will be read with different degrees of interest according to the taste and predilections of the peruser.

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*The Solar System.* By Thomas Dick, LL. D. London: The Religious Tract Society.

WHOEVER presents facts relating to any science in such a manner as enables those, who have no technical knowledge of it, to understand and profit by them, deserves well of the public. This remark applies to the writer of the little book before us, it being designed for those who are unable to bring to its perusal previous acquaintance with the subject of which it treats. To all such we cordially recommend it, not only because it will afford them great insight into the discoveries of astronomy, but because the author, not contenting himself with a description of the wonders around us, has made them an occasion to direct our attention and point out our duty to Him who made us.

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*A New Year's Gift for the Medical Profession.* Bailliere, Regent Street. pp. 58.

A PAMPHLET containing two able articles, one by Mr. Prideaux, of Southampton, in advocacy of the doctrines of phrenology; the other by Dr. Engeldice, of Portsmouth, in defence of animal magnetism. On reading these articles, we felt that a criticism of their contents would be unsuitable to our pages; but to one portion, not essential to the controversy which appears to have called them forth, as it contains a series of observations calculated to throw some light upon, if not to decide, the '*questio verata*' of the physiology of the cerebellum, we must invite the attention of our professional readers. Mr. Prideaux has collected together a number of facts deduced from an examination of 'nearly three hundred brains, comprising those of most of the vertebrata resident in the British Isles,' from which he infers that the lateral lobes of the cerebellum have a direct relation to the development of the cuticular system of nerves; whilst the median lobe is the 'ganglion of the nerves of muscular resistance, conveying a sense of the position of the extremities and the centre of gravity.'

These views are new, and demand the severest scrutiny; should they prove in the end to be incontrovertible, Mr. Prideaux will have to claim for himself the honour of adding a discovery to physiological science, of more consequence, perhaps, than any since that of the reflex function.

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*The True End of Education, and the Means adapted to it.* By Margaret Thornley. Edinburgh: J. & J. Clark.

THESE letters are addressed to a lady entering on her profession as a private governess. They possess great merit, abounding in just and enlarged views, and in important directions. Not only will the work be found valuable to the class immediately addressed, but teachers in general, and parents, may derive important counsel from its pages.

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## Literary Intelligence.

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Compendium of the History of Doctrines. By K. R. Hagenbach. Vol. II. Translated by Carl W. Buch.

THE  
**'ECLECTIC REVIEW**  
FOR SEPTEMBER, 1847.

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ART. I.—*Compendium of the History of Doctrines.* By K. R. Hagenbach,  
Doctor and Professor of Theology in the University of Basle.  
Volume I. Translated by Carl W. Buch. Edinburgh: Clark.

THIS first volume of Hagenbach's 'History of Doctrines' forms the third of Clark's Foreign Theological Library.—When the term 'doctrines' is understood in its restricted acceptation, as meaning, not doctrines in any of the various departments of physical and mental science, but doctrines exclusively in theology, the title of the work conveys, with sufficient precision, the general character of its contents. And to any person who knows aught whatever of the immense extent and the diversity almost endless of the field which the title embraces, as well as of the extremely uninviting nature of not a few portions of it (being such as no one but a 'Doctor Dry-as-dust' could by any feeling of congeniality be tempted spontaneously to explore), it will appear a work, for the undertaking and successful execution of which there were requisite both a large amount of reading and research, and a strong and steadily impressed conviction of ultimate utility. Of the possession of the former of these requisites, in no ordinary degree, the volume before us contains abundant internal evidence. Of the kind and degree of the utility, we may say a little more by and by. We satisfy ourselves for the present with expressing our full concurrence in the sentiment of the translator (pref. p. vi.), that 'the knowledge of what the most eminent theologians of all ages have thought, on points frequently the subject of much controversy, will be found of special use to those

who are desirous of taking any part in such controversies.' The man who should question this, making light of the product of all minds but his own, would not be the worse for a little self-examination on the apostolic admonition in Rom. xii. 3.

By the title, the reader is taught to anticipate, not a record of what are properly the *facts* of ecclesiastical history, but of the various views which, in the course of ages, have come to be entertained respecting the articles of Christian doctrine. The two, however, are in many cases inseparable—intimately and variously interwoven with and mutually affecting each other; the facts giving birth to and moulding the doctrines, or the doctrines generating and imparting character to the facts. Still, it was an important desideratum in the history of Christianity, to give a condensed view of the various shapes it had assumed, as it had been worked upon and modelled by minds endlessly diverse in powers and principles—of the theories which had been broached about this and the other of its doctrinal articles, or its preceptive institutes—and of the controversial wars which had been waged by the opponent disputants. The desideratum, indeed, has been in part supplied by those chapters of such church histories as Mosheim's, that treat of the ecclesiastical *writers* who flourished in the successive centuries of the Christian era, and of the *heresies* by which each period was particularly distinguished. And truly, with regard to a large proportion of the wild and worthless phantasies that are comprehended under this designation of *heresies*, it is quite enough to know that they have had their existence, their larger or smaller number of adherents, and their longer or shorter day. Even thus much knowledge respecting them is hardly worth the trouble of acquisition. It may be got with little benefit, it may be forgotten with little loss. The chief value of it lies in the lessons it contains of human nature—in the light which it throws on the mental and moral character and the spiritual condition of man—a 'light,' alas! which is often and sadly 'darkness.' Other heresies there are, however, of which the subjects, at any rate, are more important, if the speculations about them are not always more rational or more profitable. And for the sake of such discussions, some more systemized and methodical record was desirable of their origin and progress, their alternate retrogressions and advances, cessations and revivals—their extravagancies and their modifications—the names, characters, powers, weapons, and tactics of the combatants, for the right or for the wrong; thus showing amid what various modes and measures of trial the truth of God has had to maintain its ground—through what hosts of enemies, powerful, insidious, and relentless, it has had to fight its way.

Whencesoever it may have arisen (the cause, perhaps, might

be found in certain peculiarities in what may be called the theological character of the two nations), the fact is remarkable, that 'the history of doctrines is a branch of theological science familiar to the German student, but as yet almost entirely unknown in this country.' (Translator's preface). 'In most, if not in all German universities,' the translator adds, 'lectures on this subject are yearly delivered; and a number of compendiums, of various merit, have been published by different writers.' In laying out the entire period of the history, these writers have followed different principles of division, according to the judgment and the taste of each. The number of subdivisions has ranged from three, the smallest, to twelve, the largest. The division adopted by Hagenbach is into *five*. We give these from section twelfth of the introduction:—

'The periods of the history of doctrines are to be determined according to the most important epochs (periods of development) in the history of the theological mind. They do not quite coincide with those adopted in ecclesiastical history, and may be specified as follows:—I. *Period*. From the close of the apostolic age, to the death of Origen (from the year 80-254) the age of *apologetics*. II. *Period*. From the death of Origen to John Damascenus (249-730), the age of *polemics*. III. *Period*. From John Damascenus to the Reformation (730-1517), the age of *systems* (scholasticism, in its widest sense). IV. *Period*. From the Reformation to the abolition of the Formula Consensus in reformed Switzerland, and the rise of the Wolfian philosophy in Germany (1517-1720), the age of polemico-ecclesiastical *symbolik*. V. *Period*. From the year 1720 to the present day, the age of *criticism*, of *speculation*, and of *antithesis* between faith and knowledge, philosophy and Christianity, reason and revelation.'

This division is, in regard to the *number* of the sections, a good medium between the largest and the smallest already mentioned. 'We think it alike inconvenient to make the periods too long, and to have too great a number of divisions.' This is judicious. And, allowing for some little portion of ingenious originality and of fondness for something pointed and antithetical in the division, there must be admitted to be no small amount of general truth in the distinctive characteristics assigned to the successive periods. It would be idle, however, to institute a comparison between the merits of this division and those of others which have been adopted. The mere partition into sections is far from being the most important matter in the execution of such a work. Not, at the same time, that it is without its advantages. Method is useful, wherever it is possible. Judiciously arranged sections are agreeable resting-places to the reader's mind. They are not mere mile-stones upon a road; they are rather the mapping of



the scenery upon a journey. The road must be very monotonous and uninteresting, where we are so little taken up with what is before and on either hand of us, that we are ever on the look out for the mile-stones. But we like to know, in setting out on a journey, the varieties of country and of scenery through which we have to travel; the general characteristics both of the different peoples and of the regions inhabited by them. There is one thing, at the same time, to be guarded against. The reader, when he has looked at the five sections just enumerated, with the characteristic designation of each of the successive periods or *ages*, must beware of imagining, that when he passes from one to another, he is to lose, at each transition, all traces of that which preceded; that when he passes from 'the age of *apologetics*' to the 'age of *polemics*,' for example, between which 'the death of Origen' is the dividing landmark, he is to find *apologetics* laid in Origen's grave, and no traces of them any longer discoverable. Neither is he to fancy that, during the first of the periods, there is to be nothing discernible of the characteristic of the second, nor in the second of that of the third. The 'ages' are, of course, designated from that which, in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the times, happened to be the *most prevalent and remarkable feature* in the aspect of each. 'Thus it happens,' says the author, having previously accounted for it, 'that while in the fourth period the polemical and the scholastical of the second and third periods are repeated, the fifth period has the apologetical tendency in common with the first.' (*Note 7 to Sect. 12.*) Thus, they respectively run into each other; so that, in every one of them, while specially distinguished by its own characteristic, all the rest are, more or less, to be found blended together in an endless variety of proportions. There may be seasons in each of the periods when we might feel somewhat at a loss to determine by which of the distinctive epithets it might most appropriately be designated. Yet, still, we know not that we could have a division founded on more correct general principles, or more in harmony with the true state of things. And, to give the reader a general idea of the character of the book, we cannot, we think, do better than extract the account of these five periods, as contained in the author's notes appended to the enumeration of them. The date of the commencement of the *first* period is not the beginning of the Christian era—the birth of Christ—or even the time of the proper establishment of his kingdom, the day of pentecost—but the *close of the apostolic age*; a date, for which the reason had been given in a previous section:—

'We call this period the age of *apologetics*, because it is best characterized by the great number of apologetical writings in defence

of Christianity against both Judaism and paganism. Its theology is almost entirely of the same description. The controversies which took place within the church itself (with Ebionites, Gnostics, etc.), for the most part arose out of the opposition which Christianity met with, on the part of the Judaizing teachers and pagan philosophers; and accordingly, the activity which was manifested by the church partook more or less of an apologetical character. The fathers of this period were little concerned about systems; and the work of Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, is the only one in which we find some attempt, at least, at systematic theology.

During the *second* period, the conflict proceeds in another direction. Since that, there was little or no occasion for apologetical writings; after the conversion of Constantine, most writers entirely abandoned this field, and entered into questions of a *polemical* nature. The history of ecclesiastical controversies, from the rise of the Sabellian down to the close of the Monothelite controversy, forms one continuous series, the different parts of which are so intimately connected with each other, that it cannot well be interrupted. It is concluded by the work of John Damascenus (*ἐκθεσις πιστεύσεως*). This period, with its numerous conflicts, its synods and councils, is undoubtedly the most important for the history of doctrines, if the importance consists in the efforts that were put forth to complete the building, the foundations of which had been laid in the preceding period.

This period (the third) which we call the *scholastic*, in the widest sense of the word, might be subdivided into three shorter periods. 1. From John Damascenus to Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury: in this period John Scotus Erigenus takes the most prominent position in the west. 2. From Anselm to Gabriel Biel; the age of scholasticism, properly so called, which may again be subdivided. And, 3. From Gabriel Biel to Luther (the period of transition). Generally speaking, mystical and scholastic tendencies alternately prevail during this period; even the forerunners of the Reformation more or less adhere to the one or the other of these tendencies, though they belong, in some respects, to the next period.

We might have fixed (in dating period *fourth*) upon the year 1521, in which the first edition of Melancthon's *Loci Communes* was published, or upon the year 1530, in which the Confession of Augsburg was drawn up, instead of the year 1517:—but, for the sake of convenience, we make our date agree with the one adopted in ecclesiastical history, especially as the *theses* themselves were of importance in a doctrinal point of view. Inasmuch as the distinguishing principles of the different sections of the church are brought out very prominently in the age of the Reformation, the history of doctrines naturally assumes the character of symbolik' (that is, as previously explained of *symbols*, or public creeds and confessions of faith). The ages of polemics and scholasticism may be said to reappear during this period, though in a different form: we also see various modifications of mysticism, in opposition to one-sided rationalism. We

might commence a new period with *Calist* and *Spener*, if their peculiar notions had been generally spread at that time. Such, however, was not the case.

'It may excite surprise, that we make the abolition of the test (formula consensus) in the reformed church of Switzerland, determine the extent of the preceding period (the *fourth*), since no great importance seems to be attached to it. But it is the signal for the overthrow of those barriers which had been erected by the confessions of faith. The Wolfian philosophy, which had emancipated itself from the fetters of scholastic theology, and been brought within the reach of all classes, took its rise about the same time in Germany; while the principles of deism and naturalism (which developed themselves in the preceding period) were spread from England and France into other countries. Thus it happens, that, while in the fourth period, the polemical and the scholastical of the second and third periods are repeated, the fifth period has the apologetical tendency, in common with the first. The question is no more about less important denominational differences, but about the existence or non existence of Christianity. This fifth period, which by no means presents one uniform aspect, may be subdivided into three shorter periods. The first of these (from Wolf to Kant), for the most part, represents the conflict between a stiff and dogmatic form of systematic orthodoxy, and an imperfect enlightenment. The second (beginning with *Kant*), exhibits the efforts which were made in favour of rationalism; which, having no positive creed, is almost wholly restricted to ethics, in order to secure its ascendancy both in science and in the church, in opposition to every form of belief. And, lastly, the third period (which embraces the nineteenth century), presents to our view a picture composed of the most heterogeneous parts, of attempts at reaction and restoration, at idealization and accommodation, and is preparing a new period, of which it forms itself the commencement, but for which history has not yet a name.' (*Introd.* pp. 15—18.)

The volume now before us reaches down to the era of the reformation—that is, it embraces the first, second, and third of the five periods into which the entire history is divided. To follow a work of this description in its minuter details is, of course, out of the question. Having, by the extract just cited, shown the reader the nature of the information he is to expect from it, all that we can do more is, to express our opinion of its general character; and then to pursue, a little more at large, two or three questions and points of general interest suggested by its contents.

In intimating our concurrence in certain sentiments with the translator, we have already conveyed our impression of the utility and desirableness of such a work, as a desideratum in theological literature. And the work under review seems as complete as a work of the kind can well be. It discovers great powers of per-

severing research, and abundant stores of the learning specially requisite for its compilation; and, at the same time, what, amid the immense amount and strange variety of material, valuable and worthless, was peculiarly requisite, a competent measure of a capacity both for judicious selection and high-pressure condensation. It is not at all unlikely that, had it been the production of a theologian of our own country, whether English or Scotch, the differences might have been considerable in the extent of notice and space allotted to the various points of controversy; there being German and there being British predilections arising both from diversities in national temperament, and from influential circumstances in the two countries. From a similar cause, the works referred to, under various heads, are principally, though not exclusively, *German*; a defect in an English edition which, in a great variety of instances, the translator has judiciously supplied.

Two thick octavos, (for a second is to follow like the first), occupied with a 'history of doctrines,' originating out of the Christian revelation! This, assuredly, is somewhat startling. Of *revelation* it must, as its very name imports, be the great object to *reveal*. It seems, therefore a reasonably-required property of a book purporting to be a revelation, that it should make its discoveries in a style sufficiently plain and intelligible,—such as should preclude the possibility of any wide diversity of interpretation. How, then, has it happened, that on so many points of doctrine it has been understood in so many different ways? How comes it, that the professed study of the same little volume should have given rise to views so diversified, and sects so numberless, and to a terminology for the designation of both, which baffles the best of memories, and which, most learned in its etymology and composition, is, even to the scholar, utterly unintelligible, without an acquaintance with the specialities of subject and circumstance out of which it has, in the endless individual instances, arisen? The questions are fair. It appears as if the sceptic had really some occasion to smile sarcastically, and to ask, What has your revelation revealed? Should you not, think you, be the better of a second to explain the first? The sneer, however, may be spared. If it comes not from a more reprehensible cause, it is, at the best, the result of inconsideration. Nay, what if the fact itself by which it is occasioned should be found among the evidences of the truth of the very revelation against which it is directed? First of all, the principle on which the conclusion is drawn holds with equal force against all natural religion, and leads directly to atheism. Look at the analogy. With the volume of revelation compare the volume of nature. In the latter, the

lessons of the being and perfections of the one God, are plain and numberless. They are written in letters of light. Every department of creation is full of them. They are legible on the very surface; and investigation and discovery only add to their clearness. Have men, then, read this volume aright? Have they learned from it the lessons of truth respecting the Creator, which it so clearly, impressively, and universally teaches? Let all the varieties of polytheistic belief and worship, in different countries, and in successive ages, answer the questions. There is no obscurity in the book; no ambiguity in its lessons. 'The invisible things of God, even his eternal power and Godhead, are clearly seen, from the creation of the world, being understood by the things that are made.' This is the declaration of the *second* volume of discovery respecting the perspicuity of the lessons of the *first*; the testimony of the volume of revelation to the volume of nature. If it be admitted to be a true one,—and the intelligent theist, though an infidel, will not question it,—then the cause of its lessons having been so variously, in most cases so falsely, and in all so imperfectly read, must be sought, since not in the lessons themselves, in the characters and circumstances of the learners. If, then, such has been the fate of the one volume, why ought it greatly to surprise—why ought it at all to stumble us, if we find the other faring in a similar way? The learners are, in both cases, the same. The lessons are, in both cases, plain. If, therefore, in the one case, the cause, be it what it may, of the lessons being ill understood, and variously and miserably perverted, lies in the learners, should not analogy fairly lead us, instead of wondering that the same thing should happen in the other, rather to anticipate the coincidence?—to expect to find it so? In revelation, the failure of mankind to read aright the lessons of nature, is traced to moral causes,—to principles of blinding perverseness in the characters of those to whose eyes the lessons are presented. The reason why 'the world by wisdom knew not God,' as there assigned, is, 'they did not like to retain God in their knowledge.' Why, then, should not the same causes produce the same effects, in regard to the volume of revelation, as in regard to the volume of nature,—in regard to the lessons of God in his word, as in regard to the lessons of God in his works? And there are *two ways* in which the fact that so it has been, contributes to prove the divinity of the revelation. The first is, that the perversions of the truth, in all its variety of articles, are the subjects of prediction in that very revelation; so that, had they not, even to their very extremes of absurdity and profligacy, as well as of well-meaning weakness, taken place, one proof of its truth would have been wanting, and an evidence of its falsity

would have been furnished. And the second is, that the fact itself, of the correspondence between the treatment experienced by the volume of revelation and that of nature, being, in both cases, traceable to the same causes, only supplies a further exemplification of the truth of the former in the account it gives of the apostate condition of man's nature, and the hardening and blinding influence of his principles of depravity, and alienation from God. The same authority which says, in reference to the lessons of nature,—‘They did not like to retain God in their knowledge,’—says also, in reference to the discoveries of the gospel, ‘Light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.’ The treatment is the same; the moral cause is the same.

‘An historical development of the doctrines of Christianity,’ observes the translator in his preface, ‘cannot fail to be regarded as highly interesting and instructive by every thinking mind, and especially by every divine who would not rest satisfied with the simple and unqualified reception of the peculiar doctrines of the creed adopted by his denomination.’ ‘The history of doctrines,’ says the author in the first sentence of his introduction, ‘is that branch of theological science which exhibits the gradual development of the doctrines [dogmas] of the Christian church, the various aspects they have assumed in the course of time, and the changes they have undergone, through the influence of civilization in different ages of the world.’ We might have been disposed to pass over the phrases—‘the historical *development* of the doctrines of Christianity—the gradual *development* of the doctrines of the Christian church,’ without any objecting comment, were it not that, when taken in connexion with certain other modes of expression in the work, they appear to convey a very objectionable sentiment. The only ‘gradual development’ of these doctrines was that recorded in the Bible itself; where we have their early, partial, and comparatively obscure discoveries, and their progressive manifestation, from the first promise till the completion of the apostolic record in the fulness of time. In the completed scriptures, the doctrines are fully embodied, and permanently stereotyped. While we have admitted the justness of the sentiment respecting the utility, to the student of theology, of the knowledge of what has been thought, on controverted points, ‘by the most eminent theologians of all ages,’ we feel ourselves bound to contend that the true utility must be limited by the one question—how far such knowledge contributes to the distinct and full ascertainment of what is contained in the scriptures. There lies the truth. There lies the only genuine theology.

Whatever serves to throw light, to the student's mind, on any portion of what is contained there, is useful, and no farther;—whatever brings out clearly and consistently its real import. There is—there can be—no progress, no 'gradual development,' in Divine truth itself. A 'history of doctrines' can be no more than a history of human views of what is itself Divine. Since 'the vision and the prophecy' were 'sealed up' in Patmos, the completed revelation has been the depository of all Divine truth that God intends men to know. There can be no new truth added; nor can any improvement ever be made on a single article of Bible doctrine. All improvement is deterioration; all advance retrogression; all alteration corruption. We remember being struck, long ago, in reading over the *Contents* of the late venerable Dr. Bogue's 'Essay on the Credibility of the New Testament, with the title of one of the sections—*Men never get before the New Testament*. In successive ages human writers, whatever the subjects of their treatises, make advances on each other. The next work throws the former into the shade, and puts it out of date. But this is a book which men never 'get before.' It does not contain doctrines for which better may be substituted, as men advance in discovery and in wisdom. It does not contain mere germs of truth, which men are to cultivate and bring to their maturity. On every point of which it treats it contains 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.' And all that is necessary to a man's having in his mind a perfect system of theology is, his having a clear and full understanding of what is IN THE BOOK. The science of theology is, in this respect, very differently circumstanced from any other, any merely human science. An analogy, we are aware, has been contended for, between Divine revelation as the repository of Divine truth; and nature, or the works of creation, as the repository of the facts and principles of science. It is by the investigation of these repositories, respectively, that the contents of each are discovered and unfolded. In this view, it has been alleged, theology may be justly styled a progressive science, as well as others. But there is an obvious and mighty difference between the two cases. The analogy is anything but fair. In nature, or the works of creation, we have merely the materials, from which, by observation and experiment, the facts of natural science are to be ascertained, and its theoretical principles to be reasoned out. In Divine revelation, on the contrary, we have a direct statement of the facts and principles themselves. They are not, it is true, laid out in systematic order; and, in as far as mere arrangement, classification, reduction to system, is concerned, the analogy between the two cases is a just one. It is in the one particular of *discovery* that it fails. A statement of

principles, and a mere exhibition of materials, by the examination of which principles are to be, not methodised only, but elicited, are two very different things. The grand discovery of revelation is the work of human redemption. Suppose, then, we had been made acquainted simply with the *facts* of that work, and we had been left to find out the doctrines from the facts, the analogy to the finding out of the principles of science from nature would have been more correct. Grant that the task would have been more difficult; grant, if you will, that it would have been impossible; still it would have been the same *in kind*. As it is, revelation contains the facts and the truths together; and not only some of the truths, from which the rest are to be inferred, but *all* of them; leaving us nothing to do in order to complete the science of theology, but to understand their meaning, to connect them with the facts, and to bring the whole into systematic, or mutually dependent, order. In this there is nothing that, with any propriety, can be called *progress*. Had we been in possession of *an inspired treatise on nature*, containing at once a reference to phenomena, and a statement of the principles which these phenomena involved and exemplified; then would our task, in regard to such a treatise, have been the same as that required of us in the case of revealed theology. It would have been, not to evolve principles from the phenomena for ourselves, as we have now to do, but simply to understand and believe those which were divinely dictated.

We do feel the importance of contending for the absolute entireness, and the unimprovable perfection, of Divine revelation, as contained in the Holy Scriptures. The sentiment of *Tertullian*, as adduced by Mr. Taylor in his 'Ancient Christianity,' vol. i. pp. 93, 94,—we regard as far worse than inadmissible,—as reckless and presumptuous in no ordinary degree. When our Lord said to his apostles, just before he left them. 'I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now: howbeit, when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all truth;' we understand him as announcing that it was not from himself, during his personal ministry, that they were to receive that fulness of knowledge by which they were to be qualified to be the commissioned teachers of mankind, but from the illumination of the promised Spirit after his return to the Father; and we believe ourselves to have the result of this perfect enlightenment in the New Testament scriptures, written by these 'Holy men of God, as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.' But, according to Tertullian, the period of 'the Comforter,' thus promised by Jesus, was the period of the church's history subsequent to the apostolic age; as if the system of



Divine truth were then to continue going onward to its maturity. Religion, according to him, was 'first, in its rudiments only, nature surmising something concerning God; then, by the law and the prophets, advanced to its infant state; then, by the gospel, it reached the heats of youth; and now, by the Comforter, it is moulded to its maturity:'—language which, when connected with the whole tenor of his representations, is justly interpreted by Mr. Taylor as meaning, 'that Christianity, as revealed and verbally expressed, in the canonical writings, is a mere sketch, or rough draft, of that mature truth, which, by little and little, was to be granted to the church, through the medium of its doctors, and under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.' Alas, for the *progress*! alas, for the *maturity*! How soon did it become a progress backward! how very speedily, a maturity of imbecile and drivelling dotage!—all that was of real worth being that which was taken from the apostolic writings, the great proportion of the remainder teaching only the humiliating lesson of the *unmistakeable* difference between human and divine. O, the change, when we make the transition from the apostolic to even the least exceptionable of the patristic theology! It ought, in this our day, to be the first aim of every servant of Christ, to bring back the church to the one and only standard of theological truth, by making his appeal, in all cases of controversy, exclusively to it, and, with stern and immovable determination, refusing either to make or to answer appeals to any other authority whatever.

We cannot say we relish the frequent recurrence, in the 'History of Doctrines,' of the phraseology adverted to,—'*the development of the doctrines of Christianity*,'—'*the stages of their development*,' &c.:—because, if the word '*development*' is used as representing 'the various aspects they have assumed in the course of time, and the changes they have undergone through the influence of civilization, in different ages of the world,' it is used in a sense hardly, if at all, defensible; the term, in its proper acceptation, signifying the gradual unfolding of any truth, or system of truths, towards its full discovery; and because, if this latter be at all the meaning designed, in the present case, to be expressed by it, it is a meaning the most false in fact, and pernicious in tendency. We are inclined to think too, that the distinction between '*Biblical* theology' and '*dogmatic* theology,' is unfortunate for a similar reason. 'Dogmatic theology,' if we mistake not, is a designation, in our own country, of equivalent import with *didactic* theology, or the theology of *doctrines*; sometimes used in distinction from *polemic* or *controversial* theology, and sometimes from *practical* or *preceptive*. As distinguished from *biblical* theology, it cannot, of course,

signify anything else than the theology of *human opinions* with reference to *biblical* or *Divine truths*. But human opinions are not theology at all, any further than as they coincide with the Divine truths. These alone are *θεολογια*. And every student of theology is a successful student, just in proportion as he attains to a clear, comprehensive, connected, and consistent familiarity of acquaintance with this; even although not one of the numberless *δόγματα* of human schemes should ever have come to his knowledge. And we are confirmed in our apprehensions respecting this distinction, by the statement made in explanation of it.—Sect. iii. pages 4, 5.

‘The history of doctrines presupposes biblical theology—and the theology of the New Testament in particular—as its basis; in like manner as the general history of the church presupposes the life of Christ and the apostolic age. Those writers who reduce theology in general to biblical theology, and exclude dogmatic theology altogether, consistently look upon the history of doctrines as a mere appendix to biblical theology. But in our opinion, biblical theology is only to be regarded as the *foundation-stone* of the edifice; the history of doctrines as the historian’ (the record?) ‘of its *progressive construction*; and dogmatic theology as the builder who is still engaged in its *completion*. It is no more the object of doctrine history fully to expound all the doctrines of the Bible, than of ecclesiastical history to give a complete account of the life of Christ and his apostles. But as the history of primitive Christianity is the only solid foundation and starting-point of church history, so the history of doctrines must rest upon and begin with the theology of both the New and Old Testaments.’

There is not a little here to which we seriously demur. We do not like it. We greatly dislike it. We vehemently deprecate the adoption of any such principles by the students in our theological seminaries,—the rising ministry of our churches. What? Is it, indeed so, that we have only the ‘foundation’ of our theology in the Bible,—its beginning,—its first principles? Was it only the ‘foundation-stone’ of the structure of doctrines that was laid by the inspired apostles; while subsequent generations were to continue to build upon it,—the historian reporting progress of its rise,—until at length, by successive additions and improvements, it should be completed? To render such a system consistent, one of two things seems necessary,—either that the apostles were *not inspired*, or that all subsequent theologians *were inspired*. The foundation and that which is built upon it, must have the same authority. There can be no congruity, no harmony, otherwise. We must earnestly contend, that not the ‘foundation-stone’ only, but the entire temple of Divine truth, from its base to its topstone, is to be found in the

Scriptures. Or, if the same image under another form be deemed more correct, the stones are all there, squared and fitted for their respective places in the sacred structure, and bearing legible marks of their relative positions; while to us is assigned the task, by study and prayer, of rightly adjusting them, and bringing out, by such adjustment, the Divine symmetry of the whole. But not one atom can we admit of additional doctrine; not one interstice to be filled up with material of our own. All must be Divine. There are 'the first principles of the doctrine of Christ;' and there is the going on unto perfection.' But the 'perfection' is not our own, any more than the 'principles.' It means the full knowledge of the system of Christian truth, of which all the parts, resting on the principles, and rising out of them, are alike Divine with the principles on which they rest. What presumption in any other view of man's province in regard to Divine truth! Well might we apply to every idea of man's carrying on the structure of which God, in his word, had only laid the foundation, the pointed question of the apostle—'Having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh?' What a Babel of a building to be sure, we should have, were it thus left to human rearing and completion! Were all the inconsistent and opposite dogmas of human theology (theology 'falsely so called') to have the honour of introduction into the edifice, as it rose towards such completion! The '*Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam*,' etc., would be congruity itself in comparison with this. The 'relation' of the 'history of doctrines' to '*symbols*'—that is, to the creeds and confessions of faith of various bodies bearing the common designation of Christian;—and its 'relation to *patristics*,' that is, to the doctrines taught by the early fathers;—and its 'relation to *heresies*,' or deflexions from the truth,—(Sections 4, 5, and 6, of Introd.), these and other relations we regard as of comparatively less moment. They are but the relations of human to human; the authority of the *symbols*, the *patristics*, and the *heresies*, being in one respect the same—all human authority alone. But the 'relation to *Biblical theology*,' is a very different matter. It is a relation of *human* to *Divine*. And we must repeat our protest against the idea of the 'history of doctrines,' as being the history of the progressive rearing of a human superstructure upon a Divine foundation. We regard all theological learning as having its utility, not in enabling its possessor to lay a single new stone in the edifice of Divine truth, thus establishing his claim to a coveted *originality*, but solely as qualifying him to bring out, fully and luminously, the system of doctrine contained in the inspired volume. 'All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable

for instruction, for conviction, for reformation, and for education in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works:—that is, that the Christian minister may be completely fitted for the due fulfilment of all the functions of his charge. An extensive and enlightened acquaintance with the inspired word, in its various departments and their relative bearings upon each other, is what, according to Paul, constitutes this ministerial fitness; and the nearer to completeness this acquaintance, the nearer to perfection the fitness. It is to this, then, we repeat, that all theological learning should be made to contribute; and by the amount of this that its value should be estimated. Even '*patristics*'—the source, from the misapprehension of the place they should occupy, of some of the most perilous errors of our day, are of no further value than as human helps to the right understanding of what is Divine. On their worth, in this respect, we may offer a remark or two immediately. But into the place of that which is Divine, they must not be permitted to intrude; nor must they be allowed the most distant approximation to authority. There never was a time since the reformation, when we were more imperatively bound to adhere ourselves, and to urge adherence on others, to our great protestant motto—THE BIBLE,—THE BIBLE ALONE.

While, however, we regard the entire mass of the 'history of doctrines' as worthless, unless it contributes to bring out, in luminous distinctness, and well-defined relief, the theology of the word of God,—the only theology, as we have said, that deserves the name,—we have, at the same time, admitted, that the study of it is not without its advantages. These are stated by the author, in Section 9th of his introduction, in the following terms:—

'The importance of the history of doctrines, in a scientific point of view, partly follows from what has already been said:—1. It forms one of the most important branches of ecclesiastical history. 2. It serves as an introduction to the study of dogmatic theology. But it is no less useful in a moral and practical aspect. On the one hand, it exerts a beneficial influence upon the mind of man, by placing before him the efforts and struggles of others in relation to their most important concerns. On the other, it is of special use to the student of theology; for it will preserve him both from that one-sided and rigid adherence to the letter, which may be styled false orthodoxy, and from the adoption of daring, superficial, and hastily formed opinions—false heterodoxy and neology.'

It is added in a note:—

'The importance of the history of doctrines, in both these respects, has frequently been overrated. The various parties in the church

have either appealed to it in support of their peculiar views, or dreaded its results.'

This is all true ; both the representation of the benefits, and their qualification by that of the contrary hazards. Our sole object should ever be, truth. There is an attachment to our own opinions, simply as our own, which, how natural soever, is unworthy of the lover of truth. When we either appeal to the 'history of doctrines' for support to what is our own, or 'dread the result' of such appeal, because it may tell against what is our own, the state of mind is essentially the same, and is, in either case, alike to be deplored. It is, in the one case, the preference of what is *ours* to what is *true* ; and in the other, it is the dread of what is *true* for the sake of what is *ours*. The dread of truth ! How strange ! Yet, alas ! how common ! and among no class of men more so, perhaps, than among controversial theologians, especially after they have respectively committed themselves, in public, to the support of their distinguishing views. The principle, however, by which we ought to be invariably influenced, is, that even our enemy is our best friend, when he is the instrument of displacing error in our minds, and introducing truth. If controversy were conducted in *this* spirit, it would be invariably a blessing ; and the two evils would effectually be avoided—a headstrong and tenacious one-sidedness, and a superficial, speculative, presumptuous rashness. Yet there is a *one-sidedness* that is right, and to be aimed at. It is implied, indeed, in this very desire and pursuit after truth. While we carefully examine both sides, and all sides, our object, unquestionably, must be, that we may find the *right* side ; and that, having found it, we may keep it. Our supreme desire should be, to be of one mind with God. When we have once, with satisfactory clearness, ascertained the lessons, on any subject, taught by him in his word, one-sidedness ceases to be a fault, and becomes a virtue. Having 'proved all things,' we must hold fast that which is good.' There is a steadfastness in the profession, and a decision in the maintenance, of what we have thus ascertained to be Divine, which is enjoined on believers as one of the essential virtues of their character. Unless, in the study of the 'history of doctrines,' this end is steadily kept in view ; namely, the end of having the mind ultimately settled, to its own satisfaction, in the discovery and belief of Bible truth, the poor student will be kept in that most unhappy and most prejudicial of all states of mind—afloat, on a sea of unsettled and conflicting elements, driven hither and thither by the alternately prevailing force of different authorities, and of the deference that is felt to be due to each ;—a

false humility, a morbid self-diffidence, precluding all decidedness and all consistency. Let the one sincere and unvarying aim ever be, to arrive at *the mind of God in his word*. Let this aim be prosecuted, while with becoming self-distrust, yet with an equally needful spirit of independence, with the humble but firm determination '*nullius in verba jurare magistri*,' and with earnest and guileless prayer for Divine illumination;—and then, the discipline will be salutary, and the result satisfactory and happy.

It is almost a truism, that 'the advantage which may be derived from the study of the 'History of Doctrines,' depends, more or less, on the mode of its treatment.' It necessarily must, to a very great degree; we might almost say entirely. According to 'the mode of its treatment,' must it be for benefit or for harm. To the inquirer who has not the means and opportunity (and how very few have!) of tracing all out for himself, in the original sources of information, such a history cannot fail, according to 'the mode of its treatment,' to prove either, on the one hand, a valuable guide to settlement and safety, or, on the other, a 'light' that only 'leads to bewilder,' leaving him who unwarily commits himself to it, a prey to universal scepticism, or the victim of a heartless infidelity. It is added:—

'That method alone is correct and useful, which clearly represents the constant change which the definitions of doctrines are undergoing, while the great and essential truths which they teach remain the same in all ages, and shows, in a philosophical manner, the connexion between the external causes of that change and the internal dynamic principle. Although it cannot be said that nothing but the prevailing notions of the age, differences of climate, personal feelings, passions, court intrigues, priestly impositions, and the fanaticism of monks, have determined the character of dogmatic theology, yet we should not wholly set aside their influence. They have not *made* the dogma, but they have assisted in giving it the form in which it has come down to us.'

We must own that here we have 'sat puzzling our puppy brains' about the precise meaning of more things than one. If, indeed, our author means, that under the different 'definitions of doctrines'—an expression, by which we understand the variations of expression in which they are conveyed—the doctrines themselves, 'which they all teach, remain the same;' this would be sinking the value of such a history to a very low price indeed. A *doctrine* is not a selection of words merely, but the *sentiment* which that selection embodies. It is in the sentiment, not in the words, or the verbal definition of it, that the worth lies. The view, we fear, is far too flattering, which makes the differences merely verbal. It cannot be doubted, that the changes

have been much more essential than in mere terminology. The sentiment has been changed—essentially changed. The vital verities of the gospel have been subverted, and robbed of all their saving virtue, under professed ‘definitions’ or statements of them. Are we, by the ‘*internal dynamic principle*,’ to understand the inherent saving power of divine truths? And amidst all the changes, produced by the operation of external causes, in the definitions of those truths, are we to conceive of this ‘dynamic principle,’ this saving power, as remaining the same? Then is there more than enough for our taste, in such a representation, of a flattering and sentimental charity; and we fear the ‘philosophy’ would be a ‘science falsely so called,’ that would attempt to demonstrate the remaining power, under all the varieties of definition. If, however, by ‘the *external causes*’ of doctrinal ‘changes,’ and the ‘*internal dynamic principle*,’ are to be understood, the circumstances in history by which such changes are influenced, and the deep-seated tendencies in human nature by which they are really produced, the distinction is intelligible and important, and the connexion between the two, in various cases, a subject for really philosophical discrimination. We shall understand this, therefore, to be the intended meaning. We cannot but demur, however, to what appears to us the over gentleness with which the modifying effect of the external causes enumerated in the latter part of the preceding citation is expressed; ‘although it cannot be said that nothing but’ these ‘have determined the character of dogmatic theology, *yet we should not wholly set aside their influence.*’ Gentle, indeed! especially when among these modifying causes are included, priestly impositions and the fanaticism of monks! These, it is alleged, ‘have not *made* the dogma,’ but only assisted in giving it the form in which it has come down to us.’ We are not, we confess, so charitable. We believe that by ‘priestly imposition and monkish fanaticism,’ dogmas have not only been modified, but *made*—actually *invented*, for their own selfish purposes. We do not think any one at all conversant with ‘the depths of Satan,’ disclosed in priestly and monkish history, will pronounce this an unduly severe verdict. We are verily persuaded, that priestcraft and monkery did set themselves to make experiments on human credulity; trying how far it would go; succeeding even to their own amazement; getting bolder by success; enlarging the masses of absurdity, in proportion as they found, and were delighted to find, the width and the elastic expansibility of its gullet; smiling in their sleeve all the while, as they saw how easily larger and larger went down; adding, at every successive prosperous attempt, to their own money-making power, and to the extent and absoluteness of their ambitious and enslaving

domination. No doubt, in conducting such experiments, they watched every symptom indicative of the tendencies of the public mind, with a view to determine the particular department of doctrine or of worship in which, at the time, an experiment was likely to prove most successful; putting out feelers in different directions, and, with a cunning that seldom mistook its aim, following out their schemes of gulling and delusion, with all assumed sanctimonious gravity in their dealings with the people, but with many a wink, and shrug, and knowing smile, and chuckling laugh, among themselves. The facts of history, perhaps, do not admit of our regarding *transubstantiation*—that *ne plus ultra* of human gullibility—as having been purely such an invention; seeing there are approaches to be found to the doctrine of the real presence, as founded in the literal interpretation of the Lord's words, 'This is my body,' among the fathers of an earlier age; yet nothing could be more appropriate to the purposes of priestly and monkish craft, than the existence of such approaches. To that craft the minutest hint was enough to work upon. Let but the idea suggest itself, and nothing was wanting, either in the resources of its own inventive ingenuity, or in the imbecility of the minds on which it had to practise, to enable it, by degrees, to reach that '*ultima Thule*' in the traffic of religious imposture.

There is one general question in reference to such investigations as those which have given birth to the volumes of this 'History of Doctrines;'—the question, namely, how far the knowledge acquired by them be sufficient to compensate for the time and toil expended in its acquisition. The few remarks we are about to offer on this question, have more immediate reference to the early periods of the history. To what extent they may be found applicable also to the later, may hereafter appear. In his very able and original work on 'Ancient Christianity,' Mr. Taylor contends for the propriety of every theological student—every aspirant at the Christian ministry—labouring through the many ponderous tomes of patristic theology, as well as the lighter ones of later periods. He compares the studies of the 'thoroughly furnished' divine, with those of the accomplished lawyer. 'At a time,' says he, 'when, in the pursuit of secular interests, men of all professions are making unheard-of efforts, and are undergoing labours which our fathers did not dream of, ought it to be considered as a great thing if those to whom the preservation and defence of sacred truth have been committed, should be expected to make themselves masters of the subject they have to do with? The perusal through and through of the Greek and Latin writers of the first six centuries, is a labour not to be compared with those under-



gone in the course of his education and early practice by every accomplished lawyer?' (Vol. i. pages 33, 34.) Be it so. Yet the question is a fair one, whether the cases be parallel. The laws of a civilized and free country are ever undergoing changes. Old ones are repealed, and new ones substituted. Some, without direct repeal, become in practice, obsolete. Others, from time to time, are altered and modified, both in their prohibitions and requirements, and in their sanctionary penalties. They are seldom all, for any long period, entirely stationary; and in some seasons and countries—as in our own in the very age in which we live—the changes are many, rapid, and great. There are, moreover, so very many modes of misinterpretation and evasion to which the clashing interests of clients have given rise, that the lawyer requires to be in full possession, not of a knowledge of LAW only, but of precedents, of discussions and decisions in similar cases, of authorities, and commentaries, and whatever else can qualify him to cope with an acute opponent. But make the supposition that the laws of a country were embodied in one volume, and that they were all permanently fixed. What would be the duty of the lawyer then? Would it not be, in the first instance, to bend his earnest and undivided attention to the study of that volume itself,—and to read and study other volumes, only so far as they might contribute to his clear and complete understanding of the contents of it? and then, to the practical application of the principles and precepts of the book to particular cases? Would not all beyond this, if not an absolute waste of professional time and labour, be, at all events, something beyond the range of what the claims of duty demanded of him? Now, such is the position of the *divine*. And, in regard to him, the question comes to be, whether the study of the fathers,—of the works embodying what is termed '*Ancient Christianity*,' be really of sufficient value, simply as a means of clearly understanding *Bible Christianity*, as to warrant the outlay of the time and the toil? These, be it remembered, are no joke. In the list of books prefixed to Mr. Taylor's own volumes, as having contributed to their production, we have no fewer than *one hundred and fifteen folios*, besides hosts of quartos and minor craft! Now, if it be necessary that every well qualified theologian go through all this, by all means, let it in every case be done. We cannot but think, however, for our own parts, that the time may be spent somewhat more profitably. When, indeed, at any particular period in the church's history, a crisis arises, to render such a searching investigation necessary, for the exposure of particular heresies, which by their prevalence, are threatening mischief to the interests of true religion, then is it the incumbent duty of

such servants of Christ as possess the ability and can command the means, to devote themselves to the task. And when that task has by any one been executed thoroughly well, he lays the entire Christian community under a debt of gratitude. Such a debt we regard as due to the author of the work just referred to. And in all such cases, the amount of the debt should be estimated by the degree in which the investigation is made to result in fixing and deepening the impression of the indispensable necessity of bringing every thing whatever, relative to Divine doctrines and Divine institutions, to the one and only test of *canonical revelation*; on the principle, that whatever passes under the designation of apostolical *tradition* would have been apostolical *record*, had the Holy Spirit intended it to be part of either the faith or the law of the church in subsequent ages; and that nothing was intended to be obligatory, in belief or in practice, but what was thus put on record by inspired men;—so that under the new, as under the old economy, there might be a definite appeal ‘to the law and to the testimony.’ Recent facts in our own country testify too plainly, that, in proportion as *the fathers* are made of consequence, *the apostles* (the *grand-fathers*, as in this connexion they have facetiously been called), are in danger of being lost sight of;—that in proportion as there is much ado made about the *ancient church*, the *most ancient*, the church as constituted by the apostles, and as exhibited in the New Testament as the model for after times,—is apt to be undervalued and overlooked. And nowhere need we seek for more satisfactory evidence than in the volumes of ‘Ancient Christianity,’ of the sad and utter futility of the assertion,—‘an assertion ten thousand times repeated, and seldom examined,’—‘that whatever is found near the apostolic times must be apostolic.’ (See *Vol. i. p. 545.*) For the ascertainment of certain points of questioned fact, an appeal to patristics may be of occasional use, though even here a little caution and jealousy is far from being out of place:—but really, as to doctrine—Christian doctrine, or even such information as might help to the clearer understanding of it, the encouragement to the study is miserably small indeed. Ever, as the reader advances through that masterly work, he meets with exemplifications of this; not only in the disclosure of such an amount and variety of early corruptions as renders a constant use of the sieve of the canon indispensable, to separate the precious from the refuse,—but in the extreme scantiness of aught that is worth the finding. Let us just give one specimen. In *Vol. i. p. 112*, the following sentence is quoted from Clement of Alexandria, who took more correct ground as to the completeness of scripture than Tertullian:—‘The kingdom of God is not

meat and drink :—and in like manner a genuine humility consists in meekness of soul, not in the maceration of the body ; so, and in like manner, (true) continence is a virtue of the soul, and relates to that which is hidden (in the heart), not to the outward life ;—not surely a very original and profound sentiment, but sufficiently simple and common-place. The author, however, adds :—‘ Just so much good sense and Christian truth as this it is hard to meet with in whole folios of the fathers ! ’ What a mighty incentive to the ‘ *noctes diesque* ’ perusal of those folios ! From the same and other authorities we are tempted to quote largely to the same effect ; but the temptation must be resisted :—and the more especially, that we wish to avoid producing an impression in the opposite extreme, as if no good at all was to be got from the line of study under notice. The fathers, without doubt, have their value. But truly we could not regard it as less than a criminal misspending of time, —if the preceding testimony is even an approximation to sober truth, (and it is the testimony of a most impartial as well as eminently qualified witness)—that students should be compelled to labour through such folios, winnowing with their ‘ shovel and fan ’ the wheat from the chaff, at this rate of a grain to the bushel :—or, with their spades, and mattocks, and hammers, their sieves, and tests, and blowpipes, and crucibles, to toil in a mine, where they might dig, and break, and wash, and analyse, and fuse, and at the end of the day, be one grain of pure gold the richer ; while that grain they might have found, with ounces and pounds more, by an hour’s careful and critical study of their New Testaments. If, indeed, the good these folios contain must be had, and must not only be had, but be had *direct from them*, it is very clear that nothing but exhausting labour can find it. Let the labour, then, be given. ‘ *Nocturnâ versate manu, versate diurnâ.* ’ To our common sense and utilitarian views in such matters, however, it does appear, that if all the sound thinking attainable by such labour may be come at equally well by an easier and more expeditious process, there ought to be some other end in view than such acquisition to justify the labour. And we are far from denying that other ends there are ; and ends that are never without their measure of worth, and of which the worth, in particular seasons and circumstances, may even rise to a high point in the scale of value. We trust that among the rising ministry no one will allow himself to be tempted to the task for the mere reputation of *learning*. The real value of learning, in the estimate of a faithful servant of Christ, lies solely in the use that can be made of it. He who employs time and toil in rendering himself a *learned* man, which, employed otherwise, would more effectually render

him a *useful* man, is unfaithful to his Master. There are few things more important than the right appreciation of learning. There are some who spend their whole lives in acquiring it, in amassing hoard upon hoard;—as if it were the object of life to try how much may be got in a given time; not how much good may be done with it, or to what uses it may be turned as it is acquired. It is get, get, get; all getting and no giving. This is of a piece with the mania by which some are possessed in the mercantile world—the mania of money-making;—with whom life's problem is—how they may *die rich*—*how much they can be worth* in the world, before the moment comes when they must leave it. There is one material difference between the two cases; and, strange to say, it is in favour of the *rich* rather than of the *learned* man. The rich man leaves his amassed treasures behind him; so that, although to himself they have been of little use while he lived, and now are of none, they are not lost; others may use them, and use them well. But he who has been acquiring learning all his days, without expending it in its appropriate uses, leaves nothing behind him. He carries all with him. There is no bank for deposits of learning, as there is for lodging silver and gold. So far as his fellow-men are concerned, therefore, the money-hoarding miser does most good. And, should it be thought an advantage on the side of the miser in learning, that he carries his mental stores away with him—as being treasures that belonged to the immortal mind—there are two serious deductions to be made from this advantage;—the first, that the large proportion of what he had acquired is of a nature to be of little use to him, in all likelihood, in the world to which he is going;—and the second, that, in common with the man of wealth, he carries with him to that world the guilt (unthought of by him here, it may be, but noted in his account with his Divine Master,) of not having laid out his acquisitions for the good he might have accomplished by them, where and when, alone, they could be available. Let it not be forgotten, that mere *learning* is not *wisdom*; that wisdom is learning or knowledge, in union with the disposition and ability to make a right use of it.—Neither let it be forgotten, that there is an opposite extreme to that which has just been described. If there are some who are ever getting and never giving, there are some too, who would fain be ever giving, while they are never getting. They are fond of preaching, but not of reading and study. Such young ministers may be well-meaning;—but they are under the influence of a miserable mistake. *Itinerants* they may be, and useful ones; but efficient *pastors* they can never be. They may preach the simple elements of the gospel, from place to place; but for the constant regular instruction of the

same flock, they are utterly unfit. He must be an extraordinary man who has resources in himself for such a work, that render him independent of reading and study. Barrenness, tameness, sameness, triteness, irksome and unprofitable repetition, must be the almost invariable result of such presumption. There are some too, who, by way of honouring the Bible, make it their rule to study nothing else,—not even such human helps as may fit them for understanding and illustrating its contents. This also, though a better extreme than his who, neglecting the Bible itself, studies only human opinions about it, yet is still an extreme, and an extreme which, while it professes to put honour upon the Bible, indicates no small measure of self-sufficiency. We put most honour upon the Bible, when we manifest our impression of the value of a full and clear comprehension of its contents, in the diligent application of all accessible means for the attainment of it. The present question is, in what degree the study of the patristic writings is really serviceable towards this end. And on that point we say no more. One thing is clear,—that never were writings put more thoroughly and impiously out of their place, than when these are set up side by side in oracular authority with the writings of apostles,—and apostles regarded as only *primi inter pares* with the doctors of the early church. Most heartily do we acquiesce in the desirableness of the result, anticipated by Mr. Taylor as likely to arise from the re-action of 'the zeal of the Oxford Tract writers, in disabusing the public mind of the inveterate illusions that have so long hung over the fields of Christian antiquity,'—namely, '*the compelling of the Christian church, henceforward, to rest its faith and practice on the only solid foundation.*' (Anc. Christ. vol. i. p. 103.)

Similar impressions cannot fail to be made on the reader's mind in perusing the earlier portions of the work now before us—the 'age of *apologetics*' extending to the middle of the third century, and the 'age of *polemics*' reaching towards the middle of the eighth. The fact stated by Neander, in his church history, is quoted in a note by the translator as a remarkable one—and a remarkable one it is:—'The remarkable difference between the writings of the apostles and those of the apostolic fathers, who are yet so close upon the former in point of time, is an extraordinary phenomenon of its kind. While in other cases such a transition is usually quite gradual, in this case we find a sudden one. Here there is no gradual transition, but a sudden spring; a remark which is calculated to lead us to a recognition of the peculiar activity of the Divine Spirit in the souls of the apostles.' (Note to Sect. 26, p. 52.) It is, indeed, a humiliating truth. How soon, how very soon, does it become

altogether unsafe to follow any guidance but that of the inspired writers! Nor need we marvel greatly at this, considering the allusions we find to rising heresies even in the writings of the apostles themselves. If, even in their own days, 'the mystery of iniquity' had begun to work, we have no reason to wonder at the more rapid development of its antichristian principles after they were gone. When we close the last of the canonical writings, we are not safe one step beyond them. We can place no sure faith in those 'oral traditions' which it is here represented as 'a part of the task of the first church to preserve;' nor attach to them the smallest measure of authority, when we look at the mass of corruption, both in doctrine and in discipline, which began so very early to prevail. We must stick to the CANON—not to any human interpretations of the canon, but to the canon itself, as 'given by inspiration of God.' In *Hagenbach*, as well as in *Taylor*, we find plenty of proof what miserable helps were the very earliest of the fathers to the right understanding of that canon. How full they are of what is jejune, and fanciful, and contradictory! For example:—in showing the mode of argument made use of by the 'Christian apologists' of the first age—of whom he says, that in their defences of Christianity against both Jewish and Gentile opponents, 'it must be admitted they not unfrequently indulged in arbitrary and unnatural interpretations, and that some of their expositions of the types and figures of the law are, in a high degree, fanciful,'—he introduces in a note the following specimens.—

'Ep. Barn. C. 9. The circumcision of the three hundred and eighteen persons by Abraham (Gen. 17.), is represented as a mystery which was made known to him. The number three hundred and eighteen is composed of three hundred, and eight, and ten. The numeral letters of ten and eight are I and H ( $\eta$ ), which are the initials of the name, *Ἰησοῦς*. The numeral letter of three hundred is T, which is the symbol of the cross! And Clement of Rome, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, which is generally sober enough, says that the scarlet rope which Rahab was admonished by the spies to hang out of her window, was a type of the blood of Christ. Ch. 12. Likewise Justin Martyr—Dial. cum Tryph. sect. 111. According to him, the two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, are types of the Jewish and Christian dispensations; the two goats on the day of atonement, types of the two advents of Christ; the twelve bells upon the robe of the high priest, types of the twelve apostles, etc. . . . Irenæus sees in the three spies of Jericho the three persons in the Godhead. Advers. Hæret. 4, 26. It would be easy to multiply these examples ad infinitum.' (*Notes to Sect. 29. pp. 65, 66.*)

It does not appear, from such specimens, that proximity in time to the apostles was a guarantee for sound judgment and

sober-mindedness. Even were there anything in regard to which, among such interpreters, there was perfect unanimity, how many such united judgments would it require to make up an authority meriting to be placed on a par with that of one of 'the twelve apostles of the Lamb?'

We are sorry to be constrained to confess ourselves not a little scandalized at the manner in which we find these inspired ambassadors treated in the volume before us. It is far too much, for our taste, in the terms we are accustomed to apply to persons who are writing their own opinions, or recording respectively their own views of the Christian doctrine. Thus, sect. 18, p. 34 :—'We find in the writings of *some of the most talented amongst them*, traces of a system of Christian doctrines.' And this is represented as arising from the fact that, although, 'like their Master, they were far from propounding dogmatic systems,' yet 'they had made the doctrine primarily taught by Christ himself *the subject of theoretical consideration and contemplation*, as their hearts and lives practically bore witness to the truths they had received, and his spiritual nature had been renewed and, as it were, personified in them.' Now, while it is at once admitted, that their inspiration was not of a nature to obliterate characteristic idiosyncrasies of mental constitution and of corresponding style and manner, yet to us it does appear more than hazardous to speak of them as if they gave in their writings the results of *their own investigation* of their Master's doctrines. 'If we speak of the apostolic doctrine in general, we have to bear in mind that we do not refer to the *twelve apostles, of whose doctrinal views we possess but very imperfect knowledge*.' By such language, the reader is naturally led to think that, had we writings of others than those who have actually written, their doctrinal views might have been found to differ. And thus again :—'If the first epistle of Peter is genuine, it is undoubtedly of greater importance, in the dogmatic point of view, than that of James, *who gives an undue prominence to practical Christianity, and scarcely once refers to the doctrine of Christ*, though he occasionally evinces a profound acquaintance with the nature of faith, and the Divine economy. But dogmatic ideas appear in the writings of Peter more as a vast mass of materials, which are as yet in their rough state. *In vain we look in his writings for that decided originality, the stamp of which is so manifestly impressed upon the works of John and Paul.*' The last sentence in italics is so marked by the author, and is quoted from *De Wette*; but his own expressions are in the same strain. And it is a strain which we own ourselves unable to transcribe, without emotions of indignant impatience. It is truly a very 'free and easy' strain in which to write of inspired men—men who wrote as well as 'spoke as

they were moved by the Holy Ghost!' That the Spirit made use of different instruments in unfolding the different departments of Divine truth, one more especially for the doctrinal and another for the practical, selecting them according to reasons of his own, need not be questioned. But in every department, they were all one. When we speak of '*originality*,' there is suggested the idea of a greater amount in exercise of philosophical and inventive genius, working out something which a mind of inferior rate would not have thought of; and to charge an inspired writer (whichever of the two Jameses he might be), with 'giving *undue prominence*' to any department of his subject, we must regard, to say the least of it, as a very censurable specimen of *undue boldness*. It smacks more than enough, for our liking, of the school of German rationalism.

Nay, we cannot say that we are over fond of the way in which our blessed Master himself is, in this respect, spoken of. We like well enough the representation of that which he 'brought to light' as being 'something which, in relation to the past, was new and original'—(unless, indeed, by these terms it be meant that previously to the fulness of time 'life and immortality' had been altogether unknown, in which case we should seriously demur)—'and in relation to the future is theoretically perfect, and does not stand in need of any correction or improvement:'—but when he is represented as 'indeed adopting many notions already in existence, especially the Mosaic doctrine of one God, and, perhaps, to some extent the prevailing opinions and expectations of the age, concerning the doctrine of angels, the kingdom of God,' etc., we cannot say we at all relish it. 'God, who at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.' We like not to have this Divine Messenger—not only divinely commissioned and attested, but himself Divine—thus talked of in the terms we should apply to a philosopher, framing a new system and forming a new sect, and, like an *Eclectic*, culling from previous systems, and from the existing opinions and speculations of the day. We are too old-fashioned and puritanical to endure this. 'The Mosaic doctrine of one God,' which he thus 'adopted,' was the elementary doctrine of all religious truth, which He himself, as that one God, had revealed and confirmed. The 'angels,' about whom, too, he 'adopted' some of the 'prevailing notions,' were his own 'ministering spirits,' who had been from the beginning, and were now more than ever to be, employed in his service. And, as for 'the kingdom of God,' instead of his 'adopting' the 'expectations' which prevailed concerning it, these expectations were the very errors against which his whole ministry was directed. They



were the results of the misinterpretation of prophecy, through the perverting influence of a spirit of worldly-mindedness. To such conceptions and expectations he not only gave no encouragement;—the birth, and life, and character, and teaching of Him who ‘grew up as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground, who had no form nor comeliness, nor any beauty in him that men should desire him,’ were at perfect antipodes to everything of the kind. He inculcated, both upon his disciples in his private intercourse, and upon the general mind in his more public ministrations, views of his kingdom, as ‘not of this world,’ as spiritual and heavenly in its entire character—in its principles, its blessings, its aims—in its origin, and in its destination. With what propriety ‘the Great Teacher’ could be said to ‘adopt,’ and that ‘to some extent, the prevailing opinions and expectations of the age’ on any subject, and above all in regard to ‘*the kingdom of God,*’ we are at a loss to imagine; when the very end of his coming was, to correct the anti-evangelical corruptions of a false Judaism, and to erect a kingdom the very opposite in all its characteristics of what that false Judaism had fondly imagined to itself; and that, too, by means of a life and a death, such as it had not ‘entered into its heart to conceive.’

When we come forward to ‘*the age of polemics,*’—that is, as it is described, the space of time during which the polemics of the church developed themselves in a much more remarkable manner, than either the apologetical tendency of the preceding, or the systematic tendency of the next period, we find stated two important points of difference between it and the age preceding.

‘While, in the preceding period, all heretics separated from the church, as a matter of course, we now see them striving for the victory; and it was for a long time uncertain which party would gain it. Orthodoxy, however, prevailed at last, partly from an internal necessity, partly through the assistance of the secular power, and the coincidence of external circumstances. Thus it happened that, in after ages, orthodoxy appeared as an obligation which man owes to the state; heresy, on the contrary, was considered a political crime.’ (*Second Period. sect. 79, p. 224.*)

Without stopping to institute any inquiry respecting the truth of the former of these statements, as a point of *fact* in the history or in the discipline of the early church—the church, from the close of the apostolic age till the middle of the third century; that is, to inquire whether, up to that date, it *was* really the case, that ‘all heretics separated from the church as a matter of course,’—a statement which implies, or rather asserts,

he condition of the church to have been, till then, one of eminent doctrinal purity,—more so, it might, with some plausibility, be contended, than even during the apostolic age itself; we satisfy ourselves with observing, that, supposing both this and the second of the two statements correct in point of general fact, neither of the changes was a change for the better. With regard to the first, we hold that *separation* is every way preferable to *schism*. When the '*orthodoxy*' was really such,—that is, when it was *conformity to scripture*; and when the heresy was, in its subject and its degree, such as to affect the essentials of the Christian faith, and so to warrant exclusion from the Christian fellowship; then what could be more desirable, or more in harmony with apostolic precept and precedent, than '*heretics separating from the church as a matter of course*'? It was no improvement, when schism took the place of separation; when the heretics, instead of '*separating as a matter of course*,' asserted their rectitude, and their right to an ecclesiastical status; and the war, even on points of fundamental truth, was waged and prosecuted within the camp. Such was the case with the Arian and Pelagian controversies, both included in this period; the one affecting the fundamental doctrine of Christ's divinity, and the other the equally fundamental doctrine of man's depravity. And then, what are we to say of the means by which orthodoxy '*prevailed*' in the '*strife for victory*'? It was '*partly from an internal necessity*,'—a phrase to which we feel somewhat at a loss to affix a sure and definite conception; and it was '*partly by the coincidence of external circumstances*;' but it was also '*partly*' (we fear we must, in some instances at least, say chiefly) '*through the assistance of the secular power*.' Alas for the day, when the interference of the civil authority was first appealed to for the settlement of points in theology, and the constitution of the church; when orthodoxy was determined, and heresy suppressed, at the point of the sword, by the superior force of contending princes, not by the force of truth! It was no part of the credit and glory of '*orthodoxy*' to '*triumph at last*' by such means. Civil interference, by the coercive power of pains and penalties and threatened extermination, and by the requirement of certain religious principles as the ground of claim and title to civil immunities, was an innovation which opened wide the way for the introduction of the whole system of the '*man of sin*.' In that system, it is true, the state of things was in a great measure reversed. Instead of the civil assuming the power (in compliance with the unworthy appeal of contending parties in the church) of settling points of ecclesiastical faith and order, it became the ambition of the ecclesiastical to bring civil authorities to its feet, and, on the pretext of the

superiority of the spiritual to the temporal, and the plea that the higher should include the lower, to dictate to kings and emperors; to become the arbiter of their disputes, and the judge of their claims to their crowns and dominions; and thus to lord it over a prostrate world. All arose out of the church-and-state connexion, the harlotry of the nominal spouse of Christ with the kings of the earth. What a Pandora's box of mischiefs did this connexion prove, to both the one party and the other in the unhallowed union!

Under this period, too, we may remark, the connexion between the facts of 'ecclesiastical history,' and the doctrines of 'dogmatic theology,' becomes even more than before, intimate and inseparable. We can easily separate, for example, both mentally and in statement, the facts regarding the prelatie and imperial feuds, what may even be called the civil wars of Arianism, and the Arian tenets as the subjects of controversial discussion. But to keep the tenets and the facts distinct, in a historical narrative, does seem to us next to an impossibility. They are so necessarily blended together, that a record of the facts, apart from the tenets, and even from some particulars, at least, in the discussion of the tenets, would be unintelligible. The facts affected the discussions, and the discussions reciprocally the facts. No 'Church History,' therefore, could be complete without an interweaving of the history of the one with the history of the others. And, for a similar reason, a 'History of Doctrines,' in as far as it is strictly and properly historical, would require to blend the record of facts with the record of tenets. The difference can be only one of *degree*. In the one case, the primary object being to record the facts, the tenets and their discussion are made the least prominent, being introduced only so far as is necessary to link the facts together, and to explain their causes and their results; and in the other, *vice versa*, the facts become the least prominent, and find a place only as they serve to illustrate the nature, or to account for the progress and retardation, and for the changes, whether in the way of modification or aggravation, of the doctrines. Our difficulty is, if possible, still greater, in fancying the 'History of Doctrines' as distinct from 'dogmatic theology.' In sect. ii., p. 4, it is stated, with all correctness, that 'the history of doctrines properly constitutes a part of ecclesiastical history,' but that it 'is now separated from it, on account of its wide extent, and treated as a particular science.' Of *this* separation we have just spoken. It is added, 'The history of doctrines further forms the transition from ecclesiastical history to dogmatic theology, properly so called;' and in a note, 'Many think that the history of doctrines is a kind of appendix to dogmatic theology, rather

than an introduction to it. But this opinion is erroneous,' etc. It strikes us, that something plausible might be said for each of these opinions. But, passing this, here is the difficulty we feel. 'Dogmatic theology' is distinct from 'biblical theology;' the latter relating to the contents of the Bible, the former to human opinions regarding those contents. A 'history of doctrines' is a history of these opinions. But can a *history* of these opinions, such as merits the designation, be given, without some account of the manner in which each has been introduced by its originator, assailed by his opponents, and defended by his followers? And in that case, must not such a history be, to a great extent, not an introduction to dogmatic theology merely, but dogmatic theology itself? When the student sets himself down to the investigation of the *dogmata* in the *theology*, must not a large proportion of his studies consist of the very statements, assaults, and vindications, that have already come before him in the *history*? And must not the 'history of doctrines,' considered as 'an introduction to dogmatic theology,' come to be very much an introduction to itself, and a 'transition' from itself to itself?

Various have been the divisions of the science of theology, or of a theological course of study, proposed and followed by professors of eminence. The subject is somewhat tempting; but we must forbear even their statement, and, still more, the discussion of their comparative merits.

In the opening of this second period, also, we have brought before us 'the principal points on which the councils had to decide, and to express their opinions in confessions of faith,—the three main pillars of the Christian system'—expressed by the three terms, 'THEOLOGY, CHRISTOLOGY, and ANTHROPOLOGY.' The etymological import of the terms is at once sufficiently apparent; doctrines relating to God, to CHRIST, and to MAN. It is, however, unfortunate, when it happens (and it does frequently happen) that a term has a meaning already affixed to it different from, and more comprehensive than, that which it bears in its special and distinctive appropriation. Thus it is here, with the word *theology*, the first of the three. It is already in use for the entire system of religious truth—and even more extensively still, as including those '*polemics*' by which truth and error are severed; so that, in its ordinary and established acceptance, it embraces both the other departments—*Christology* and *anthropology*. A question also naturally suggests itself, namely, why should there not be a *fourth* pillar, consisting of doctrines relative to the *Holy Spirit*? These are surely as essential in the Christian system as the others. Nor is it enough to reply, that doctrines respecting the Holy Spirit are included under the first of the three, *theology*; the doctrine concerning

*God* embracing, of course, what relates to the trinity of person in the Godhead, of whom the Holy Spirit is one. For, since the scheme of redemption is the grand theme of Divine revelation if all that relates to the province of the Holy Spirit in that scheme may, with propriety, be brought under *theology*—then, on the same principle, might all that relates to *Christ*; the assumption of our nature for the redemption of man being a part of the province of the second person of the same trinity. The *four* pillars would thus be—*theology*, *christology*, *pneumatology*, and *anthropology*. Or, perhaps, the structure of doctrine might be still more complete were a *fifth* introduced, and the arrangement altered:—*theology*, or doctrines concerning *God*; *anthropology*, or doctrines concerning *man*: these two embracing, along with all that relates to the existence and attributes of the One God his tri-une personality,—and all that revelation teaches about the creation and the original character and condition of man with his fall, and his fallen state, and liabilities: and the *patrology*, *christology*, and *pneumatology*, as comprehending the relations respectively sustained, and the parts appropriately acted, in the Divine plan of man's recovery, by Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

A similar objection would lie here against *pneumatology* with that just mentioned against *theology*; and another objection might well be found in the multiplying of the *sesquipedalia verbi* of our theological terminology. Of these, we have quite a sufficient surfeit in the work before us; and, indeed, in all works of a corresponding description. When we leave our New Testament, and get among the systems of learned theologians, the contrast, especially in some instances, is prodigious. And nowhere may it be expected to be more so than in a 'History of Doctrines;' in which we have not the exposition of any one system merely, but a digest of all that have successively been propounded. The mind, whose religious conceptions and language have been taken from Christ and his apostles, is utterly bewildered in such a work as this. It is in a new region. It 'hears a language which it understands not.' 'The simplicity that is in Christ' is gone. It sickens at the change. We hardly can stand it ourselves. And it does come to nausea with us when we find, as to such an extent we do, the magniloquence of high-sounding Greek and Latin composites associated with such wretched 'small ware' of thought—with the veriest crudities and inanities, the most exquisite specimens of undiluted absurdity, which it is conceivable (and hardly that) should ever have found formation in even the most scantily furnished, or perversely fashioned, of human pericraniums.

But we feel that we must forbear, and make a pause. Th

remarks we have made have run on to an unanticipated length. A 'History of Doctrines' is, from its very nature, so suggestive of general principles, as well as so replete with the topics of special discussion, that it is not easy to get over it perfunctorily. The *second volume* of the work, in its English dress, is now published; and we shall reserve for another notice the contents of it, together with the remainder of the first.

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ART. II.—*History of Greece.* By George Grote, Esq. Vols. III. and IV. London: Murray, 1847.

MR. GROTE has speedily redeemed his pledge of two more volumes on Grecian history, by which we are carried down to the battle of Marathon; and although an elaborate review of his labours would be unsuitable, some notice of them, in connection with our remarks on his former volumes, may not be unacceptable to our readers.

The great variety of political life to which the peculiarity of the little Grecian world and its richness in instruction are owing, has drawn after it several disadvantages to the historian. The accounts of all, except two or three principal states, are very fragmentary. They cannot be made into substantive histories; they do not fit in well to a general history; and yet they must not be left out. Many chapters on such topics, in a complete work like that before us, must remain locally joined, and yet not very intimately connected, with the rest of the narrative; as if bound up in the same volume for the sake of reference only. Nor is much unity attainable for the history of Greece, until the country is threatened by the Persians. We regard it, therefore, as beyond human skill to throw interest into all the details concerning secondary towns; which, in proportion to the fidelity and fulness of the writer, are apt to tire the patience of the reader. Confessing that we have found a certain proportion of tedium in Grote, as in Thirlwall, Malkin, and every one else who has dealt with the subject, we must add that no one thing strikes us so much in the work before us, as the freshness with which he has invested his discussions. After poring so long as we have done over these topics, it has seemed as though a new writer, however capable of *instructing* us on disputed points, would scarcely be able to *interest* us much. Yet, in the main stream

of the history, Grote carries his reader along with him most successfully. This depends, in part, upon the independence with which he has re-considered the received views on almost every point, and the perfect command which he has of all the materials, with the power of combining them at pleasure. By this, he constantly throws novelty on what is old, and brings out vividly what before was dim. At the same time, his own untiring eagerness, and the deep interest with which he is obviously inspired, communicate themselves to the reader. Like all successful modern historians of the ancient world, he starts from a familiarity with modern constitutional politics as essential prerequisites to give us insight into the working of the old republics; but solicitously points out and insists upon the particulars in which they were contrasted with us. He defends the Athenian democracy against Mitford, Xenophon, Plato, and Socrates, as warmly as Sir E. L. Bulwer and as successfully as Thirlwall; and so far as his present volumes reach, there has been little need of anything but *panegyric*. In the later portion of the work, we take for granted that this will be sobered down into *apology* and *palliation*; but from the expulsion of the Peisistratidæ to the battle of Plataea, the light of Athens burns so pure and brilliant, that nothing else in antiquity can compare to it. A few extracts may display Mr. Grote's style and genius:—

'The primitive sentiment entertained [by the Greeks] towards the heroic king died out, passing first into indifference, next—after experience of the despots—into determined antipathy. To an historian like Mr. Mitford, full of English ideas respecting government, this anti-monarchical feeling appears of the nature of insanity. [But] . . . . the hatred for kings, as it stood among the Greeks, was a pre-eminent virtue, flowing directly from the noblest and wisest part of their nature. *It was a consequence of their deep conviction of the necessity of universal legal constraint.* . . . . The conception which the Greeks formed of an irresponsible One, or of a king who could do no wrong, may be expressed in the pregnant words of Herodotus: 'He subverts the customs of the country; he violates women; he puts men to death without trial.' No other conception of the probable tendencies of kingship was justified either by a general knowledge of human nature, or by political experience, as it stood from Solon downward: no other feeling than abhorrence could be entertained for the character so conceived; no other than a man of unprincipled ambition would ever seek to invest himself with it. Our larger political experience has taught us to modify this opinion, by showing that under the conditions of monarchy in the best governments of modern Europe, the enormities described by Herodotus do not take place; &c. . . . [Even] to Aristotle, this [constitutional liberty under a king] could not have appeared otherwise than unintelligible and impracticable; not likely even in a single case, but altogether

inconceivable as a permanent system, and with all the diversities of temper, inherent in the successive members of an hereditary dynasty. When the Greeks thought of a man exempt from legal responsibility, they conceived him as really and truly such, in deed as well as in name, with a defenceless community exposed to his oppressions; and their fear and hatred of him was measured by their reverence for a government of equal law and free speech, with the ascendancy of which their whole hopes of security were associated; in the democracy of Athens, more, perhaps, than in any other portion of Greece. And this feeling, as it was one of the best in the Greek mind, so it was also one of the most widely spread; a point of unanimity highly valuable amidst so many points of dissension.'—vol. iii., p. 15.

On the old and new demagogues, Mr. Grote writes:—

'The demagogue despots are interesting, as the first evidence of the growing importance of the people in political affairs. The demagogue stood forward as representing the feelings and interests of the people against the governing few, probably availing himself of some special cases of ill usage, and taking pains to be conciliatory and generous in his own personal behaviour; and when the people, by their armed aid, had enabled him to overthrow their existing rulers, they had thus the satisfaction of seeing their own chief in possession of the supreme power, but they acquired no political rights, and no increased securities for themselves. . . . . A remark made by Aristotle deserves special notice here, as illustrating the political advance and education of the Grecian communities. He draws a marked distinction between the early demagogue of the seventh and sixth centuries, and the later demagogue, such as he himself, and the generations immediately preceding, had witnessed. The former was a military chief, daring and full of resource, who took arms at the head of a body of popular insurgents, put down the government by force, and made himself the master both of those whom he deposed, and of those by whose aid he deposed them; while the latter was a speaker, possessed of all the talents necessary for moving an audience, but neither inclined to, nor qualified for, armed attack; accomplish all his purposes by pacific and constitutional methods. This valuable change—substituting discussion and the vote of an assembly in place of an appeal to arms, and procuring for the pronounced decision of the assembly such an influence over men's minds, as to render it final and respected even by dissentients—arose from the continued practical working of democratical institutions. I shall have occasion, at a later period of this history, to estimate the value of that unmeasured obloquy which has been heaped on the Athenian demagogues of the Peloponnesian war—Kleón and Hyperbolus; but assuming the whole to be well founded, it will not be the less true that these men were a material improvement of the earlier demagogues, such as Kypselus and Peisistratus, who employed the armed agency of the people for the purpose of subverting the established government, and acquiring despotic authority for themselves. . . . .



The railing demagogue of Athens, at the time of the Peloponnesian war, was thus a less mischievous and dangerous person than the fighting demagogue of the earlier centuries; and 'the growth of habits of public speaking' (to use Aristotle's expression), was the cause of the difference. The opposition of the tongue was a beneficial substitute for the opposition of the sword.'—*Ib.*, p. 29.

In regard to the legislation of Solon and Kleisthenes, Mr. Grote holds several opinions of his own, which he urges with characteristic ardour and with great force of reasoning. He holds that Solon is so far from having enacted the complicated jury system of Athens, that it scarcely came into extensive operation until Pericles introduced the juror's pay. Kleisthenes, according to him, admitted all citizens of the first three classes to public office, but still excluded the fourth class; who were only introduced by a law of Aristides, passed shortly after the battle of Plataea. The institution of choosing archons by the *lot*, which the orators seem to refer to Solon, Grote postpones still later than this law of Aristides. He also believes that Solon intended his laws to be perpetual, and had no idea of putting into the hands of the lower people the right of revising and changing them at pleasure by a commission of legislation. In all this subject, Grote is considerably at variance with Thirlwall; and (great as our obligations to the latter writer), it may without disrespect be said, that his successor here shows an intellect less embarrassed by its own erudition, and full of more independent energy.

Several important chapters in the third volume, and two in the fourth, are devoted entirely to the civilized or powerful nations exterior to the Grecian world, or on the horizon of their knowledge:—Lydians, Medes, Scythians, Cimmerians, Phœnicians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, and Persians. As long as Grecian literature is the medium by which they are known, our historian displays his habitual accomplishments. On to the ambitious field of earlier Egypt he had no temptation to obtrude himself; and certainly it does not occur to us to blame him, that he borrows nothing from the discoveries of modern hierologists. But it does occasionally appear to us, that he has not so maturely considered the evidence of the Old Testament on some of the topics discussed. Against Mr. Fynes Clinton he seems always disposed to run a tilt; and as regards the early chronology, a certain weakness in him may be conceded to Grote; but sometimes we think that the latter overdoes his opposition. For example (p. 303), Clinton fixes the revolt of the Medes from the Assyrians to B.C. 711, *by scripture*, as he says; which, we apprehend, merely means, that we know

by the scripture (2 Kings, xvii. 6), that the Medes were subject to Shalmaneser, and that their revolt is not likely to have happened until after Sennacherib lost his great army in the Judæan campaign. Nor is this all: but from Isaiah xxii. 6, we learn, that *Elam* and *Kir* (Elymæans and Kourds, or Armenians), were in the host of Sennacherib; which can hardly have happened, if the revolt of Media had as yet taken place. That revolt drew after it a severe and unsuccessful war on the part of the Assyrians, who tried to re-subdue them; which will account for the quiet enjoyed by Judah for some time after the retreat of Sennacherib. All this amounts to a high probability that the revolt of Media was very soon after that event; especially as we know that Babylon at the same time revolted, and its king sent ambassadors to Hezekiah. But Mr. Grote seems to think that it is only by a tradition, or a fancy of *Josephus*, and not at all by Scripture, that we hold Shalmaneser to have held sway over Media. So far, then, we defend Mr. Clinton; but when he says that we have 'the united testimony of the Scripture and Herodotus' that Nineveh was destroyed by the Medes *and Babylonians*, we abandon him to Mr. Grote's strictures.

In the discussion concerning the Chaldæans, we think our author inadequately understands the reasons which induce nearly all the learned Germans to treat them as a more *northern* people than the Babylonians. As Mr. Grote finds them always spoken of by the Greeks as 'the *priestly* order among the Babylonians,' he takes for granted that they were always thus; but nothing is more manifest in the books of Kings and Chronicles than that, in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, they were a nation of *warriors*. In the book of the prophet Habakkuk, they are first introduced to us as a new and conquering people. Nor do we even there as yet find their name in connection with Babylon: Jeremiah again and again calls them *a nation from the north*; and all agree that Ur, of the Chaldees, whence Abraham came, was in Northern Mesopotamia. As therefore Xenophon speaks of Chaldees in Armenia, it is probable enough that this people, like the Elymæans, lived partly on the mountains and partly had spread over the underlying plains. Whether they were of Syrian, Kourdish, or even Scythian language and extraction, is quite another question. For ourselves, we see no ground to imagine that they were Scythians, which we are disposed to call a mere fancy; but that they were a rude and new people *from the north*, we unhesitatingly believe; and it seems beyond reasonable doubt, that the same Scythian irruption, which prostrated for the moment the empires of Media and Assyria alike, set the Chaldees free to a series of marauding expeditions, which ended in their possessing themselves of Babylon. That they so easily coalesced

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with the old inhabitants, implies, perhaps, a community of language; and after the Persian conquest, though they were naturally deposed from their military position, they invaded the chief offices of the priesthood, and gave to the later Greeks the belief that the Chaldees alone were priests of Babylon.

On the uniting power which art gradually came to exert over the Greeks, Mr. Grote speaks thus:—

‘The immense development of Grecian art subsequently, and the great perfection of Grecian artists, are facts of great importance in the history of the human race; but in regard to the Greeks themselves, they not only acted powerfully on the taste of the people, but were also valuable indirectly as the common boast of Hellenism, and as supplying one bond of fraternal sympathy, as well as of mutual pride, among its widely dispersed sections. It is the paucity and weakness of these bonds which renders the history of Greece, prior to 560, B.C., little better than a series of parallel, but isolated threads, each attached to a single city; and that increased range of joint Hellenic feeling and action, upon which we shall presently enter, though arising, doubtless, in great measure, from new and common dangers, threatening many cities at once, also springs, in part, from those other causes, which have been enumerated in this chapter, as acting on the Grecian mind. It proceeds from the stimulus applied to all the common feelings in religion, art, and recreation;—from the gradual formation of national festivals, appealing, in various ways, to tastes and sentiments, which animated every Hellenic bosom;—from the inspiration of men of genius, poets, musicians, sculptors, architects, who supplied more or less in every Grecian city, education for the youth, training for the chorus, and ornament for the locality; from the gradual expansion of science, philosophy, and rhetoric, which rendered one city the intellectual capital of Greece, and brought to Isocrates and Plato pupils from the most distant parts of the Grecian world. It was this fund of common tastes, tendencies, and aptitudes, which caused the social atoms of Hellas to gravitate towards each other, and which enabled the Greeks to become something better and greater, than an aggregate of petty disunited communities like the Thracians or Phrygians. And the creation of such common *extra-political* Hellenism is . . . [to be dwelt upon] the more forcibly, because the modern reader has generally no idea of national union without political union; an association foreign to the Greek mind.’—vol. iv., p. 134.

Mr. Grote’s warm *panegyric* on the ostracism, certainly at first took us by surprise. We have been accustomed to consider that institution as an extreme resource; necessary perhaps on a very few occasions, yet liable to abuse so manifest, that a constitution which needed the law lay justly under a heavy reproach; and as it was never used in Athens after the ostracism of Hyperbolus, we were sceptical of its ever having been really wanted. Mr. Grote however has forcibly pointed out, that,

while the democracy was new, the case was very different; and has convinced us that Kleisthenes was right in instituting it, though we still believe it would have been well if Aristides had abolished it immediately after the Persian war. What was useful *in terrorem* for the first thirty years of the new constitution, was afterwards (it appears to us) of disservice, in teaching rival statesmen to aim at banishing one another, instead of forcing them to tolerate each other's constitutional influence in the 'opposition.' Athens would not then have been so able to play the despot in Greece, and her whole history might have been altered by it. But the reader shall hear the chief part of Mr. Grote's argument, although it is too long to quote the whole.

'All the governments of the Grecian cities, when we compare them with that idea which a modern reader is apt to conceive of the measure of force belonging to a *government*, were essentially weak; the good, as well as the bad; the democratical, the oligarchical, and the despotic. The force in the hands of any government, to cope with conspirators or mutineers, was extremely small, with the single exception of a despot, surrounded by his mercenary troop; so that no tolerably sustained conspiracy or usurper could be put down, except by the direct aid of the people, in support of the government, which amounted to a dissolution, for the time, of constitutional authority, and was pregnant with reactionary consequences such as no man could foresee. To prevent powerful men from attempting usurpation, was therefore of the greatest possible moment; and a despot or an oligarchy might exercise preventive means at pleasure, much sharper than the ostracism, such as the assassination of Kimon, directed by the Peisistratids. At the very least, they might send away any one, from whom they apprehended attack or danger, without incurring even so much as the imputation of severity. But in a democracy . . . . the creation of such an exceptional power created serious difficulty. If we transport ourselves to the times of Kleisthenes, immediately after the expulsion of the Peisistratids, when the working of the democratical machinery was as yet untried, we shall find this difficulty at its maximum; but we shall also find the necessity of resting such a power *somewhere*, absolutely imperative. For the great Athenian nobles had yet to learn the lesson of respect for *any* constitution. Their past history had exhibited continual struggles between the armed factions of Megacles, Lycurgus, and Peisistratus, put down after a time by the superior force and alliances of the latter. . . . Moreover, when any two candidates for power, with such reckless dispositions, come into a bitter personal rivalry, the motives to each of them, arising as well out of fear as out of ambition, to put down his opponent at any cost to the constitution, might well become irresistible. . . . Against this chance of internal assailants, Kleisthenes had to protect the democratical constitution. . . . It was necessary to create in the multitude, and through them to force on the leading ambitious men, that rare and difficult sentiment which we may term

a *constitutional morality*; a paramount reverence for the forms of the constitution, enforcing obedience to the authorities acting under and within those forms, combined with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control, and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts; combined too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen, amidst the bitterness of party contest, that the forms of the constitution will be not less sacred in the eyes of his opponents, than in his own. This co-existence of freedom and self-imposed restraint, of obedience to authority, with unmeasured censure of the persons exercising it, may be found in the aristocracy of England (since about 1688), as well as in the democracy of the American United States; and because we are familiar with it, we are apt to suppose it a natural sentiment; though there seem to be few sentiments more difficult to establish and diffuse. . . . Yet the diffusion of such constitutional morality, not merely among the *majority* of any community, but throughout the *whole*, is the indispensable condition of a government at once free and peaceable; since even any powerful and obstinate minority may render the working of free institutions impracticable, without being strong enough to conquer ascendancy for themselves. . . . The ostracism, though essentially of an exceptional nature, was yet an exception sanctified and limited by the constitution itself; so that the citizen, in giving his ostracizing vote, did not in any way depart from the constitution, or lose his reverence for it. . . . Care was taken to divest the ostracism of all painful consequence, except what was inseparable from exile. . . . Most certainly it never deprived the public of candidates for political influence; and when we consider the small amount of individual evil which it inflicted, . . . two remarks will be quite sufficient to offer in the way of justification. First, it completely produced its intended effect; for the democracy grew up from infancy to manhood, without a single attempt to overthrow it by force; a result on which no reflecting contemporary of Kleisthenes could have ventured to calculate. Next, through such tranquil working of the democratical forms, a constitutional morality quite sufficiently complete, was produced among the leading Athenians, to enable the people, after a certain time, to dispense with that exceptional security which the ostracism offered.'—vol. iv, p. 202.

A striking instance of our author's sagacity appears in a small matter;—the mention made by Herodotus of a revolt of the Medes from Darius. The leading chronologers—Dodwell, Larcher, Fynes Clinton,—understand this of the revolt against Darius *Nothus*, mentioned by Xenophon, as happening B.C. 408. Dahlmann sanctions this view; and Kenrick, in his excellent Introduction to Herodotus (p. xvii.), merely remarks upon it,—'The language seems to suit an event more ancient than the reign of Nothus; but there is no record of any earlier insurrection.' Now that Grote has pointed it out, it seems marvellous that all had not perceived an insurrection of the Medes, as of

other provinces, against Darius, to have been almost a necessary result of the circumstances under which this king came to the throne. It has for many years been recognized, and Thirlwall insists on it, that the reign of Smerdis had, in fact, been a conspiracy of the Medes to regain their lost power; Herodotus, indeed, uses the strong words, that by it 'the Medes had taken the empire from the Persians' (iii. 126); and the massacre of the Magians in Susa, which followed the success of the seven conspirators against Sardis, must have intensely exasperated the Medes, of whom the Magians were a leading tribe. Grote, accordingly, tells his story as follows:

'The authority of Darius was not readily acknowledged throughout the empire; and an interval of confusion ensued before it became so. The Medes actually revolted, and tried to maintain themselves by force against Darius. . . . The powerful Oroetes, who had been appointed by Cyrus satrap of Lydia and Ionia, took advantage of the disturbed state of the government to put to death his private enemy, Mitrobates, satrap of Phrygia, and appropriate that satrapy in addition to his own. Aryandes also, the satrap nominated by Cambyses in Egypt, comported himself as the equal of Darius rather than as his subject.'—p. 303.

Mr. Grote's pages must have been in the printer's hands long before Major Rawlinson's translation of the inscription on the rocks of Bisittoon appeared before the public in the pages of the Royal Asiatic Society. In it Darius himself records the Magian plot, the accession of Smerdis, his own conspiracy against him, and the success of it. He proceeds to tell, how nine pretenders to the crown arose in different parts of the empire, each of whom caused the revolt of a great province, and needed to be subdued by arms. One of these was a Mede, named Phraortes, who, pretending to be a descendant of Cyaxares, roused all Media to insurrection, but was defeated and slain. On the face of the rock, Darius is sculptured treading on the corpse of Smerdis, while the nine pretenders are brought before him in chains. Thus no doubt whatever remains as to the accuracy of Grote's view. It is justly remarked, that the inscription implies throughout, that Darius occupied the throne as the legitimate successor of Cyrus, and not by any arbitrary election among the Persians, as Herodotus and the other Greeks supposed; and it is the more extraordinary, that while his near relationship to Cyrus was confessed by them, he was regarded as having been admitted into the conspiracy last of all, and by after-thought.

We should be glad to make some quotations of another kind, concerning the philosophic schools of early Greece. But Mr.

Grote's style is so prolix, that we cannot compass it. This is, perhaps, the only point in which his book falls short of what may be regarded as a classical model. It perhaps is not the less pleasant to read; for it enables one to read quickly. There is no need of pausing and pondering over the sentences; for the author himself expands and amplifies, indeed repeats his thought in new forms, so that it cannot easily escape being understood. No historian of eminence in modern times, that we are aware of, has indulged in so diffuse a style, except those who treat of short periods of time, like Clarendon; his digressive argumentation is, in fact, more like that of an essay than of a continuous history. It is well that one who is meditating to read should be forewarned, that these two thick volumes are, in this respect, by no means so formidable as they appear; for two pages of Grote contain far less matter than one of Thirlwall; which we state, without affecting to decide whether the laxer or the more condensed style has wholly the advantage. As matter of taste, we certainly much prefer the latter. Mr. Grote's English dialect also is by no means so pure as we could wish. We do not refer merely to such words as *autochthonous*, *autonomous*, *kleruchs*, &c., which have been justly censured; but to his adoption of new French senses of terms, such as the adjective *pronounced*, for, decided. But any objections which we may feel, either against the style or against the spelling of Greek, are as trifles by the side of the sterling merit of the work, which would force its way into every classical library, even if these defects were multiplied tenfold: indeed its merit is the more signal, from its being capable of succeeding so quickly, after Thirlwall's classical and erudite volumes. The calm wisdom which pervades Thirlwall, is not indeed superseded by the eager championship, masterly breadth of view, and sharpness of touch, which we find in Grote. Nevertheless, the volumes already published show him decidedly the more successful of the two in what is perhaps his favourite topic,—still more than his exploding of mythological history, which is a mere negation,—we mean, the development of political constitutions. This is the first marked phenomenon by which the Greek mind displayed its wonderful superiority. Other nations have had their early poets, their skilful artisans, their splendid architecture, their wise legislators, their wiser sages or prophets; others have had a territory as much intersected by mountains, or as extensive a sea-coast; their communities have been as small, and their merchants as active. Yet, of all whose records we possess, (for Phœnicia and Carthagian Africa are, alas, too little known) the Greeks first learned *Reverence for Law* as the basis of political life; and all experience has since shown, that this is the great

requisite for public liberty, under any form of constitution. The gradual growth of those institutions in Greece, which fostered that essential principle, and helped it to grow up to maturity; and the universal superiority in mind which arose among Greeks, as opposed to civilized Asiatics or Egyptians, with the development of their institutions;—appear now to have become the prominent topics in Grote's 'History;' and the two new volumes before us serve only to quicken our desire for the speedy appearance of their successors.

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ART. III.—1. *Popery : its character and its Crimes.* By William Elfe Tayler. With fourteen Illustrations from MSS. and rare books. London : Ward and Co. 1847.

2. *Te hristmas Holidays in Rome.* By the Rev. W. Ingram Kip, M.A. Edited by the Rev. W. Sewell, B.D., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. London : Longman and Co. 1847.

THE political fellowship, which has recently existed between the catholics and nonconformists of this country, affords a striking illustration of the manner in which parties, the most opposite, may be forced, by the pressure of events, into union with each other. As, on the eve of the Flood, creatures, mutually most hostile, betook themselves to the ark as a common shelter from the common danger; so in their common dread of the religious despotism which still lingers in this country, protestant dissenters, Roman catholics, and even infidels, have been driven, in spite of their antipathies, into the same political movements and combinations.

From this state of things, whatever may have been the fortune of the other adventurers, popery has, unquestionably, been a gainer. The popular hatred, in which it was so long and so justly held, has begun to give way; a general forbearance towards it, on the part of protestant dissenters, has been exercised; a fatal notion, that popery has ceased to be, in its spirit, what once it was, is everywhere gaining ground; and the popish priesthood, no longer content with the removal of civil disabilities, are invited by our rulers to dip their hands freely into the public purse, and play a new game for rank and power. That the protestant hierarchy may retain the privilege of living on the people, popery must be invited to share in the spoil; and



our liberal statesmen, whether Whigs, Radicals, or Free-traders, see no injustice in handing over the protestant dissenters as the common pillage of state-harpies, however rapacious.

For the cry of 'no popery,' from men who live for no other purpose than to enforce some of the worst principles of popery, under another name, we need not remind our readers of our sovereign contempt. Nor while a vestige remains on the statute-book of the civil disabilities under which the papist labours, shall we cease to assert his claims. But to grant him his right, as a man, is one thing: to sanction his encroachment on the rights of others, or shut our eyes to the dangerous tendencies of his system, is another. After allowing him to reach the level of his fellow-citizens, it is high time to form a barrier against the ambition that would overwhelm them; and say, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.' We are therefore of opinion, that, to the dangers which threaten us from this quarter, the nonconformists of Great Britain are, at the present moment, far too insensible. Whether we are alive to the fact or not, Rome is intent, not without hope, upon the recovery of Great Britain; and we shall soon find, that, to destroy popery, or be ourselves destroyed by it, is the only choice left us. Yet while popery everywhere, both at home and abroad, is advancing its power, and even carrying its audacity so far as to lay waste some of our most promising fields of missionary labour, we are not only leaving the throne of 'the man of sin' unassailed, but indulging ourselves in the idle dream, that his nature is softened, or that nothing is to be dreaded from his power.

To the nonconformists, whom education has made familiar with the Word of God, the mummeries and absurdities of popery appear too gross and childish, to create any other feeling than profound astonishment at the continuance of such a system on the earth. Like the grotesque shapes, and grinning faces of some of its ancient cathedrals, its numberless frauds and follies, present to an enlightened eye an aspect so purely ridiculous and contemptible, that the strength and durability of the pile to which they belong, is overlooked or forgotten. Even when most mournfully affected with the sense of its appalling greatness, we are too prone to content ourselves with looking at it as some vast unaccountable monument of infernal power; instead of inquiring into those natural, intermediate causes of its strength, without the knowledge of which our own position can never be rightly understood. Satan can be a philosopher as well as a fiend, and he has taken care, so to blend the human with the infernal, in this master-piece of his skill, as to evince the profoundest acquaintance with the nature of the beings,

whom it is intended to destroy. Popery is not a volcanic elevation, thrown up immediately, and at once, from the flaming abyss; but a structure which, through successive generations, human means and human agents have been employed to rear, with the most exact adjustment, to the strongest passions of the human mind. To natural causes, therefore, as well as the preternatural one, its prolonged influence must be ascribed. These are the cramps and fastenings of the structure, through which satanic power contrives, amidst the revolutions of the earth, to hold it together; and it is only as these are sought out and loosened, that popery can be overthrown.

Man is a religious being; conscious, in some degree, of his responsibility to divine authority, and open, either in the way of faith or superstition, to the powers of the world to come. Now to a mind thus distracted, between the sin which it loves and the retribution which it dreads, the grand problem must ever be to reconcile human depravity with religion. Nor is it possible to conceive of a system more welcome to a mind, thus ripe for delusion, than that of Rome. By the worship of saints and images, the papist is led away, in the very act of devotion, from the contemplation of perfect truth and holiness, to that of creatures corrupt and fallible as himself. By the mechanical contrivances of baptismal regeneration, penance, and the mass, a salvation, wholly independent of the heart and conscience, is secured, and the very idea of personal holiness is destroyed. Indulgences and absolutions, under the seal of heaven, not only insure the safety of an offender, upon easy terms, but license, in all variety and to any amount, his future sins; and lest, through sudden death or ceremonial neglect, these means should be ineffectual, purgatory extends his probation in the world to come, throwing across the great gulph, which the unhappy Dives could never hope to pass, a bridge of imposture, over which the departed culprit, through the liberality of survivors, may still escape from perdition.

‘The Rev. Dr. James,’ says Mr. Kip, ‘has a passage shewing how much an individual, by a little *bodily labour*, can do *before breakfast* to gain remission of his sins; and from acquaintance with the places mentioned, we can affirm the feasibility of the plan. ‘At sunrise he might kiss the cross of the Coliseum, and obtain two hundred days’ indulgence in a moment. He might hurry to the church of St. Pudens and St. Pudentiana, and during a half-hour’s mass secure to himself three thousand year’s indulgence and the remission of the third part of his sins. Returning by way of Arca Coeli, he can recite the litanies of the most blessed virgin at the altar of her, who by papal authority is called, ‘The Refuge of Sinners,’ and he has two hundred days more of indulgence, which he may either keep himself

or kindly give to one of his dead friends. If he has three pauls (thirty cents) in his pocket, he may exercise his charity towards that friend still further, by having a mass said expressly for his soul by one of the monks, or any other priest, and thus deliver it at once from the torments of purgatory. Crossing thence to Mamertine prison, he may gain twelve hundred years' indulgence, or on a Sunday or festival morning, two thousand four hundred years, and the remission of another third part of his sins. Here, also, if he has another thirty cents to spare, he can pay for another mass, and liberate another friend from purgatory. Thus he may, before breakfast, every day of his life, obtain for himself at least more than four thousand three hundred years' indulgence, and the remission of two-thirds of his sins, with only a little bodily labour; and for the expense of sixty cents he can liberate two souls out of purgatory.'—*Christmas Holidays, &c.*, p. 276.

That imposture like this, should have any serious hold upon the majority of the more intelligent and cultivated among papists, neither reason nor fact will allow us to suppose. It is certain that, in Rome itself, to say nothing of France and Germany, there are thousands who inwardly laugh at the delusions which they profess to credit. But with nothing better or purer, in the shape of religion, before them, they naturally abandon themselves, in their recoil from imposture, to a latent scepticism or infidelity; while, from the dread of consequences, they withhold their discoveries from the people. 'In Italy,' says Mazzini, 'nothing speaks. Silence is the common law. The people are silent by reason of terror; the masters are silent from policy. Conspiracies, strife, persecution, vengeance, all exist, but make no noise; they excite neither applause nor complaint: one might fancy the very steps of the scaffold were spread with velvet, so little noise do heads make when they fall.' Hence, however deep the insight of intelligent minds into the mystery of iniquity, it will be seen that popery has effectual means of compelling them to keep it to themselves; so that their light, like that of a dark lantern, wastes away, without venturing forth, in a single gleam, upon the popular darkness.

Were the Word of God generally possessed or understood by the people, their deliverance from imposture could not long be delayed. But it is well known that, in papal countries, they are generally forbidden to possess it; and that it is impossible, from the nature of their religion, they should even wish to read it. Taught, from the cradle, that the interpretation of scripture is the work, not of individuals, but of the church, or in other words the priesthood; that in fact the work of interpretation has already been perfectly and infallibly done; that ecclesiastical authority, not rational conviction, is the proper basis of

faith; and that the right of private judgment is a heresy more damnable than the foulest crime, the enslaved papist shudders at the reading of the Word of God as an enterprize, not only useless, but altogether hazardous and presumptuous. Under the influence of this fear we find him, even in protestant countries, isolated from all contact with the religious knowledge that surrounds him; hermetically sealed, as it were, against the very element in which he dwells; while, in popish countries, there is nothing, in his children, which he observes with so much alarm as a desire for the Word of God. 'I am resolved,' said a young Spaniard once in our hearing, 'never to part with my Bible: but I would not, for my life, let my brother who is a priest, or even my mother, though she tenderly loves me, know that I possess this dangerous book.'

In estimating, therefore, the power of Rome, if along with the confidence, which as a point of saving faith the people repose in their spiritual guides, we take into account their perfect horror of free inquiry, it is easy to see how firm a hold the grossest impostures, that flatter their vices, may have upon the mind. In protestant countries conscience, even in the most abandoned, is generally on the side of virtue. But, in Rome, profligacy and devotion, masses and murders, live and multiply together. Churches, like that of St. Thomas a' Cenci, built from the very slime of incest and murder, or, like that of St. Peter's, from the sale of indulgences, present to the eye of an enlightened traveller dreadful monuments of faith and zeal in league with crime; and show how effectually conscience, the last refuge of virtue in the human breast, may, through the perversion of religion, be corrupted or destroyed. With this aspect of the papal system, Mr. Kip, though disposed, as an admirer of prelacy, to look with a friendly eye on what he saw at Rome, appears, as he gazed upon the church of the notorious Count Francisco Cenci, to have been deeply impressed.

'What a strange contradiction of traits! Yet thus religion is often exhibited in this land. Shelley truly says, that in an Italian 'it is interwoven with the whole fabric of life. It is adoration, faith, submission, penitence, blind adoration; *not a rule for moral conduct*. It has no necessary connexion with any one virtue. *The most atrocious villain may be rigidly devout*, and, without any shock to the established faith, confess himself to be so. Religion pervades intensely the whole frame of society, and is, according to the temper of the mind it inhabits, a passion, a persuasion, *an excuse, a refuge; never a check!*'—*Ib.*, p. 212.

The readiness with which popery accommodates itself to all classes of society, and to the diversified tastes of the human

mind, is another most important element of its strength. The apostle Paul has told us, that 'the working of Satan,' in the establishment of this grand imposture, would be 'with *all deceivableness* of unrighteousness; and, without noticing the endless diversity of its frauds, no one can arrive at a proper estimate of its power. In the cup of abominations which the Papal Soceress has mingled for the nations, she has taken care that no ingredient shall be wanting which the peculiarities of her victims may require. Indulgence for the profligate, mortifications for the austere, shows and miracles for the vulgar, literary occupations and the refinements of art for men of taste—festivals for the gay and ghostly horrors for the gloomy—a pantheon of saints and demigods for the idolatrous, with Athanasian creeds and curses for the orthodox—the look of a lamb for the loyal, the voice of a dragon for the rebellious—the sword where it can be safely drawn, sophistries and persuasions where it cannot—furnish her with appropriate means of ensnaring all. In nothing so catholic as in the universality of her allurements and frauds, the holy catholic church incloses within her pale a perfect paradise of fools; where every species of dupe, learned as well as illiterate, may repose in its own bower, or find its own appropriate walk; and where each, satisfied with being befooled in its own way, cares nothing for the knaveries, however opposite, that are practised on the rest.

When an enlightened traveller walks through the streets of Rome, his attention is at one time, perhaps, arrested by a gaudy procession; in which mimic saints and devils, of all shapes and fashions, play their antics, for the edification of the populace. At another time he beholds a priest lucratively employed in blessing a congregation of horses, mules, and asses, for the edification either of the brutes themselves, or their scarcely less brutal owners. Daily, at the steps of Pontius Pilate, he sees a number of infatuated wretches climbing up, on their knees, in order to secure indulgence; or attempting, at some favourite crucifix or image, to kiss away their responsibilities and crimes; while the glimmer of rotten sanctity, playing around the mouldering bones, blood, teeth, or even rags of departed saints, which he beholds in the Lateran and other quarters, becomes, in the estimation of deluded millions, a halo of heavenly glory. With these, and a thousand other similar frauds and fooleries staring him in the face, he feels that the power of papal Rome over the unlettered rabble may be easily explained; but that men of learning, taste, or genius, should be found among her vassals, would fill him, were there nothing else to engage his attention, with the utmost astonishment.

But when, wearied and sickened with all this disgusting mum-

mery, he explores the unrivalled literary treasures of the Vatican, or mingles with the scholars assembled from every region of the globe to do her homage in the college of the Propaganda; or, when wandering through the galleries of the Pantheon, or the studios of her incomparable artists, he views the prodigies of taste and genius which everywhere dazzle, captivate, and overwhelm the mind; he feels himself under a spell, which it is impossible to resist; and, instead of wondering at the power of the great enchantress over others, forgets even his own evangelical hatred of her follies and crimes.

'Near our lodgings,' says Mr. Kip, 'is the college of the Propaganda, and we seldom pass it without seeing a cardinal's carriage at the door. The building is vast—supplied with a magnificent library, and with a press by which books are printed in almost every known language. . . . Cardinal Mezzofanti has since given me a programme of the exercises, and I will copy the list of languages (fifty-nine in number) in which they were delivered, to shew the wide reach taken by the missionary operations of the church. . . . We often hear of the many languages spoken by the students in this college from all parts of the world, and here is an exhibition of what is really done. When shall our own church be thus prepared to go forth with the gospel to 'all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues.'—*Ib.* pp. 248—250.

Alas! Mr. Kip, it is for very different purposes than the spread of the gospel, that all this imposing array of scholarship has been brought together. But men of letters, like soldiers, when employment, promotion, and scope for their ambition, are offered them, are not always very scrupulous as to the nature of the service in which they engage. For the scholar or the man of taste, there exists nowhere so vast a field for enterprise as within the pale of Rome; nowhere are the magazines of learning or the fine arts so richly stored; and, as long as these resources continue at her command, she will retain, over cultivated minds, in spite of her crimes, impostures, and mountebank fooleries, a fearful degree of power.

The end of all true religion is to enlighten the judgment, arouse the conscience, and purify the heart. But the bulk of mankind, utterly incapable of appreciating such a purpose, can see no value in religion, or any thing else, excepting as it pampers the senses or feeds the imagination; and never was system more skilfully contrived for this purpose than that of Rome. Its gorgeous processions, its holiday shows and feasts—the splendour, pomp, and dramatic style of its worship—the histrionic skill, and costly vestments, together with the rank and importance of the priestly actors by whom the solemn farce is

performed—the colossal grandeur and imposing beauty of the structures thus employed—the silver, gold, and precious stones, which glitter from their shrines—the softened hues of ‘the dim religious lights’ that fall through the painted windows upon the marble floors—the delicious fumes of incense with which they are filled—the miracles of painting and sculpture with which they are adorned, together with those strains of unearthly music, that roll along the aisles or echo through the spacious domes and walls—these and a thousand similar contrivances, pour through the senses and imagination of the worshipper a flood of intoxicating pleasures, which stupify the conscience and drown all the loftier aspirations of the soul. As a substitute for that spiritual life, which is hid with Christ in God, and that lifts the heaven-born soul above the objects of sense into communion with things unseen and eternal; a religion infinitely more welcome to the carnal mind is provided, which, shutting out the light of eternity from the soul, consecrates for its use all the pomps and splendours of the world; converting even the house of God into a theatre of idle shows and amusements.

Thus does the mother of abomination still continue to bewitch the nations with her sorceries; and the influence which they give her over minds that are wholly surrendered to her sway, it is hardly possible to conceive. The following quotations, however, from our American author, serve to show, that the counter-charm of protestant or even republican feeling is not always of sufficient force to resist her spells—that, in fact, it is a perilous thing for a protestant episcopalian to get under the dome of St. Peter’s or breathe the air of Rome.

‘But who,’ says Mr. Kip, in an ecstasy of dangerous admiration, ‘pauses to dwell on these (the obelisk and fountain at the entrance) when the temple itself is before them?’ [him?] ‘We ascend the broad marble steps, put aside the heavy curtain which veils the entrance, and *the sensations of the next few minutes are worth a year of common-place life.*’—*Ib.* p. 20.

‘This church has indeed a *spirit in it*, which is possessed by none other than we have ever entered. *It is sufficient to preserve a faith in existence centuries after its life is gone.*’—p. 23.

‘The hours went by and we could not leave this spot, which had been thought and dreamed of for so many years. We realized the feelings of the imaginative Vathek when he wrote, ‘I wish his Holiness would allow me to erect a little tabernacle within this glorious temple. I should desire no other prospect during the winter; no other sky than the vast arches glowing with golden ornaments, so lofty as to lose all glitter or gaudiness.’ We would take our evening walks on the field of marble—for is not the pavement vast enough

for the extravagance of this appellation? Sometimes, instead of climbing a mountain, we should ascend the cupola, and look down on our little encampment below,' &c.—p. 32.

'The music (of the pope's choir) as it swept by us in a perfect flood of harmony, seemed too sweet and heavenly to be addressed to any but God alone. The organ mingled its rich and mellow notes with the voices that were then pouring out their melody, sweet incense filled the chapel as they flung high their golden censers, and we remained listening to the delicious sounds until the whole was over. . . . Gradually the shadows deepened, the statues on the monuments grew more wan and phantom-like, and we departed, repeating to ourselves those striking lines of the pilgrim poet,—

'But thou, of temples old, or altars new,  
Standest alone—with nothing like to thee—  
Worthiest of God, the holy and the true,  
Since Zion's desolation; when that He  
Forsook his former city, what could be  
Of earthly structures, in his honour piled,  
Of a sublimer aspect? Majesty,  
Power, glory, strength, and beauty—all are aisled  
In this eternal ark of worship undefiled.'—pp. 33—34.

In another place, our protestant author assures us that, could but the pope, like the Leos and Gregories of ancient times, be induced to officiate in person, every Sunday, in this mighty structure, 'such a sight would indeed be one both affecting and sublime.'!! Several other passages, expressive of the same feelings or descriptive of the scenes which awakened them, we had marked for quotation; but these are sufficient to show how easily, amidst the splendid delusions of papal worship, the very nature and design of religion may be lost sight of. When, from a distance, we calmly compare the worldly magnificence of such a building as St. Peter's, with the lowliness and simplicity of the worship instituted by the Son of God; or call to mind the horrible traffic in absolutions and indulgences from which it was reared, it rises before the mind as a huge colossal lie—a monstrous though splendid monument of murdered souls, upon which the curse of Jehovah must ultimately fall in vengeance. But no sooner does a devout protestant mount its marble steps than, forgetful alike of history and the Word of God, he begins to sigh for 'a little tabernacle beneath its dome.' The pagan mythologies of Ganymede and the Eagle, Leda and the Swan, etc., which meet him at the gate, with the monuments of spiritual despotism and the evidences of a still rampant idolatry within, give to his evangelical sentiments a momentary shock. But there is, it seems, a spirit in the place which inspires him, in a few minutes, 'with sensations that are worth a



year of common-place life; making him believe that, 'of all temples,' the pandemonium he so reluctantly quits, is 'the worthiest of God,'—'an everlasting ark of worship undefiled.' Much of this, undoubtedly, is mere rhetoric; but there could be no rhetoric in it, apart from the known power of such delusions over the mind; and that an evangelical clergyman, like Mr. Kip, should have allowed them to persuade him that the worship of God could, in any place, be rendered 'affecting or sublime' by the ministration of the pope, whose very office is a blasphemous usurpation of the prerogatives of Him who only is to be feared, is in itself a circumstance mournfully 'affecting,' though not 'sublime.'

But besides the elements of strength already noticed, the prescriptive power which Rome retains among the nations is not to be forgotten. Truth is in its nature absolute, eternal; and wholly independent of human dates and discoveries, in its claims to our homage. But it is not thus that men, in general, are accustomed to judge. Worshippers of antiquity, they look with greater veneration upon Egyptian mummies and pyramids than upon the noblest productions of modern times. Institutions, especially, which from the remotest periods have managed, age after age, to sway the opinions and passions of men, possess a prodigious amount of prescriptive power, accumulating and still accumulating as years roll on. The innumerable associations of history or romance that gather round them, are so many buttresses to their strength. Like ivy, they shelter and beautify the building over which they grow; or like the limpets, which cling to some old weather-beaten crag, they case it against the surges that would sweep it away.

Such at the present moment is the power of Rome. The original seat, it is true, of Christianity was Jerusalem, 'which is the mother of us all.' But the overthrow of the holy city soon caused the centre of Christianity to be shifted to imperial Rome, and this was an advantage too great for an artful priesthood to overlook. Adroitly availing themselves of the martyrdom of the apostle Paul, and the doubtful traditions of the ministry and martyrdom of Peter within their walls, they gradually advanced their claim, as the infallible descendants of the apostles, to the ecclesiastical sovereignty of the world; thus laying the foundation of that prescriptive power which, through the fiction of episcopal ordination, they have handed down, with a few flaws and gaps in the line, to the present day.

Accustomed, as we nonconformists are, to appeal from apostolicals of every tribe to the apostles themselves, the 'endless genealogies' and 'old wives' fables' of the papal priesthood, awaken no other feelings than pity or contempt. But in esti-

inating the present strength of Rome, we must remember, that there is no country throughout Christendom in which the prescriptive weight of their boasted succession is not seriously felt. The Romish succession, if the reality or importance of any such thing be admitted, is undoubtedly the parent stem of which all others are but the minor branches.

But the influence of Rome, as the ancient seat and centre of the Christian faith, constitutes a part only of her prescriptive power. Christianity, after all, is a mere accident of her power. It is but a modern date that the Christian era holds in her annals. Far back to the days of Romulus,

‘ ——— lupæ fulvo nutricis tegmine lætus.’

far back, to the days even of Æneas and the siege of Troy, she traces her proud history; and in nothing has satanic skill been more signally shown, than in grafting the papal power upon the old stock of pagan Rome.

All the splendid associations of Roman history are thus blended with the modern dominant superstition. Though the outward forms of paganism lie buried, as in a glorious sepulchre, under the ruins of the ancient city, its imperial conquest-loving spirit still lives; and under the forged sanction of the Christian name still contrives to perpetuate and extend its power. It is in the midst of temples, palaces, amphitheatres, and other stupendous monuments of universal conquest; it is amidst the tombs of the Scipios and Cæsars, around which the spirits of the mighty dead still seem to walk, and a thousand haunting memories still linger; it is on the spot where Tully spoke, where Virgil sang, where Brutus sacrificed to freedom his dearest friend, and whence for ages a voice went forth which shook the world;—it is here that the throne of the ‘man of sin’ has been fixed; presenting to the astonished eye all the glories of the world in an instant of time; and saying, with the arch-fiend, to every beholder, ‘all these will I give thee, if thou wilt only fall down and worship me.’

As the only city in which the ancient and modern worlds can be said to unite their splendour, Rome is the spot to which architects, painters, sculptors, poets, philosophers, historians, and virtuosi of every class naturally go on pilgrimage. In almost everything, but commerce, military power, and true religion, Rome is still the metropolis and mistress of the world. Men of more classical taste than genuine religion feel, amidst her monuments and temples, as though they were treading upon holy ground; and the veneration which surrounding objects inspire, easily attaches itself to the superstition that sanctifies and reigns over them. These are among the things which render Rome the common centre of attraction to the world; so that, in spi

of her endless absurdities and crimes, her power over mankind is still, as in ancient days, catholic and imperial. And when we call to mind the number, discipline, and organization of her priesthood; their separation, by celibacy, from all other objects and interests; the terrific powers of a spiritual and sometimes temporal kind with which they are armed, together with the boundless prospects of emolument and power which she holds out to their ambition; we behold an array of force at her disposal which it is fearful to contemplate.

With all the dialects of Babel on their tongues, and all the power of Babylon at their back, they literally swarm over Italy and the greater part of Europe. 'In the city of Rome, their number is estimated at *one in twenty-five* of the population; while, in the whole papal dominions, there are said to be (including nuns) nearly fifty-five thousand.' If to these we add the myriads that cover the face of Europe and America, it is melancholy to think what woes they may yet inflict upon the world.

The horrid despotism which a gang of Jesuits have lately, sword in hand, established in one of the Swiss cantons, serves too plainly to show the present aggressive policy, as well as the mortal enmity of Rome against the liberties of mankind. From her recent attacks upon defenceless missionaries and their flocks at Tahiti and Fernando Po, it is equally clear that the bayonets of France and Spain are once more at her disposal; and ready, with her spiritual myrmidons in their van, to march into any country or cross any ocean for the extinction of the protestant faith. And should a general war of opinions, like that foretold by Mr. Canning, break out in Europe, the power of Rome will be found sufficient, if not to reinstate her in universal dominion, at least to convulse and shake the earth in her fall.

By what specific means the overthrow of such a system should be attempted, we must leave our readers to determine for themselves. One thing, however, is certain, that it is vain to seek the subversion of popery, or any other hostile system, without a proper estimate of its power. We therefore hope that the train of thought into which we have been led by the perusal of the works before us, though totally different from that which the authors have themselves pursued, will not be regarded as altogether useless or unseasonable. But it is time that we introduce the works themselves to the attention of our readers.

'Christmas Holidays in Rome,' is a highly interesting and instructive little volume; containing an account of the scenes, objects, and incidents, which fell under the notice of the author during a sojourn of several months in Rome and its vicinity. Mr. Kip's descriptions, though merely the fugitive sketches of a traveller, are often extremely beautiful, and given with so much

freshness and graphic power, as to render them deeply interesting to the reader. Much valuable information may also be gathered from his pages ; and the manner in which he luxuriates amidst the associations and remembrances of the classical scenes he visited, bespeaks in the author great taste and intelligence.

As it was impossible to visit Rome without being brought into close contact with popery, his volume furnishes many striking illustrations of its superstitions and crimes. But Mr. Kip, though himself a devout evangelical Christian, is far too dutiful a son of 'our church,' to look fairly at the 'man of sin,' as that 'wicked one whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of His mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of His coming.' Notwithstanding the idolatries, frauds, and blasphemies, which he witnessed in the church of Rome, he palliates her crimes ; gives her credit, on account of certain creeds and hymns, for an orthodoxy which he nowhere witnessed ; ascribes to a catholic spirit her love of universal dominion ; supposes, in the exercise of a very gratuitous charity, that the impressions her crouching votaries receive from her services may be very different from what they are obviously intended to create ; and ventures to believe that, during the middle ages, though drunk with the blood of the Waldenses, Albigenses, Lollards, and puritans of every class, she was, nevertheless, the greatest benefactress of the world.

Consistently enough with these feelings, he sought an interview with the pope, *causa honoris* ; and, though exempted by the privilege of heresy from the necessity of kissing his toe, he addressed him no doubt as 'Your Holiness,' and did homage to the usurper. With sincere respect, therefore, for the talents and piety of our author, we cannot but regard all this sycophancy towards Rome as equally degrading to the faith he professes and the country to which he belongs. That some of God's people may be found in 'Babylon,' the Word of God, in exhorting them to 'come out of her, lest they receive of her plagues, and become partakers of her crimes,' compels us to believe. But to palliate the system, or to look at it in any other light than as an execrable apostacy from God and truth, is not charity, but positive unbelief.

The work which stands first at the head of this article, on the crimes and character of popery, is, in this respect, all that a consistent protestant could wish. With a careful yet determined hand, Mr. Tayler has torn from it the scarlet and tinsel with which he found the system adorned ; and exposed it in all the hideousness of its deformities and corruptions to the view. Her ways are so 'moveable,' that it is no easy thing to fasten the guilt of any of her crimes upon her. Convict her monks ;

they, she will tell you, are not her priests : convict her priests ; they are not her cardinals : convict her cardinals ; they are not her popes : convict her popes ; they are not her councils : convict her councils ; they are not the holy catholic apostolical church of all countries and all ages. But Mr. Tayler, with great industry, has arrayed against her a mass of evidence which will not easily be repelled. Omitting the more remote and merely temporal evils of popery, his object has been to show the awful effects of the doctrines and practices of Rome upon the spiritual interests of mankind, according to the following plan :—

‘The most natural division appears to be—first, the evils which that wicked superstition has inflicted upon mankind, by withholding all spiritual good ; and, secondly, the actual and necessary results of the doctrines and practices of popery in occasioning impiety and wickedness. The one branch of the subject is *negative*, the other is positive. The one contemplates popery as a *famine*, or dearth of all that which constitutes the food of the undying soul. The other views it as a pestilence, spreading spiritual disease and death wherever it appears.’—Introduction, p. 10.

The dreadful charge of withholding the Word of God is always, as our readers are aware, either met by papists with evasive shuffles, or boldly and flatly denied. Mr. Tayler, however, adduces abundant evidence to show, not only that this policy has existed, but that, wherever there is a chance of enforcing it with success, it exists at the present day.

‘In the Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XII., May 3, 1824, republished with ‘pastoral instructions to all the faithful,’ by the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, occurs the following passage :—‘We also, venerable brethren, in conformity with our apostolic duty, exhort you to turn away our flock by all means from *these poisonous pastures* (i. e. the scriptures in the vulgar tongue). Reprove, beseech, be instant in season and out of season, in all patience and doctrine, that the faithful entrusted to you, adhering strictly to the rules of our congregation, be persuaded, that if the sacred scriptures be everywhere indiscriminately published, more evil than advantage will arise thence, on account of the rashness of men.’—p. 19.

Having thus, in all ages, hurdled off the flock from the poisonous pastures of apostles and prophets, these gentle shepherds have of course taken care that such fodder as the services of their preaching friars could supply should not be withheld ; and the following savoury specimen will show how much they have been benefitted by such edifying substitutions. On the text, ‘He that is holy, let him be holy still,’ James Voragine, a learned Dominican, thus holds forth :—

‘Holy men, how holy soever they are in soul, desire also to be

holy in their body. These two things St. Francis had. First, he had a holy body, for all things that were in him were holy. 1. His hair was holy; for when a man's house was falling, he took a little of his hair and put it into the cracks of the house, and the house stood firm. 2. His eyes were holy. 3. His ears were holy. 4. His mouth was holy; for such powerful words came from it, that whom he blessed were blessed, and whom he cursed were cursed. Witness the sow that died for eating a lamb when he cursed her, and the girl whose sight was restored by his spittle. 5. His hands were holy; for they were so concremented with the wounds that the things he touched were holy, &c. 6. His nails were holy; for a tempted brother, by paring his nails and keeping them as relics, was delivered and much comforted. 7. His writing was holy; this being preserved had the same effect. 8. His girdle was holy; being dipped in water it cured all distempers. 9. His body was holy; for whipping himself against corrupt motions, he said, 'Go to, brother ass—thus you must be served.' 10. His feet were holy; being consecrated with Christ's wounds. Hence, by sprinkling the water in which they were washed, cattle were cured of the murrain, &c. In another sermon on 'The kingdom of heaven is like treasure hid in a field,' he says, 'By the kingdom of heaven may be understood St. Katherine.'

Such is a fair sample of the teaching which for ages was substituted, by way of improvement, for the Word of God. We know how easy it would be, from the pages of Bossuet, Masillon, or those of Wiseman and others of our own day, to select specimens of a more elevated character. But these are the exceptions, not the rule. In popish countries, 'lying wonders' and the legends of saints have ever constituted the staple of pulpit eloquence; nor should the dramatical performances which, at festivals, have so often accompanied the preaching to render it impressive, wholly escape our notice.

'The grossest abuses of preaching, however, were those practised during the great festivals of the year. 'The easter drolleries held an important place in the acts of the church. As the festival of the resurrection required to be celebrated with joy, every thing that could excite the laughter of the hearers was sought out and thrust into sermons. One preacher imitated the note of the cuckoo, while another hissed like a goose. One dragged forward to the altar a layman in a cassock; a second told the most indecent stories; a third related the adventures of the apostle Peter; among others, how in a tavern he cheated the host by not paying his score. The inferior clergy took advantage of the occasion to turn their superiors into ridicule. The churches were turned into stages, and the priests into mountebanks.' (D'Aubigne's Hist. Reform. vol. i. b. i. c. 3.)—p. 26.

A yet greater degree of buffoonery was displayed on New Year's Day at 'The Feast of Innocents,' 'The Feast of Fools,'

and 'The Feast of Asses,' etc. Both the fools and the innocents perform strange antics, in the name of religion ; but, as we have already exceeded our limits, we must forego the honour of introducing them to our readers, in deference to the superior claims of the asses. In the order of the procession, according to the use of Rouen, the ceremony, after a ridiculous chorus of 'Oh Glorious,' proceeds thus :—

'The callers shall call Moses first, saying, 'Thou Moses, the law-giver.' Then Moses, holding the tables of the law open, clothed in an alb and cope, with two horns on his head, a long beard, and a rod in his hand, shall say, 'A man shall arise and come after me.' . . . . Then two messengers from king Balak call out, 'Balaam, come and act.' Then Balaam, sitting upon an ass, and *wearing spurs*, shall pull the bridle and put spurs to the ass; and some young man, holding a sword in his hand, shall stand in the way of the ass. *Some one, under the ass*, shall say,\* 'Why do you hurt unhappy me with spurs?'—p. 28.

At Bauvais, the feast, it seems, was held in celebration of the flight into Egypt, and considerably improved upon :—

'The Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, &c., were concluded by the braying of an ass. But what is more astounding, the manuscript rubric of this festival says, at the end of the mass, 'the priest, turning to the people, instead of saying, 'Ite, missa est,' shall bray three times; and the people, instead of answering, 'Gratias Deo,' shall bray three times.'—p. 29.

Such are some of the provisions which the Romish priesthood, in their holy anxiety to keep their flocks from the 'poisonous pastures' of the Word of God, have made for their souls. We shall perhaps be told, that these were the ceremonies of days gone by. They were the ceremonies, let it be remembered, of a church that declares herself infallible; and must, therefore, be now precisely what she was then; and must have been then precisely what she is now. Incredible as the thing may appear, ample evidence is furnished, in both of the works before us, that her ceremonies, on certain occasions, at Rome, Venice, Vienna, and in Ireland, are, at the present day, though a little modernized, equally profane and ridiculous.

On the subjects of prayer, confession, purgatory, indulgence, relics, the worship of saints and angels, and the corruptions of the Romish priesthood and the papal court, the information

\* How strange that a church, so full of miracles, should be at a loss for one on so solemn an occasion !

accumulated by Mr. Tayler, is equally copious and condemnatory. Nor should we do justice to our feelings, did we not speak, in the highest terms, of the scrupulous seriousness and fidelity, as well as research, which his volume everywhere discovers.

In some of his prophetic interpretations, as well as the more lengthened of his comments on the facts and documents adduced, Mr. Tayler has not, we think, been quite so happy; and we could wish that those portions of his work had been omitted. By the latter, the deep impression which his facts, if left to speak for themselves, would have made, has been considerably weakened; while, by the former, he has thrown an air of doubtful disputation over reasonings, which, otherwise, would have left no doubt upon the mind of the reader. The most objectionable portion, however, of our author's production, is the latter part of his concluding chapter, where he contends that, to inflict civil disabilities on papists, is not persecution. In the name of protestantism, we protest against a doctrine so essentially popish and jesuitical; and greatly regret that Mr. Tayler should have been led into the utterance of principles, so unworthy of the cause, which he has laboured efficiently to promote.

The work, however, notwithstanding these, and one or two other blemishes, as, for instance, the figurative divisions of 'famine and pestilence,' is one of great importance, and intrinsic worth. It contains a mass of information, both new and old, which the people of this country would do well to consider; nor can it fail to inspire the protestant reader with the devoutest thankfulness to God, for deliverance from a system which wages war, not only against the virtue and happiness, but also the very intellect, of man.

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ART. IV.—*An Introduction to English Antiquities, intended as a Companion to the History of England.* By James Eccleston, B. A., Head Master of Sutton Coldfield Grammar School. 1 vol. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

ALTHOUGH we cannot acknowledge ourselves very partial to works like the present, inasmuch as they seem to offer a kind of 'royal road' to the inquirer, instead of leaving him to the far more beneficial labour of finding out a way for himself, we should yet be unjust, did we not allow the usefulness of such compilations to that large class who have not leisure for extended research. The history of our land—using the term 'history' in its narrowest sense, as a mere record of public events—is no trifling study, stretching out from the days of ancient civilization to those of modern times, along the line of nearly three-score generations. But it is when we contemplate our genuine, our philosophical history, the progress of our political and social institutions, of our commerce, our manufactures, our glorious literature, that we discover how wide is the field—how measureless indeed, compared with the short span of human existence.

With the general outlines of English history we have been so familiar from childhood, that like as is the case with the great truths of religion, our very familiarity too often prevents us from being duly impressed with their importance. But that a people, rude as our Saxon forefathers, should have given us a language, and political institutions, which ere long will become the heritage of half the human race;—that the scarcely known island, placed at the extremest limit of Roman domination, should assume her sceptre, and give laws to an empire beside which the Roman in its palmy days, sinks into insignificance, are wondrous facts. Nor less so is the fact, that in England have been fostered those imperishable seeds of freedom, which have sprung up, and borne fruit, not for England alone, but for distant lands,—those principles of free agency and self-government, which have raised our land to her proud pre-eminence among the nations.

The history of England, as we are correctly enough taught in our school-books, commences with the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and much has been written on the subject of Roman domination in Britain. But how few, if any, writers have remarked the utterly unimportant character of that invasion, and its results. Four centuries and a half beheld England under the Roman sway, and contemporary writers have assured us, that her inhabitants from the time of Agricola, willingly

adopted the language and the habits of their conquerors. But whilst Rome, in her buildings, her camps, her admirable roads, has left enduring memorials of her material power, the mightier power of moulding a people to her own image, of impressing her intellectual character on the minds of her subjects, seems to have been utterly denied her. She imposed her language on the people; but river, lake, forest, mountain, all still bear their ancient British, or later Saxon appellations. She built splendid temples to her own gods, and persecuted, almost to extermination, the aboriginal Druidism; but shrine and idol perished, and with them all remembrance of the gods of Rome; while the proscribed religion survived, to battle with Christianity up to the ninth century, and in the midsummer bonfire, and the superstitions connected with the new year and all-hallows-tide, to exert an influence on the popular mind, not wholly extinct even in the present day. Never was there so blank a period as those four hundred and fifty years. What tale of Roman greatness, what tradition of Roman times has been handed down enshrined in the popular recollection? The child on its nurse's knee, listens even now, to tales, brought by the followers of Odin from the borders of the far Caspian; of Thrym, the giant, though told in a homelier strain than that of the scald; of the ash Ygdrasil—in the tale of the wonderful beanstalk whose top reached to the sky;—even the more ancient traditions of Britain may be traced in many a popular tale, but the haughty masters of the world, although they could hold their subjects in iron bondage, had no power over the mind. They quitted Britain, and the people sank into their original barbarism; their language, their customs, their institutions, passed away into forgetfulness, and Roman domination left no more trace behind than the iron tread of her legions along their flinty roads.

How different was the next invasion! how different in its aspect! how different in its results! No mighty nation pressing onward to universal dominion, no cohorts skilled in the arts of peace as well as of war; but adventurers scarcely so civilized as the inhabitants of the petty British kingdoms they were summoned to aid—rude dwellers beyond the seas, without a written language! And yet, they stamped their very character on the land, even as in the present day of its pride and power it still bears their name. There seems to have been some degree of misapprehension in regard to the country whence our Saxon ancestors came, and they have been mostly viewed as the inhabitants of ancient Germany. This opinion has been successfully combatted by Mr. Laing in his admirable introduction to the 'Chronicles of the Kings of Norway,' and he has shewn, most satisfactorily, we think, that the Angles and Jutes

by whom the greater portion of our land was colonized, were branches of the great Scandinavian family. All claimed a direct descent from Odin, all used the same form of worship, and held, with but slight variations, the same superstitions. The following extract from the work before us will give the reader a clearer view of the extent of the original Saxon kingdoms, than is generally obtained.

‘(1.) The kingdom of Kent, or Cantwara-land, was founded by the *Jutes* about A. D. 455, and is still one of the most thoroughly Anglo-Saxon parts of the country: its capital was Canterbury. (2.) The kingdom of Sussex (South Saxons) was founded by the *Saxons*; and its capital was Chichester. (3.) Another band of Saxons established the kingdom of Wessex (West Saxons), whose chief city was Winchester. (4.) The East Saxons gave name to the kingdom of Essex, in which the district of the Middle Saxons was comprised, and which probably had London for its capital. (5.) The kingdom of East Anglia contained the first bands of *Angles*, and comprised the principal eastern countries: its capital was Dunwich, now swallowed up in the sea. (6.) The northern counties were erected into the kingdom of Northumberland by the Angles, probably intermingled with Saxons and Jutes. It was still divided, however, into the old British states of Deira and Bernicia (Deyfyr and Bryneich), the first of which had York for its capital, the latter Bamborough. (7.) The centre of England was occupied by the kingdom of Mercia (explained either as the March or *boundary* towards Wales, or Myrcna-ric, *the woodland kingdom*), belonging to the Angles, which had Leicester or Tamworth for its chief town.

‘In this division, the Angles had obviously the balance of power, and their name has been alone perpetuated in that of the country itself (Angle-land); which may be accounted for by the fact that, whilst the Saxons and Jutes sent forth mere bands of straggling adventurers, the Angles removed almost in a body to this island, leaving their homes on the Continent nearly desolate.’—pp. 28, 29.

The population in Saxon times appears to have been more abundant than is generally supposed, for it was during this period that England was divided into parishes, to the amount of above ten thousand, while, ‘with very few exceptions, all our present towns, and even villages, and hamlets, appear to have existed from Saxon times.’ And that the towns and villages contained a fair proportion of inhabitants, we think, may be proved from their internal regulations. The truly English principle of self-government, seems to have been carried to its farthest extent by our Saxon forefathers. Justice was administered, and the general, especially the military affairs of the neighbouring district, were discussed in the tithing court, the hundred court, and the county court, each presided over by its local

magistrate; while the greater affairs of the realm were determined in the great council of the land, the Witenagemot. 'The most disputed point about this Witenagemot,' as Mr. Eccleston remarks, 'is the character in which the folk, or people at large, appeared,' who are repeatedly mentioned as being present at its meetings.' He considers that although the people were not directly represented, still the persons spoken of as attending, might probably be the representatives of the magistrates of the burghs and townships, 'who might themselves, it is true, have been previously elected by the people.' We think this very likely to have been the case, when we remember that the summoning of direct representatives of the people to de Montfort's parliament is mentioned without any expression of surprise by contemporary historians. Throughout de Montfort's great struggle, the feelings of the people dwelt strongly upon their Saxon institutions. Now unless tradition, often more minute in her records than written testimony, had handed down to the people the fact, that popular representation was a portion of their lost privileges, we think some expression of surprise, at least, at the novel summons of mere burgesses to parliament, must have occurred. In the singular system of 'frank pledge,' whereby one neighbour became bound for another, in the protection of the *were*, and the privilege of the *mund*, we trace that respect for individual rights, which, common to all the northern tribes, was especially cherished by those of Scandinavian origin. The last especially, the *mund*, 'the principle of that doctrine, that every man's home is his castle,' as Dr. Dunham justly remarks, appears a singular refinement among so rude a people.

In terming our Saxon ancestors rude, we must not forget that during the earlier period of their sojourn, there was great progress. The various arts of civilized life appear to have been followed with much success; and while we must allow their deficiencies in the art of building, it is but just to remember that suitable materials were wanting. While strong timber was at hand, requiring the mere labour of the woodman, stone, for architectural purposes, could only be obtained from abroad. When the Confessor built Westminster Abbey, he sent for stone to Normandy, and even in the following century it was the fine Caen stone that was alone used in our ecclesiastical buildings. The specimens of Saxon architecture which Mr. Eccleston has given, in this part of his subject, are very inaccurate; the crypt of Repton church, especially, presenting every feature of the Norman style, even to that most common ornament of the pillars, the spiral moulding. In making this remark, we feel bound, in justice, to express our favourable opinion generally

of the numerous wood engravings, which for accuracy and spirit, far surpass the usual illustrations of similar works.

The victor Saxons, however, were, in their turn, to be the vanquished; and the conquest of England by Norman William, is one of those great landmarks in our history, upon which every mind dwells. That this conquest should have been dwelt upon with so much bitterness, even to the present day, has, we think, originated in that anti-gallican feeling, which John Bull, for generations, has cherished. Now the pity that laments over the noble-minded Saxons, crushed beneath the iron hand of the Conqueror, is really misplaced; for Hastings was not the first battle-field on which Saxon power suffered defeat, nor was Harold the first king of Saxon race who lost both his power and his life. The northern Saxon kingdoms had been repeatedly subdued, and ravaged by the Danes, and twice, after the kingdoms had been consolidated into one, had Danish monarchs ascended the English throne, and promulgated their own laws. Canute, too, was succeeded by his two sons; and it was the failure of his line, rather than impatience of the yoke of a Danish monarch, that summoned the feeble Confessor to assume the crown. And William the Norman, himself, what was his descent? Actually Scandinavian; and such was the descent of his followers; and although they had settled in Normandy almost two hundred years, still, in some parts, the Danish tongue was yet spoken. Now we think it is of great importance to bear this in mind, as it affords an explanation of the circumstance which has perplexed many writers, how that Saxon and Norman, notwithstanding their bitter heart-burnings, should within the space of three, or, at the most, four generations, merge into one people. Misled by modern associations, it is really surprising to find, by how many the Norman conquest is viewed as a subjugation to a *French* yoke, whereas, it was the victory of one cognate race over another, who through indolence and luxury, had almost forgotten its former warlike character. Yet Saxon energy and hardihood were not dead, but sleeping; and it required the strong stimulus of the Norman conquest to arouse the descendants of Hengist to a sense of their former superiority. And there was much in the immediate results of that conquest, to do so. The large estates divided among William's rapacious followers; the introduction of the feudal system, which, although imposed in a modified form, was still felt as an unaccustomed yoke; the prevalence of another tongue—the most galling grievance of all—these rankled in the minds of the Saxon population, and were the sources of those risings which were put down with such sanguinary ferocity. Still, on contemplating the policy of the First William, we find much to

approve. The rigorous system of police he established, was of incalculable benefit to a people among whom theft was the commonest crime; the more rigid administration of justice, too, was of equal importance to a race, among whom the system of compurgation tended, in too many instances, to do away with the sanctity of an oath; while the immunities he bestowed upon the dwellers in his 'walled towns,' not only fostered our rising commerce, but did more to emancipate the bondsmen, than even a direct decree for that purpose could have done. We may remark here, that the opinion that 'trial by jury' is of Saxon origin, is incorrect; as, in Saxon times, the jurors were merely witnesses or compurgators. The gradual change of the compurgators into the modern jurors, is well traced in the following extract:—

'Trial by jury gradually superseded the old Saxon modes of ordeal and compurgation, and careful sifting of evidence took the place of direct appeals to the judgment of heaven. This important change may have arisen in the felt necessity of examining some of the compurgators more strictly than others; and the exercise of discretion required in such cases on the part of the court may have called for the appointment of a select committee to conduct such examination, rather than that it should be left to a large and variable assembly. The witnesses, however, in those days, as being the persons upon whose respectability and belief of the prisoner's honour or infamy the whole matter rested, would naturally be regarded as the real triers of the cause; and so the committee aforesaid might naturally be chosen out of their body—not from the court itself. Thus the witnesses of the greatest known probity, or best acquainted with the facts of the case, would be selected to agree among themselves as to how the truth stood; in fact, to try the cause. These would probably be called upon to make their depositions with more form and solemnity than ordinary witnesses—perhaps upon their oath. Their number might also after a time come to be definitely fixed, both as conducing to fairness, and on account of the popular feeling in favour of particular numbers; and then, by separating the original connexion between these triers and the other witnesses in the cause, we should have the precise origin of the much-applauded trial by jury. Two instances only of this mode of trial are recorded during the reign of William I.; but afterwards they became more frequent. The first enactment which established it as a general rule, appears to have been one of the laws passed by Henry II., at Clarendon, about 1176. By this law, the justices were to make inquiry, by the oaths of twelve knights or other lawful men of each hundred, together with the four men from each township, of all murders, robberies, and thefts, etc., since the king's accession to the throne.'—pp. 82, 83.

Mr. Eccleston also points out the incorrectness of the opinion that William 'deliberately planned the abolition of the Saxon language.' It has always seemed strange to us that such an

assertion could be made in the face of the numerous charters in the Saxon tongue, and Saxon character, granted by him to the many convents he endowed, and all of which may be seen in a work of as easy access as 'Dugdale's Monasticon.' The caution with which he treated the prejudices of his new subjects, is also remarkably displayed in the title which he invariably assumes in them. Although, as feudal chief, he became 'lord of the soil,' he never terms himself king of England, but adopts the same designation as his predecessors, and signs 'King of the Angles.' In his Latin charters this is also the case, and 'Gulielmus rex Anglorum,' is the constant phrase.

Although the law proceedings, even until the reign of Henry the Third, were carried on in Latin, still, that Norman French did prevail as a written and spoken language, is certain; but we are inclined to refer this rather to the influence of the Norman scholars, than to any political arrangement. We must bear in mind, what is very frequently lost sight of, that the Saxon *letter*, as well as language, was different from the Norman, which was the Roman letter. Had these Norman scholars, therefore, instructed their pupils through the medium of Saxon, not only must they have been compelled themselves to learn a new language, but new books, at a period when both writing materials and transcription were especially costly, would have been required. The language spoken in the schools, therefore, when not Latin, would, of necessity, we might almost say, be Norman French. Another consideration may be added; it is, that while the language of the conquerors was one dialect, the Saxon was divided into several. Thus we find our modern Saxon scholars accurately determining between the language of southern England, and that of the eastern coast; and thus we find Joscelin de Brakelonde, in his interesting account of Sampson, the abbot of St. Edmundsbury, in Henry the Second's reign, telling us, that in addition to French and Latin, he understood English, and was able 'to preach to the people in English, as well as in the dialect of Norfolk, where he was born and bred.'

Did our space allow, we could adduce many instances to prove that Saxon, even until it merged into English, and resumed its ancient supremacy, was still the 'folk-tongue;'—that the language used in the law-courts by the witnesses, at the 'folk-motes' by the speakers, and at the fairs, and the markets, by the middle and lower classes, was the language of their fathers. The gradual change from the Saxon into English, has been but imperfectly traced, chiefly from the deficiency of authentic documents. Our earlier writers on the subject have, perhaps, placed this change at too early a period, but we think

many of our later writers have fallen into the opposite extreme. It is, however, very interesting to observe, how, as the demand for the old Saxon usages and laws advanced, the genuine language of the people made itself to be heard ; and thus the triumph of the popular cause, and the defeat of the heir to the crown, is the subject of our earliest English ballad ; and how rapid was the progress of our language from thenceforth, so that in less than ninety years from that time, the king himself, although French was still the language of the court, incited his people to fight gallantly against the French, by the argument that ' they sought to blot out the English tongue.'

The recognition of our noble language as the national tongue, no less than the establishment of ' the third estate of the realm,' are important boons which we certainly owe to that great, but strangely undervalued struggle, the war of de Montfort. We have been vexed to find Mr. Eccleston, whose disquisitions on our political institutions, and their changes, are by far the best portions of his book, passing over this important period with the mere remarks that ' its features are sufficiently striking,' that the decline of arbitrary royalty, the rise of the commonalty, and of representative government, are indeed, ' circumstances deserving of the closest and most careful attention,' but still, not making even the slightest allusion to the Oxford provisions, or to the great leader under whose auspices the representatives of the commons first met. And this is more to be regretted, inasmuch as nearly every historian either misrepresents this portion of our history, or passes it over with the same contempt with which a fashionable tory novelist sometimes attempts to pass over the great parliamentary struggle. For ourselves, few pages of our past history have more interest than those which tell of this, the first great *popular* contest. It was a worthy fight that was fought on the green plain of Runymede, but it was a far worthier which, maintained for sixteen years, at length closed most disastrously, to the eye of sense, on the field of Evesham, with the death of its great leader, and the discomfiture, and outlawry of his followers. But the principles then maintained have been a noble heritage for after ages ; and,—even when the contest still going on, shall come to a glorious end,—with the names of our Hampdens and Cromwells, the name of Simon de Montfort must be enshrined.

The patriots of Evesham conquered on their last battle field, and Edward,—the ferocious Edward the first, who pursued his illustrious uncle and cousin to death, and persecuted the survivors with so much malignity, was compelled to yield to the spirit they had aroused. He could render his name a terror in the far East ; he could subdue Wales, and press his iron y<sup>r</sup>



upon Scotland; but the old Saxon spirit quailed not before him, and the burgess stood up in parliament to maintain in his very presence, the right of self-taxation only.

'3. The influence of such a body as this could not long be unfelt; and accordingly we find, in the reign of Edward I., a most important statute passed (*de Tallagio non concedendo*), which declares that no tallage or aid should be imposed or levied by the king or his heirs without the will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land. It strictly limits also the old exactions of the king's purveyors, by the consent of the owner of the articles required, and adds a general declaration in favour of the liberties of the subject. By other statutes of the same king, it is enacted, that elections shall not be influenced by force of arms, malice, or menacing of any man. The royal prerogative had, indeed, declined considerably from Henry II. to Edward I., and sank still lower in the feeble hands of Edward II. Nor was the fall recovered even under the vigorous rule of Edward III., as is testified by the continued statutes concerning purveyance and other matters, the numerous royal confirmations of the supreme authority of the law, and ordinances for the frequent summoning of parliament.'—pp. 133, 134.

The following extract affords much valuable information in a short space :—

'Towards the latter end of this reign, the commons first begin to appear as prosecutors, and, amongst other petitions, to exhibit accusations for crimes and misdemeanours against offenders who were thought to be out of the ordinary reach of law. In these prosecutions, the king and lords were considered as judges; and thus began prosecution by impeachment of the commons. The decline of the courts of the Steward and Marshal, which formerly, under the arbitrary rule of the sovereign, exercised such immense sway, shows also the gradual rise of an independent power in the country, and the boldness with which the *law* was now set up against the real or supposed pleasure of the king. A great portion of the original power of the steward's court had, in fact, passed over to the court of King's Bench.

'Under Richard II., the influence of the commons increased to a still greater extent, and they even dared to impeach (and with success) the lord chancellor, in opposition to the declared will of the king, and obtained a commission for the purpose of reforming acknowledged abuses. Yet this weak monarch, upon one occasion, foiled both lords and commons, and obtained a parliament completely subservient to his wishes. The result, however, was fatal to himself, and added, no doubt, to the ease with which Henry IV. seized upon the throne.

'4. At the accession of Henry IV., a remarkable attention was shown to the formalities of the constitution, and some difficulty was experienced in organising a new parliament under a monarch who had no legal authority to convoke it. The commons had, indeed, by

this time gained in effect three capital points: that money could not be levied, and that laws could not be enacted, without their consent; and that the administration of parliament was subject to their inspection and control. The great principle of controlling the public money was steadily maintained by the parliament under the house of Lancaster, and other demands made, which, however, were not quite so successful.

'6. The state of the royal revenue presents us with another proof of the balance of power in the constitution during this period, inasmuch as the king came now to depend for his income chiefly upon parliamentary grants. This was effected by the several charters of liberties, which had considerably curtailed the ancient resources of the crown; and the greater part of its hereditary estates had been dissipated by Richard, John, and Henry III.

'Edward II. more wisely relied upon the parliament, though not till it had itself compelled him; and many of the old arbitrary forms of taxation were still kept up. Edward III. still farther established the custom of seeking supplies from his faithful commons, yet not without adding many illegal imposts of his own.

'A peculiar tax, imposed in the second year of Richard II., is said to have been the first that was distinguished by the name of a subsidy, afterwards the common title for a parliamentary grant to the crown. It was, in fact, a poll or capitation tax (such as had been already levied under Edward III.), and shortly afterwards gave rise to the famous insurrection under Wat Tyler. The first parliamentary grant for life was also made to this king, consisting of a duty on the exportation of wool, wool fells, and leather. Now, too, the parliament passed an act, offering a discount off these duties to all merchants who would pay the Calais dues beforehand; which is supposed to be the first attempt ever made to anticipate the revenue—a practice which in later times gave rise to the national debt.

'Under the house of Lancaster, the monarch was more than ever dependent upon parliament for the means of carrying on the government of the country. Its ordinary grants were sometimes withheld in such a manner as to show a keen sense of its authority; and the occasional subsidies were sometimes evaded by a proposition to seize all or part of the property of the church. This, however, was too bold a measure to be yet entertained. The distribution of the royal revenue was, moreover, controlled rather arbitrarily by the parliament; and Henry V. was often reduced to such difficulties as to pawn the crown jewels, and even the crown itself.—pp. 134—137.

From this period, however, the power of the parliament appears to have declined; and it is mournful to contemplate to how low a state the popular influence was reduced, even previously to the accession of the Tudors. Still, as we have before remarked, the spirit of freedom was not dead, but sleeping; and again it came forth, after long slumber, vigorously as of old.

Meanwhile, English enterprise went forth on the seas, and

the rise of a wealthy and prosperous middle class eventually prevented those advances of arbitrary power, to which the continental nations were subjected. The whole of the fifteenth century was, however, strangely undistinguished by mental or moral energy. The old framework of things appeared, indeed, to be passing away, but men still sat unmoved, save as they were swayed by passing events, as though waiting for the undeveloped results yet to come. And wondrous were those results,—the discovery of a new world, the invention of printing; but it was scarcely until more than half a century had elapsed, that our forefathers were fully awakened to their great value. They had, indeed, under the crushing tyranny of the first Tudor and his son, enough to paralyze their energies, while the strife of ‘the new religion,’ for a time, superseded every other strife.

‘2. The wars of the Roses in the last period, and the general course of events for the thirty years before the accession of Henry VII., had greatly weakened the power of the nobles, formerly so dangerous to the crown. Many of the old families had been overthrown and almost destroyed, and an immense amount of landed property had been confiscated to the crown. This change of power was diligently increased and made permanent by Henry VII., who set himself earnestly to diminish both the influence and the retinues of the great lords, whilst he accumulated treasures for himself, and exacted the constant attendance of the royal followers. A legal measure also which he introduced, called the Statute of Fines, tended still more to the same object, by increasing the facilities of alienating estates, and so encouraging the unsettlement and transfer to other persons of the old landed property of the great houses. The smallness of their number, too, paralysed the nobility in the first parliament of Henry VII. There were then in the House of Lords only twenty-eight temporal peers, and in the first of Henry VIII. only thirty-six, whilst the subsequent additional creations were naturally more attached to the crown than to the aristocracy.

‘The power of the king thus became paramount, and was particularly displayed in the extensive authority exercised by his privy council, or as it was now commonly called, the Star Chamber. To this body was now entrusted the sole examination and punishment of all offences that might be brought before them, under the plea of sundry defects existing in the ordinary inquest by jury.

‘3. The reign of Henry VIII. may probably be taken as the period at which the royal prerogative reached its greatest height. The monarch was then, indeed, all in all; and might with real propriety have replied in the old form, to every appeal from his subjects, *Le Roi s'avisera*. One great step of Henry VIII. was to denounce as treasonable every act or word that might be construed as tending to affect the royal dignity. For the discovery of this mortal offence, new oaths were introduced, and new methods devised, which at any

former period would have quickly roused his haughty barons to arms, but which now were borne in sullen silence, or suppressed murmurs. The king's proclamation was also to be regarded as if it were an act of parliament; and any one disobeying it, and then contemptuously going out of the kingdom, was declared guilty of high treason.'—pp. 224—226.

But the spirit of English freedom survived even this, and in the various risings, ostensibly on a religious account, we perceive appeals to old English principles, and assertions of popular rights, which show that even among the peasantry recollections of ancient freedom had survived the long wars of the Roses, and the accession of a new dynasty. It is very interesting to trace the gradual progress of free principles even from the very depths of this dark period; to watch the leaven, spreading and upheaving, until, in the midst of clamour in high places about the 'Divine right' of church and king, the land with united voice demanded restitution of her chartered rights. We are less pleased with this portion than with any other of Mr. Eccleston's well-written volume. He is evidently the advocate of free principles, but is far from doing justice to the great men of the Commonwealth. In his chapters on religion, too, he frequently falls into error. Thus, he tells us that, in Elizabeth's reign, several *puritans* were put to death, but that, 'undeterred by these threats, however, a new race of dissenters arose,—the Brownists or Independents, so named from their founder.' Now the slightest inquiry would have informed him, that no puritan was ever put to death, but that all who suffered were Brownists. As to the remark in an accompanying note, which, after enumerating the general objections of the puritans to the church, goes on to stigmatise as unessential their specific objections to 'the cross in baptism, kneeling at the sacrament, bowing at the name of Jesus, and the cap, and surplice,' Mr. Eccleston might do well to remember, that these were *personal* impositions; and that although, politically considered, pluralities and non-residence, and the divine right of bishops, and the jurisdiction of the spiritual courts, had a wider importance, still to the *individual*, those were mere matters of opinion, and not to be compared with actual forms which he deemed superstitious or idolatrous, but to which he was compelled to submit. We have reason, too, to complain of the disingenuousness of a writer, who, while he can slur over the stirring tale of the 'Voyage of the May-flower,' and the foundation of the noble colony of New England, with the mere passing notice, that 'in 1620, a settlement called Plymouth was founded,' can yet go out of his way to remark in another chapter, that 'no people in the

world,' a tolerably comprehensive phrase, 'presented a more remarkable display of bigotry and intolerance than the puritan colonists of New England.'

After such a sweeping censure, we read, without surprise, in the chapter on dress and manners, that these puritans dressed with shocking bad taste, and eschewed whatever was gay or graceful. Now, it so happens, that the most graceful of female head-dresses—excepting the natural ringlets banded with pearls, was the French hood, which found such favour among the puritan females of the middle class, that it became a general fashion. As to 'affecting great plainness of dress,' did the writer ever look over the portraits of the Cromwell family only? The daughters of the great Protector are adorned with pearls, and topknots, and rich jewellery, nor are even the love-locks wanting in their portraits, or those of their brothers. It is true that subjects like this are of slight historical importance; still, it is quite-time that, even on the question of becoming apparel, our puritan forefathers should have justice done them. In many quarters a systematized plan now appears to be adopted, not, as formerly, of violently abusing these great men, but of passing them over, either with faint praise, or, which is sometimes found to be more efficacious, with cool censure. We are, after all, scarcely surprised at this; for if we, their descendants, have taken so little pains hitherto to vindicate their memory, how can we expect our opponents to do so?

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ART. V.—1. *Report on the Dublin Improvement Bill, ordered to be Printed by the House of Commons, March 1, 1847, with Appendix and Minutes of Evidence.*

2. *Statement of the Dublin Corporation in support of the Bill for the Improvement of the Borough of Dublin.*
3. *A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Lincoln, M.P., on the Bill before the House of Commons for the Improvement of the Borough of Dublin.* By John Reynolds, Esq., Town Councillor, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, having charge of the Bill, &c. London, 1847.

THE want of energy and self-reliance shown by the Irish in many instances, in dealing with the difficulties which beset them during the prevalence of the late famine, has been a subject of painful remark to many. There was a want of union, of sys-

tem, of business tact, and of public spirit, which, while it involved the destitute in much unnecessary suffering, reflected no small discredit on the national character. The press of this country appealed triumphantly to this fact as demonstrating that such a people were unfit for self-government. Some went so far as to maintain that constitutional rights were thrown away upon them, and that some sort of military rule was what the case of a population so passive and feeble, having so little mind or will of its own, absolutely required. The government too, made serious complaints, on the evidence of their officers engaged in administering relief through the public works, of the incapacity, dishonesty, and impracticability of many of the gentry. While they cast themselves helplessly on its aid, they murmured against its control; while contending that it could do nothing right, they still required that it should do every thing. They declaimed against British rule, and yet intrigued at Dublin Castle. They diverted the relief funds from their legitimate channel to their own private benefit. They contracted debts without stint or forethought, and then repudiated them without scruple. Such were the charges brought against the Irish gentry; and in not a few cases they were true.

It is natural to inquire into the causes of such a lamentable condition of the national mind—whether Saxon or Celt—and to ask, whether such results flow from the nature of the people or the faults of their government. Is there any cure for evils so fatal to national prosperity,—and if there be, in what quarter shall we seek it?

There can be no self-reliance in a people without self-government. Children must incur the risk of going alone before they can walk firmly and safely. Young people must be let out free into the world, if we expect them to resist its seductions. Exposure to temptation is a necessary condition of virtue. There can be no strength without exercise. Those unfortunate sons whose fathers are too clever and pragmatic,—too fond of thinking and acting for their children, and of freeing them from all responsibility, will never be capable of thinking or acting for themselves. When thrown on their own resources they miserably fail. ‘Unstable as water, they cannot excel.’ Feeling the humiliating necessity of relying on some external power, they are the sport of circumstances—swayed hither and thither by every passing influence,—yielding to one pressure now, and the next hour succumbing to its opposite. It is the will of the Creator that manhood should assert its independence; that every human being should support himself when he gets strength to do it—that, according to the apostle,

working alone should confer on man the right to eat. The law that maturity should provide for itself, pervades the whole animal economy. The birds of the air, and the beasts of the forest, are driven out by their parents to seek homes and supplies for themselves, when they are of age. Britain and America are the nations which most strikingly exemplify this law in its operation on mankind, and, accordingly, they lead the way in the progress of society. There are no drones in their families. If any member is not wanted to work at home, he becomes restless with an uncomfortable sense of dependence, and the others regard his presence with an uneasy feeling, which ultimately, if he show an indolent temper, amounts to uncontrollable impatience. The consequence is, that the superfluous member 'goes out,' and becomes the architect of his own fortune. On the contrary, in Ireland and other stationary countries, local attachments are strong, family ties are rent with repugnance and pain, the patriarchal or clannish spirit overcomes in the idle the sense of dependence, and they herd together in loyalty, affection, and poverty,—dreaming of the past with pride, until they degenerate into paupers fed by the industry they despised.

These habits seem natural to the primitive states of society. They are broken up by commerce, which leads to associations of another kind more favourable to progress. These associations become gradually consolidated into fixed organized communities, having their charters and laws, guaranteeing personal rights and privileges, and providing for self-government. Hence, corporations have arisen and have conferred advantages on society which have never flowed to it through any other channels. The pages of history always brighten when it records the operations and influence of municipal institutions. Where the free local action of these civil communities was secured, it mattered little how remote was the seat of the imperial or central power. Absolute independence was scarcely felt to be desirable, except where this free local life was sought to be crushed,—or consumed by the slow poison of a corrupting despotism.

In all the changes and revolutions which England has undergone, she has never lost the habit of self-government. It has been rooted in every parish, it has flourished in every town, and borne its ripest fruit in the commons. Ireland, too, has had corporations—but they have been shadows of a name—mocking shadows. Instead of being the substantial, organized developments of the national will in the respective towns whose names they bore,—encouraging industry, rewarding public spirit, endearing social order, illuminating loyalty, enriching the nation,—they were really but the fortresses of a faction,

where they planted the artillery of oppression, and stored up the fruits of national plunder, for the benefit of 'a miserable monopolising minority.'

Hence, far from exerting any beneficial influence on the temper of the native population which they sedulously excluded, they failed scandalously to fulfil the most ordinary and contracted functions of such institutions. This fact finds abundant and melancholy illustration in the history of the Dublin corporation and those anomalous 'boards' which have existed in that city with the design of fulfilling the duties which the corporation was bound to discharge, but grossly neglected. We find an account of those boards in the report of Abraham Hayward, Esq., Q. C., and C. P. Bassington, Esq., Land Surveyor, appointed by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, &c., to inquire on the spot whether there was justice in the demand of the Reformed Corporation for a new bill to enable them to improve the city, and manage its municipal affairs in a proper manner. We may remark here, that the report of these gentlemen was against the proposed bill, and that they have shown a decided bias in favour of the existing Boards. They, however, take their information regarding them from the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Municipal Corporation of Ireland, printed in 1835.

The first of these bodies is the *Paving Board*. 'The history of this board is curious, as showing the variety of plans of local administration which have been tried and failed successively. The duty of paving and cleansing the city was originally imposed upon the corporation.' The 'scavenger of the city' was to carry away the dirt two days in each week, and the inhabitants were compelled to sweep before their houses on those two days, before nine in the morning, so that the dirt might be ready for the scavenger. Forty-five years elapsed without legislative interposition; but in 1774, a corporate body, called the 'Commissioners for Paving the Streets of Dublin,' was created, consisting of the lord chancellor, the chief justices, the lord mayor, the recorder, sheriffs, fifteen aldermen, and fifteen common councilmen (to be elected in common council by ballot), the archbishop of Dublin, and the seneschal of the manor of St. Sepulchre, the lord of the manor, and the seneschal of the manor of Thomas Court and Donore, the deans of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, and thirty-seven persons named in the act. With such an array of functionaries, political, ecclesiastical, and civil, the city should have been well paved indeed, and withal, most exemplary for its cleanliness. But, two years later, a new act required in the commissioners certain qualifications, which, it seems, were not thought of



first; and, as if the former number were too small, new commissioners were added.

These requirements and additions were in vain; for, after a trial of only six years, this board was dissolved, and a new one formed, consisting of the lord mayor, recorder, sheriffs, and two senior aldermen, (no common councilmen), two senior sheriff's peers, the members of both houses of parliament, and sixty-seven persons named in the act. In 1784, 1786, 1787, 1788, 1790, 1797, and 1800, additional acts were passed; but, in 1807, a sweeping reform was again found necessary. Two commissioners of inquiry were appointed, and, on their report, the powers of the board were suspended, and new administrators temporarily appointed. In 1807, all former enactments were repealed; the commissioners and other officers were *pen- sioned* off (as a reward for doing nothing), and the present paving board was created. The old boards left a debt due of £97,000.

The present board consists of three paid commissioners, appointed by the lord lieutenant, and *removable by him at pleasure*. The salary of the chief commissioner is not to exceed £600 a year, nor the salaries of the others £500 each. In addition to these, the lord lieutenant appoints, 'during pleasure,' two supervisors, at £400 a year each; a secretary at £200 a year, and a treasurer at £500 a year. No less than thirty-six persons are employed in connexion with this board, receiving salaries amounting to more than £5,000. The gentlemen appointed to make the inquiry say, it is difficult to understand how so many persons can be constantly employed in doing so little; and they admit, that the liability to Castle influence in the case of persons appointed during pleasure, is undeniable, but then they think that this influence has always been exerted beneficially.

The difficulty of accounting for the great number of persons employed by this board becomes greater, when we consider that the works are all done by contract. 'The contracts are for horses and carts for three years. A contract for horses was to end on 12th November, 1845. The advertisement for fresh tenders appeared on 25th October, 1845, the tenders were to be sent in on 12th November, and the work was to commence on 12th December.' Five tenders were sent in; 'but instead of accepting the lowest, or taking steps to procure fresh offers, the board entered into a private contract with the former contractor, without communicating with the other competing parties. Competition was virtually excluded, and such a system must always give rise to suspicion and distrust.' The surveying officers tell us that evidence was given that the scavenging of the city had been insufficiently performed during the last year, 'and per-

formed very badly, indeed, during the last two or three months.' This was ascribed to the frost which broke up the Macadamized streets; but they add, 'We are by no means satisfied that the resulting inconvenience might not have been prevented by due attention and activity.' They further tell us, that the accounts of the board are *audited in England*, and have *not been printed for the public since 1842*. 'The discontinuance of the former practice of printing them was attempted to be justified on the plea of expense; but the annual publication of such accounts as that printed, *ante p. viii*, would cost very little.' Their impression on the whole is, that the establishment is on too expensive a scale; and that the various works and services would be better done and cheaper, if the principle of competition were fairly carried out.

*The Wide Street Commissioners* form another board, whose powers and constitution are to be collected from twenty acts of parliament, and it is remarkable that in the act of 9 & 10 Vict. c. 400, all the preceding acts are recited and re-enacted! The present board consists of twenty-five commissioners, namely, the lord-mayor of Dublin, with the city and county members for the time being, and twenty persons appointed for life by the lord-lieutenant. No qualification of any sort is required; but the twenty non-official members vacate their seats by not attending for six months; and in point of fact are all resident in Dublin and the neighbourhood.

*The Pipe Water Committee of the Town Council* enjoys a monopoly of the right of conveying water to the City of Dublin, (except as regards wells and springs). It consists of twenty members, three of whom form a quorum. The surveying officers report that the pecuniary resources of this department would have justified the doing of far more than has been done, or even contemplated by the pipe-water committee.

The account which the surveyors give of the sanitary condition of the City of Dublin, is sad indeed. It is a disgrace to any civilized country. They say:—

'If the bare existence of evils or abuses were sufficient to justify the granting of the powers demanded (by the corporation), the promoters of this bill would have comparatively little difficulty in establishing their case. The state of the city is undeniably very bad, as regards many of the more immediate objects of the present inquiry, particularly sewerage, perhaps the most important of any, for large underground accumulations of fetid matter, may be the cause of disease and death, for a long period, before attention is attracted to them. It was proved to us by the supervisors, that some of the leading streets and squares of Dublin were without any public or effective sewerage whatever, and that the want of sewerage was still

more felt, and more fraught with danger in the streets and lanes inhabited by the lower classes, who more readily submit to the proximity of dirt heaps, foul drains and cess pools, very seldom take measures for preventing or mitigating the injurious consequences, and hardly ever adopt habits of strict cleanliness, unless the means are placed immediately within their reach. Mr. Willis's evidence proves that the Dublin poor form no exception to the rule; indeed, his opinion was that the tone of feeling was so sunk among large classes of them, that they had no longer any wish or taste for cleanliness, nor any capacity for appreciating the commonest decencies of civilized life. . . . . The want of water, the deficient sewerage, the crowding of families into single rooms of small dimensions, the filth, and the consequent corruption of the atmosphere, have all been truly described by him. The wonder to our minds was, not that disease, with its attendant miseries, was (as he states), rarely absent, but that human beings could prolong life at all, in such dwelling-places, and under such circumstances. Some of the courts were not paved, and the surface of these was like that of a damp dunghheap; some of the passages were filthy in the extreme; yet even in these courts and passages the stench (exhaling from the houses) of human bodies crowded together, frequently overcame every other stench, and produced so striking an effect, that at the end of an hour, we were obliged to discontinue the inspection of the interior for a time. . . . Their present condition is a disgrace to a civilized country, and should be amended at any sacrifice, if not for their sakes, for the sake of the public health, which must be seriously endangered by the existence of such never-failing sources of infection in so populous a district of the city.'

The citizens of Dublin complain that the municipal affairs should be in the hands of these boards, on the following grounds. As to the Paving Board, the commissioners, and all the officers under them, are appointed and removable at pleasure by government; they have too frequently been preferred to office from political considerations, and have been, of course, habitually subservient on political questions to the party promoting them. The influence of the heads of departments has been neutralized and controlled by government interference and favour. The accounts are never published except under special circumstances, such as upon the demand of a commission of inquiry appointed by the crown, or an order of the House of Commons, and even then they have been found incorrect. The expense of the board amounts to twenty-three per cent. upon the income received, and the number of persons employed would suffice to transact more than twice the extent of all the local affairs of the city. Still the streets are badly cleansed, some of the most frequented thoroughfares are unflagged, the sewerage in some parts of the city is imperfect, and

in others totally neglected. Contracts have either been interfered with by government, or they have been entered into without a due regard to the public interests.

Then as to the Wide-street Commissioners, they are appointed for life by the crown likewise, no qualification is demanded of them, and they are in no respect responsible to the rate-payers. They are empowered to levy rates, and borrow money, but they publish no accounts. They have incurred a debt of £52,763 12s., for which the citizens have to pay five per cent. when the money could have been had at three per cent. The expenses of collecting the wide-street tax have amounted in a single year to £900, and the cost of the establishment is unnecessarily high. And it has been alleged, that the works undertaken by the commissioners have not been those best suited to the wants of the public.

The city grand jury enjoys powers of taxation unlimited by law, and uncontrolled by the rate-payers. The amount of money thus raised, has increased enormously of late years, and the expense of collection is unreasonably high. Corrupt practices have prevailed in the collection and remission of the tax. In 1842, the commissioners of inquiry into the Irish grand jury laws, pointed out in their report, that £16,000 a-year of this tax might be saved to the citizens of Dublin! And they recommended that this power should be vested in the corporation. The grand jury is appointed by the sheriff, and the sheriff is himself appointed by the crown, and has almost invariably been a decided party man.

The constitution of the Ballast Board for preserving and improving the port of Dublin is tainted with the same vices and liable to the same abuses as the others. In the legislation regarding these boards for a century back, the constitutional principle has been studiously avoided, crown patronage and irresponsibility have been carefully preserved; and the result has been corruption, political subserviency, neglect of the public interests, excessive taxation, and secret accounts.

The reformed corporation now seeks a remedy for these evils. In the statement which they have made in support of their proposed bill for the improvement of the city, they have very clearly and forcibly set forth what, we are bound to say, every unprejudiced man must admit to be their just claims.

They ask of the legislature the following powers:—1. Paving, lighting, cleansing, watering, and sewerage of the streets. 2. Widening and improving the streets. 3. Regulating and improving the markets. 4. The powers of local taxation exercised by the grand jury. 5. Extending to £5. the jurisdiction of the borough Court of Conscience. 'The bill,' say its promoters.

‘both as to the principles upon which it is based, and the provisions it contains, is strictly constitutional. It proposes to give to the inhabitant ratepayers, through the municipal representatives elected by them, the power to levy and apply the rates and taxes required for the convenience, health, and improvement of their own locality, and the management of the affairs for which the rates and taxes are raised. It deals with local wants, rights, and benefits, and those only. It confers no privileges, or authority, but such as have been conceded to and are in full operation in *all English boroughs*; and also in the boroughs of *Galway and Belfast*. The several acts passed within the last six or seven years, for the improvement of Liverpool and Manchester have been taken as the precedents for this bill; and it may not be amiss to observe, that every market town in Ireland has by law the principle here contended for guaranteed to its inhabitants. At this moment, by the public general act, 9 Geo. IV. c. 86, the inhabitant householders of every town in Ireland are empowered to elect commissioners, and levy a rate for paving, cleansing, lighting, and watering. If, therefore, this bill should not be permitted to pass, the citizens of Dublin, through their municipal representatives, will be denied a constitutional right, universally enjoyed by the municipal corporations of England, and in many essential respects, extensively exercised by the inhabitants of other towns in Ireland.

‘The defects and abuses of the complicated machinery by which the local affairs of Dublin have been conducted for a long period, have been so often pointed out and condemned, that it will suffice to refer here to three public documents as authorities to prove the necessity that exists for such a legislative measure as that now solicited. These are, 1. The report of the commissioners of inquiry into the municipal corporations of Ireland, 1835; 2. The report of the commissioners of inquiry into the Irish grand jury laws, 1842; 3. The report of the Tidal harbour commissioners, 1846. These reports will be found to bear full and complete testimony to the extravagance, mismanagement, and inefficiency prevailing in the several departments for administering the local affairs of Dublin, to which their contents refer.’—Statement of the Corporation, etc., pp. 1—6.

In an able letter to the Earl of Lincoln, Mr. John Reynolds, Town Councillor, as chairman of the committee having charge of the bill, says:—

‘Were there no practical grievances resulting from our being placed on a different and lower footing than our brethren of English cities, we should still be perfectly justified in seeking to remove it, and refusing to be satisfied with less than a full equality of privileges;

but, my Lord, our great object in looking for a new local constitution, is the reduction of local taxation, and greater efficiency in the works for which that taxation is imposed. Taxation in Dublin, taking one year with another, amounts at present to £200,000 a-year, in round numbers. Now, by a judicious use of the pruning knife, or rather, my Lord, I should say, by applying the axe to some long-decayed and rotten roots, that sum might be reduced one-fourth. I believe it would be capable of a still further reduction, and I am sure that double the amount of benefit now received might be obtained from a consolidated administration elected by and responsible to the municipal body. At present the taxes raised upon the hard earnings of the people are squandered by irresponsible bodies, in whom the citizens have no confidence, because they have no control over them; and the duties are, in many instances, discharged in a perfunctory, slovenly manner. Look, my Lord, at the police establishment of Dublin. There are in that establishment eleven stipendiary magistrates, two of whom are pensioned off at a salary of £600 a-year each, the united amount of whose official income is £6,600. There are two commissioners, sixteen inspectors, a treasurer, and a force of nearly 1,200 men. Liverpool, with a larger population than Dublin, has only one paid magistrate. Birmingham has only three hundred police, and not one paid magistrate. There is only one paid magistrate in Manchester, with a population of 300,000; none in Leeds. Now, in the city of London, the municipal authorities of the metropolis of the world, appoint, maintain, and manage their own police. But the municipal authorities of Dublin have no control whatever over the immense force supported in that city, although the citizens are obliged to pay them. If the Lord Mayor of Dublin should happen to require a guard of honour, he is obliged to make humble application to the commissioners of police for it.—Letter, etc., p. 7.

It is time to carry into effect the spirit of the declaration made by Sir Robert Peel, on retiring from office. 'Speaking for myself,' said the right honourable gentleman, 'I do not hesitate to avow the opinion that there ought to be established a complete equality of *municipal*, civil, and political rights, as between Ireland and Great Britain.' It is only in Dublin that the public have no control over the grand jury presentments. The sheriff in whom is vested the selection of the city grand jury, is, himself, appointed by the Crown.

'Deep wounds have, on various occasions, been inflicted on the administration of justice, and upon its character among the people, by the notorious partiality and violence of feeling on the part of these officers. It is sufficient to say that, in the course of two hundred years, not a single person professing the Roman catholic creed has been elected to that office in Dublin. Since the passing of the Irish Municipal Bill, five sheriffs have been appointed for that city. They were all protestants, and, with the exception of Mr. Latouche, they

were all rigid conservatives. Why the Roman catholics of the city of Dublin should be thought unworthy of a privilege to which persons of that persuasion were and are eligible in the counties, it is for the opponents of this bill to explain.'—Reynolds, p. 19.

All the towns and cities in England and Wales that possessed the power of electing sheriffs before the passing of the Municipal Reform Bill, were permitted to retain that power. Not so, with the Irish corporation; they were deprived of it by Lord Lyndhurst.

The minority in the corporation—the party who have had the management of city affairs, and the monopoly of power and emolument in past times, very naturally but not very rationally object to the abolition of the boards, and the transference of their powers to the corporation, — fearing that these powers would all be exercised by their political opponents. Conscious themselves of exclusive and monopolizing propensities—remembering that they never did a single act in their corporate capacity, manifesting a generous confidence in their Roman catholic fellow-citizens, they cannot bring themselves to give the latter credit for impartiality.

It is said that the wealth and respectability of the city of Dublin are on the side of the conservatives, and that they are not adequately represented in the corporation. To a certain extent this is true. But is it therefore to follow that the majority are not to enjoy the rights guaranteed to them by law? The following contains sound sense, and administers a just rebuke.

'It must be considered that these men complain not of a specific grievance, not of an injustice that can be remedied; their opposition, properly speaking, is directed against the operation of a general law; their quarrel is with the nature of things—with their own position as a minority—in fact, with the inevitable result of circumstances. But then their wealth—their respectability! If I were inclined to deal hardly with that party who appear so well inclined to deal hardly with us, I would ask them, what is the notable result of all their boasted wealth and respectability? In what attitude do they now appear before the British public, and before the world? In that, my lord, of a beggar at the door of parliament, imploring that their tenants and dependants may be made the objects of public charity—imploring that food may be dealt out to the people by the state—not, my lord, from the love they bear the people, but to avert from themselves the fixed and frightful gaze of hungry millions, whom they are conscious of having driven by mis-government to beggary and despair. But, my lord, we will give them full credit for their wealth—we will admit that they are groaning under the weight of their respectability—what then? Social respectability is one thing—legal respectability is another; every man may consult his feelings or his fancy in regulating

his opinion or his actions with respect to the former—prudent men will take the latter as they find it—surely conservatives are bound to accept the definition of it as given them in the institutions of their country. Now the law of England has pronounced the £10 householder to be the standard of political respectability. If these gentlemen wish to overturn that standard, they ought to inform us by what other standard they mean to replace it—what possible data of qualification will suit their purposes, so as to place them in a majority under any rational system—under any plan of government, save the exclusive ascendancy plan. Our body, give me leave to add, does not consist exclusively of this class. We count amongst us men of first-rate business, credit, and standing. But if the council consisted to a man of the class of £10 householders, I for one would not be ashamed to belong to it. In Dublin, they are an honest, laborious, and truly deserving body. They constitute, I need hardly tell your lordship, that which forms the thews and sinews of every town—which represents its industry, indicates the ratio of its progress, and the measure of its strength and greatness. The corporation of Dublin, as the representative of the middle classes, may safely challenge a comparison, in point of real wealth, respectability, and solvency, with their memorable predecessors.’—Letter, &c.

The surveying officers in their report, bear hard on the liberal corporation. Their sympathies are evidently and entirely with the minority. Every charge against them, however undeniably well founded, they mitigate or explain away;—to every imputation on the majority they give their official *imprimatur*. Yet they bear the following testimony in page twenty-seven of the report :—

‘The credit claimed by the finance committee for a judicious reduction of the expenses of the borough revision, appears to be fairly due to the new corporation. We also think it right to state that no case of mal-administration from corrupt or improper (other than party) motives was established against them.’

That the popular party should make an intemperate use of their power after centuries of unjust deprivation; that they should show something of intolerance in the first flush of victory,—and that they should have availed themselves of their corporate privileges during the paroxysm of the repeal agitation in 1843 and 4, when their temporary enthusiasm and their implicit faith in O’Connell, led them to believe that the union was on the point of being dissolved, and that a domestic parliament would be the result of the desperate struggle, cannot be wondered at by any one who knows human nature, and has read the history of political parties. But to infer a permanent tendency from a temporary excitement, is anything but proof of political wisdom. Yet the charges of intolerance and exclusi-



ness made by the Dublin conservatives, countenanced by the report of the surveying officers, and re-echoed by the London press, are, we have reason to think, greatly exaggerated.

'When it is recollected that the majority of the council are Roman catholics, and that they are naturally canvassed by catholics seeking for offices connected with that body, it cannot be wondered at nor considered unfair, that four out of the six collectors newly appointed should be of the same persuasion. The council did not dismiss Sir Drury I. Dickenson, a protestant conservative, although they might have done so without compensation. They did not even seek to influence him in the slightest degree as to the candidate for whom he should vote in the contested election for the city of Dublin. They retained Mr. Neville and Mr. Crofton, the engineer and overseer of the pipe-water, although protestants, and opponents of repeal. They likewise appointed to vacancies, which occurred in the offices of assessor, auditor, and pipe-water collector, Mr. Hayes, Mr. Long, and Mr. Dickson, all protestants and anti-repealers, and they have made Mr. O'Hea, a protestant, their leading counsel, over the head of Sir Colman O'Loghlen, a Roman catholic.'—Reynolds, p. 34.

We must, in justice to the Dublin corporation, through whose sides a wound is sought to be inflicted on the principle of local self-government, give another extract from this eloquent pamphlet:

'The present corporation of Dublin presents a very favourable contrast to those condemned boards in every one of the above particulars. It possesses in the fullest extent the confidence of the vast majority of the citizens, because it has for its basis the just and sound principle of popular control; because its proceedings are open; and because the members of the town council, being periodically elective, stand under the heavy liability of future rejection and disgrace, if they should fail in the upright and punctual discharge of their duties.

'It possesses the confidence of the people, because, in the practical exercise of its very limited powers, and under the most difficult and embarrassing circumstances, it has proved itself a reformer of abuses, an economical administrator of the money of the rate-payers, and a watchful guardian of the comforts of the poor and the public. Under its auspices the Court of Conscience, which, before its time, had long been a public nuisance, a sink of infamy, and a fruitful source of misery and crime, has been reformed.

'The citizens of Dublin repose trust in their corporation, because they know that they are indebted to its exertions and assistance for the Applotment of Rates Bill, by which the former grievously oppressive mode of valuing taxes in Dublin was replaced by a more equitable system. They know that their confidence is not misplaced, because they feel the benefits of its improving and reforming spirit in the reduction of unnecessary offices—in a lessening of

the interest of the city debt—in the considerable extension of metal mains—in the introduction of fire-plugs, before unknown, by which the security of life and property has been materially increased—and in the agreeable prospect held out to them, that these improvements will be followed by others of equal or greater importance, at the same time, that they will be attended with a diminution of their local burthens.’—*Ib.* p. 50.

The powerful influence of corporations in advancing civilization has been dwelt upon by all writers on the progress of society. ‘They proved the cradles of industry, the homes of the arts, the strongholds of wealth; and they taught mankind in almost every instance, that the true levers and steadiest producers of independence and fortune, are the resolute and untiring reliance of every man upon his own exertions; or, where separate action is inadequate, the junction of all to effect for the general good what the hands of an individual are too weak to accomplish. The force of this truth led to the discovery of another,—that the progress of improvement, to be legitimate and enduring, should invariably be the work of the people, and never be solicited as a boon, or accepted as a reward from the government.’

The modification of the feudal system imposed on Ireland rose to a greater height and endured to a later date than in any other country of Western Europe. Mr. G. Lewis Smyth, from whom we have just quoted, has in his valuable work, ‘Ireland Historical and Statistical,’ written on this subject in a manner so truthful and judicious, that we should have been gratified, had our space permitted, to extract from its pages, since they not only throw much light on the condition of Ireland, but have a general bearing on the great question of local government as opposed to an all-absorbing centralization. In Ireland, government has done everything for the people, with what results, ‘the day has declared,’—the day of famine and fiery trial. Mr. Smyth thinks the core of this evil in Dublin is the separate system of government, maintained there under a viceroy, who, having little real power, expends his energies, and seeks to sustain his importance by intermeddling in affairs which ought to be left to private enterprise and popular control. The present lord-lieutenant regards his office in a very different light. His reply to the address of the corporation, on his accession to office, is a statesman-like production. The corporation addressed him in the old style of dependence, declaring in one breath that nothing could save Ireland but repeal, and that they hoped his Excellency would save it without repeal. Then they mention a number of things which they think government should do to make the country prosperous. But he wisely declines the

responsibility they would cast upon him,—a responsibility which was never assumed, except to deceive and disappoint,—and tells them that the people must win prosperity by their own industry and persevering exertions. Government, however, can remove obstructions from the path of social progress, and give the people fair play. This the Irish people have never had; and we think if Lord Clarendon carries out the just and enlightened spirit of his answer to the corporation, he must use his influence in favour of the Dublin Improvement Bill.

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ART. VI.—*The True Story of my Life. A Sketch, by Hans Christian Andersen.* Translated by Mary Howitt. London: Longman and Co.

THIS is a most delightful little book; one just fit for Andersen to write, and Mary Howitt to translate; an autobiography which bears in every page the stamp of the most perfect truthfulness, and which, with the—not childish, but *child-like*—feeling that pervades his ‘Wonderful Stories,’ tells minutely the history of his early dreams, and fancies, and struggles, and aspirations, and misgivings, through the long period of the trying but upward journey of the poor Danish boy, who entered Copenhagen nameless and friendless, but who has won himself a name among the writers of Europe.

‘My life is a lovely story, happy, and full of incident:’ such is the opening sentence. And yet, Hans Christian Andersen was born to no high expectations. His father, a working shoemaker, possessed but one room; and the very bed on which the new-born child lay, had been made out of the wooden frame that had supported the coffin of a deceased noble. This, and the shoemaker’s bench, almost filled the little room; but the pictures on the wall, and a cupboard above the work-bench, containing songs and books, showed that the poor young shoemaker had a taste beyond his humble circumstances. It was in a town, too, that Andersen’s early days were passed—Odense, the capital of the island of Funen; and thus, the home pleasure which so many a country child, however mean his cottage and its furniture, derives from its garden, was denied to him; the substitute being ‘a great chest filled with soil,’ in which his mother grew her vegetables, and which stood in the gutters be-

tween the roofs of the houses. Still, unpoetical as this rude hanging garden may appear, to Andersen it was interesting; and 'in my story of the Snow Queen, that garden still blooms.' The father was a superior man; brought up in comfort, but reduced by misfortunes. Unfortunately, he indulged in sceptical notions, which produced their usual effects in rendering him more dissatisfied with his lot.

'His parents had been country people in good circumstances, but upon whom many misfortunes had fallen: the cattle had died; the farm house had been burnt down; and lastly, the husband had lost his reason. On this the wife had removed with him to Odense, and there put her son, whose mind was full of intelligence, apprentice to a shoemaker, it could not be otherwise, although it was his ardent wish to be able to attend the grammar school, where he might have learned Latin. A few well-to-do citizens had at one time spoken of this, of clubbing together a sufficient sum to pay for his board and education, and thus giving him a start in life; but it never went beyond words. My poor father saw his dearest wish unfulfilled; and he never lost the remembrance of it. I recollect that once, as a child, I saw tears in his eyes, and it was when a youth from the grammar school came to our house to be measured for a new pair of boots, and showed us his books and told us what he had learned.

'That was the path upon which I ought to have gone!' said my father, kissing me passionately, and was silent the whole evening.—p. 4.

Alas! that the father was not spared to rejoice in the changed fortunes of his son. His moodiness and silence not improbably, however, encouraged the poetical feelings of the child, by leaving Hans to delight himself in his own dreamy world, when on Sundays he went forth with his father into the woods.

'Only twice in the year, and that in the month of May, when the woods were arrayed in their earliest green, did my mother go with us, and then she wore a cotton gown, which she put on only on these occasions, and when she partook of the Lord's supper, and which, as long as I can remember, was her holiday gown. She always took home with her from the wood a great many fresh beech boughs, which were then planted behind the polished stove. Later in the year sprigs of St. John's wort were stuck into the chinks of the beams, and we considered their growth as omens whether our lives would be long or short. Green branches and pictures ornamented our little room, which my mother always kept neat and clean; she took great pride in always having the bed-linen and the curtains very white.—p. 5.

An only child, with no associates save his parents and an old grandmother, of whom, in a few lines, he gives a very interesting picture, Andersen's chief delight was in making dolls' clothes,

listening to old stories, and indulging in quiet day-dreams. But strange as this 'waste of time,' as our Mentors of the present day would call such occupation, might seem, the mind of the dreaming child was acquiring both power and activity; and we much doubt whether the learning by heart of all Pinnock's catechisms would have supplied the place of the wild legends he listened to, or the bright visions which they brought to his mind. Indeed—

'Every circumstance around me tended to excite my imagination. Odense itself, in those days in which there was not a single steam-boat in existence, and when intercourse with other places was much more rare than now, was a totally different city to what it is in our day; a person might have fancied himself living hundreds of years ago, because so many customs prevailed then which belonged to an earlier age. The guilds walked in procession through the town with their harlequin before them with mace and bells; on Shrove Tuesday the butchers led the fattest ox through the streets adorned with garlands, whilst a boy in a white shirt and with great wings on his shoulders rode upon it; the sailors paraded through the city with music and all their flags flying, and then two of the boldest among them stood and wrestled upon a plank placed between two boats, and the one who was not thrown into the water was the victor.

'That, however, which more particularly stamped itself upon my memory, and became refreshed by after often-repeated relations, was, the abode of the Spaniards in Funen in 1803. It is true that at that time I was but three years old; still I nevertheless perfectly remember the brown foreign men who made disturbances in the streets, and the cannon which were fired. I saw the people lying on straw in a half-tumbledown church, which was near the asylum. One day, a Spanish soldier took me in his arms and pressed a silver image, which he wore upon his breast, to my lips. I remember that my mother was angry at it, because, she said, there was something papistical about it; but the image, and the strange man, who danced me about, kissed me and wept, pleased me: certainly he had children at home in Spain. I saw one of his comrades led to execution; he had killed a Frenchman. Many years afterwards this little circumstance occasioned me to write my little poem, 'The Soldier,' which Chamisso translated into German, and which afterwards was included in the illustrated people's-books of soldier-songs.'—p. 10—12.

A visit to the theatre next awakened a strong taste for dramatic literature, and he unconsciously began poetizing. Meanwhile, the father, always dissatisfied with his calling, determined to go for a soldier. Peace was, however, soon after concluded; and 'the voluntary soldier returned to his work-stool;' but, eventually, soon to die. A delirium coming on, 'my mother

sent me, not to the physican, but to a so-called wise woman, some miles from Odense.'

After the father's death, the poor boy still continued at home, when two ladies, unconscious of the benefit they conferred, invited him sometimes to see them. 'Here, for the first time, I heard the word *poet* spoken, and that with so much reverence, as proved it to be something sacred;' and here, more important still, 'for the first time I read Shakespere.' It was in a bad translation, he tells us; but what of that? There was his rich treasure of incident, of character, of scene, which no bad translation could destroy; and the wonder-stricken, dreaming boy, now actually dwelt among the mighty creations of Shakespere's genius. And he set about a tragedy himself, founded on the tale of 'Pyramus and Thisbe;' known, indeed, to him only through the medium of an old song; and to this, as though the story was not sufficiently tragic, he added an under-plot, with two additional deaths. This tragedy he read 'to all the people in our street,' when the scoffs of one of the neighbours vexed him greatly.

Meanwhile, after an attempt to place him in a factory, his mother, who had now married again, determined to apprentice Hans to a tailor. In order to this, it appears that it was necessary he should be confirmed; a necessity that seems incongruous enough to us; so he accordingly went for instruction to the superior clergyman, as he 'had always a fear of the poor boys laughing at him, and felt an inward drawing toward the boys of the grammar school,' among whom he would now be. At length, the important day arrived.

'An old female tailor altered my deceased father's great coat into a confirmation suit for me; never before had I worn so good a coat. I had also for the first time in my life a pair of boots. My delight was extremely great; my only fear was that every body would not see them, and therefore I drew them over my trousers, and thus marched through the church. The boots creaked, and that inwardly pleased me, for thus the congregation would hear that they were new. My whole devotion was disturbed; I was aware of it, and it caused me a horrible pang of conscience that my thoughts should be as much with my new boots as with God. I prayed him earnestly from my heart to forgive me, and then again I thought about my new boots.'—p. 28.

Influenced, perhaps, partly by pride in his new clothes, and having saved a little money, he now urgently prayed his mother that he might take a journey to Copenhagen, 'that I might see the greatest city in the world.'

'What wilt thou do there?' asked my mother.

'I will become famous,' returned I, and I then told her all that I had read about extraordinary men. 'People have,' said I, 'at first an immense deal of adversity to go through, and then they will be famous.'

'It was a wholly unintelligible impulse that guided me. I wept, I prayed, and at last my mother consented, after having first sent for a so-called wise woman out of the hospital, that she might read my future fortune by the coffee-grounds and cards.

'Your son will become a great man,' said the old woman, 'and in honour of him, Odense will one day be illuminated.'

'My mother wept when she heard that, and I obtained permission to travel.'—p. 29.

Among his other qualifications, Andersen, from a child, had possessed a remarkably musical voice. This had been the means of attracting the notice of one or two of the principal families in Odense; and, having practised recitation, he now thought that he might become a great actor; and thus, with a letter of introduction to the chief female dancer at the royal theatre, he set forth for Copenhagen, with scarcely ten dollars in his pocket, and when only little more than fourteen years old. Dressed in his confirmation suit, the next day he proceeded to Madame Schall, the dancer, with his letter. The earnest anxiety of the poor boy caused him 'to fall on his knees, and pray that he might find help and support,' ere he rung the bell. The lady dancer looked at him with amazement; his enthusiasm seemed madness to her; and he was coldly dismissed. The manager of the theatre was his next resource; but no better fortune attended him. At length, he bethought himself of the director of the academy of music, Siboni, who perhaps might assist him for his musical taste.

'It happened that very day that he had a large party to dinner; our celebrated composer Weyse was there, the poet Baggesen, and other guests. The housekeeper opened the door to me, and to her I not only related my wish to be engaged as a singer, but also the whole history of my life. She listened to me with the greatest sympathy, and then she left me. I waited a long time, and she must have been repeating to the company the greater part of what I had said, for, in a while, the door opened, and all the guests came out and looked at me. They would have me to sing, and Siboni heard me attentively. I gave some scenes out of Holberg, and repeated a few poems; and then, all at once, the sense of my unhappy condition so overcame me that I burst into tears; the whole company applauded.

'I prophesy,' said Baggesen, 'that one day something will come out of him; but do not be vain when, some day, the whole public shall applaud thee!' and then he added something about pure, true

nature, and that this is too often destroyed by years and by intercourse with mankind. I did not understand it all.'—p. 40.

A subscription of seventy rix dollars was forthwith made for him; Siboni promised him instruction; and a joyful letter to his mother now told the good fortune that had overtaken him. Not long, however, did this good fortune last. Half a year afterwards, in consequence of wearing bad shoes through the winter and insufficient clothing, he lost his voice; and Siboni recommended him to return to his native place, and learn a trade. 'Agonized with this thought,' the poor boy 'stood as if crushed to the earth. Yet, precisely amid this apparently great unhappiness, lay the stepping-stones of a better fortune.' He introduced himself to the poet Guldberg. 'The strong, warm-hearted man,' received him kindly, gave him the profits of a little work, and promised further to aid him. From this time, Andersen seems to have lived a kind of desultory life; educating his mind, indeed, by the scenes he beheld around him, but still not pursuing any regular course of study. This, however, is not chargeable upon him, but upon the narrowness of his circumstances, which eventually reduced him to 'only lodging and breakfast.' 'The lady,' he says, pathetically, 'believed that I went out to dine with various families, whilst I only ate a little bread on one of the benches in the royal garden.' But his keen delight in natural scenery—that inalienable heritage of the poet—was vivid as ever.

'During the two years of my residence in Copenhagen I had never been out into the open country. Once only had I been in the park, and there I had been deeply engrossed by studying the diversions of the people and their gay tumult. In the spring of the third year, I went out for the first time amid the verdure of a spring morning. It was into the garden of the Fredericksberg, the summer residence of Frederick VI. I stood still suddenly under the first large budding beech tree. The sun made the leaves transparent—there was a fragrance, a freshness—the birds sang. I was overcome by it—I shouted aloud for joy, threw my arms around the tree, and kissed it.

'Is he mad?' said a man close behind me. It was one of the servants of the castle. I ran away, shocked at what I had heard, and then went thoughtfully and calmly back to the city.'—Ib.

Meantime, his voice recovered its richness, and the singing master at the theatre offered him a place. He now thought if he could begin a course of study, it would be better for him, and he wrote a tragedy, hoping with the proceeds to be able to purchase instruction. This was rejected. Another attempt was also rejected; he was also dismissed, as too old, from the singing



school; but in the midst of all these anxieties, 'happiness filled my heart. I read then, for the first time, the works of Walter Scott. A new world was opened to me: I forgot the reality, and gave to the circulating library that which should have provided me with a dinner.' True, and abiding good fortune, was, however, now at hand. Councillor Collin took up the cause of the gifted boy in earnest. He recommended him as one of the recipients of a small annual stipend, granted by the king to young scholars, and also obtained him free admission into the grammar school at Slagelse. Thither the young student of seventeen repaired, to learn the lessons, and receive the instruction given to boys of ten and twelve; and, unused to hard study, no wonder he felt, as he tells us, 'like a wild bird in a cage.' The number and variety of the subjects that together demanded his attention, bewildered him; and added to these, his master was a stern, sarcastic pedagogue, without one particle of taste or enthusiasm. Still, the mental discipline was beneficial, and Andersen eventually acknowledged it to be so. And that he had been mistaken in his estimate of Andersen, the stern master himself, in after years, when the poet stood pre-eminent in his native land, was compelled to acknowledge.

Andersen subsequently returned to Copenhagen, and pursued his studies in private. He took his degrees with applause, and had the father been living, his warmest hopes would have been fulfilled in the success of his scholar son. In 1829, now four and twenty years of age, 'I passed my *examen philologicum et philosophicum*, and brought out the first collected edition of my poems, which met with great praise. Life lay bright in sunshine before me.' Andersen, however, did not become idle. From this time he maintained himself entirely by his writings, a severe task, in so small and poor a country as Denmark; and the moderation of his wishes appears to us touchingly displayed in the gratitude he expresses for the small pension which, a few years after, the king conferred upon him. 'I was no longer forced to write, in order to live; I had a sure support in the possible event of sickness. A new chapter of my life began!' And what was the stipend that thus made even a poet's heart sing for joy? Two hundred rix dollars—about twenty-five pounds a-year!

Although his early struggles had ended, and ended so triumphantly, Andersen found there was still much to mortify him. At the time when Germany had recognised his merits as a writer, a *clique* in Copenhagen pursued him with the most bitter and unjust criticism, and to escape from their venomous arrows, induced him, more than once, to travel. These records of his travels are very interesting, both from the vividness of

his descriptions, and the numerous notices of celebrated persons he met with. In 1833 he crossed the Simplon for Italy, 'on the very day that fourteen years before I had arrived poor, and helpless, in Copenhagen :—

' All was sunshine—all was spring ! The vine hung in long trails from tree to tree ; never since have I seen Italy so beautiful. I sailed on Lago Maggiore ; ascended the cathedral of Milan ; passed several days in Genoa, and made from thence a journey, rich in the beauties of nature, along the shore to Carrara. I had seen statues in Paris, but my eyes were closed to them ; in Florence, before the Venus de Medici, it was for the first time as if scales fell from my eyes ; a new world of art disclosed itself before me : that was the first fruit of my journey. Here it was that I first learned to understand the beauty of form—the spirit, which reveals itself in form. The life of the people—nature—all was new to me ; and yet as strangely familiar as if I were to come to a home where I had lived in my childhood. With a peculiar rapidity I seized upon every thing, and entered into its life, whilst a deep northern melancholy—it was not home-sickness, but a heavy, unhappy feeling—filled my breast. I received the news in Rome, of how little the poem of Agnete, which I had sent home, was thought of there ; the next letter in Rome brought me the news that my mother was dead. I was now quite alone in the world.'—p. 109.

It was here that he commenced that most eloquent work, 'The Improvisatore.' 'Italy was the back ground,' says he, 'for that which had been experienced,' and thus many of the scenes of his early life were reproduced in that work. The hint for his character of the Annunciata was thus given, in the following touching incident :—

' At one of my first visits to the theatre at Odense, as a little boy, where, as I have already mentioned, the representations were given in the German language, I saw the Donau-weibchen, and the public applauded the actress of the principal part. Homage was paid to her, and she was honoured ; and I vividly remember thinking how happy she must be. Many years afterwards, when, as a student, I visited Odense, I saw, in one of the chambers of the hospital where the poor widows lived, and where one bed stood by another, a female portrait hanging over one bed in a gilt frame. It was Lessing's Emelia Galotti, and represented her as pulling the rose to pieces ; but the picture was a portrait. It appeared singular in contrast with the poverty by which it was surrounded.

' Whom does it represent ? ' asked I.

' Oh ! ' said one of the old women, ' it is the face of the German lady, the poor lady who once was an actress ! ' And then I saw a little delicate woman, whose face was covered with wrinkles, and in an old silk gown that once had been black. That was the once

celebrated singer, who, as the Donau-weibchen, had been applauded by every one. This circumstance made an indelible impression upon me, and often occurred to my mind.'—p. 113.

While at Rome he was introduced to Thorwaldsen, with whom he formed a lasting friendship; and when he returned and published his 'Improvisatore,' his high station amongst Danish writers was at length acknowledged. Here is a recollection of another delightful northern writer, with whom Mary Howitt has also made us acquainted. He was in Sweden, and anxious to see Fredrika Bremer, who he understood was on board the same steamer:—

'Evening came on, and about midnight we were on the great Wener lake. At sunrise I wished to have a view of this extensive lake, the shores of which could scarcely be seen; and for this purpose I left the cabin. At the very moment that I did so, another passenger was also doing the same, a lady neither young nor old, wrapped in a shawl and cloak. I thought to myself, if Miss Bremer is on board, this must be she, and fell into discourse with her; she replied politely, but still distantly, nor would she directly answer my question, whether she was the authoress of the celebrated novels. She asked after my name; was acquainted with it, but confessed that she had read none of my works. She then inquired whether I had not some of them with me, and I lent her a copy of the 'Improvisatore,' which I had destined for Beskow. She vanished immediately with the volumes, and was not again visible all morning.

'When I again saw her, her countenance was beaming, and she was full of cordiality; she pressed my hand, and said that she had read the greater part of the first volume, and that she now knew me.'—p. 126.

Another journey, in 1840, to Italy, and thence to Greece and Asia Minor, furnished Andersen with the delightful pictures which make his 'Poet's Bazaar' well worthy of the same title, as his later work 'A Picture Book without Pictures,' and also with what he had hitherto often been denied, 'the most handsome remuneration he had hitherto received.' The glimpses of celebrated characters which we meet with in this pleasant volume, are not the least interesting portion. We must find room for the following account of the return of the great sculptor of the north to his native land, in 1838:—

'A flag was to wave upon one of the towers of Copenhagen as soon as the vessel which brought him should come in sight. It was a national festival. Boats decorated with flowers and flags filled the Rhede; painters, sculptors, all had their flags with emblems; the students bore a Minerva, the poets a Pegasus. It was misty weather, and the ship was first seen when it was already close by the city,

and all poured out to meet him. The poets, who, I believe, according to the arrangement of Heiberg, had been invited, stood by their boat; Oehlenschläger and Heiberg alone had not arrived. And now guns were fired from the ship, which came to anchor, and it was to be feared that Thorwaldsen might land before we had gone out to meet him. The wind bore the voice of singing over to us: the festive reception had already begun.

'The people drew Thorwaldsen's carriage through the streets to his house, where everybody who had the slightest acquaintance with him, or with the friends of a friend of his, thronged around him. In the evening the artists gave him a serenade, and the blaze of the torches illumined the garden under the large trees, there was an exultation and joy which really and truly was felt. Young and old hastened through the open doors, and the joyful old man clasped those whom he knew to his breast, gave them his kiss, and pressed their hands. There was a glory round Thorwaldsen which kept me timidly back: my heart beat for joy of seeing him who had met me when abroad with kindness and consolation, who had pressed me to his heart, and had said that we must always remain friends.'—p. 166.

Andersen now became his almost daily visitant:—

'One morning, when he had just modelled in clay his great bas-relief of the Procession to Golgotha, I entered his study.

'Tell me,' said he, 'does it seem to you that I have dressed Pilate properly?'

'You must not say any thing to him,' said the Baroness, who was always with him: 'it is right; it is excellent; go away with you!'

'Thorwaldsen repeated his question.

'Well then,' said I, 'as you ask me, I must confess that it really does appear to me as if Pilate were dressed rather as an Egyptian than as a Roman.'

'It seems to me so too,' said Thorwaldsen, seizing the clay with his hand, and destroying the figure.

'Now you are guilty of his having annihilated an immortal work,' exclaimed the Baroness to me with warmth.

'Then we can make a new immortal work,' said he, in a cheerful humour, and modelled Pilate as he now remains in the bas-relief in the Ladies' Church in Copenhagen.

'His last birth-day was celebrated there in the country. I had written a merry little song, and it was hardly dry on the paper, when we sang it, in the early morning, before his door, accompanied by the music of jingling fire-irons, gongs, and bottles rubbed against a basket. Thorwaldsen himself, in his morning gown and slippers, opened his door, and danced round his chamber; swung round his Raphael's cap, and joined in the chorus. There was life and mirth in the strong old man.

'On the last day of his life I sat by him at dinner; he was unusually good-humoured; repeated several witticisms which he had just

read in the *Corsair*, a well-known Copenhagen newspaper, and spoke of the journey which he should undertake to Italy in the summer. After this we parted ; he went to the theatre, and I home.

'On the following morning the waiter at the hotel where I lived said, 'that it was a very remarkable thing about Thorwaldsen—that he had died yesterday.'

'*'Thorwaldsen!'* exclaimed I ; 'he is not dead, I dined with him yesterday.'

'People say that he died last evening at the theatre,' returned the waiter.

'I fancied that he might be taken ill, but still I felt a strange anxiety, and hastened immediately over to his house. There lay his corpse stretched out on the bed ; the chamber was filled with strangers ; the floor wet with melted snow ; the air stifling ; no one said a word : the Baroness Stampe sate on the bed and wept bitterly. I stood trembling and deeply agitated.

'A farewell hymn, which I wrote, and to which Hartmann composed the music, was sung by Danish students over his coffin.'—pp. 172—174.

Honours now flowed in thickly upon Andersen. His children's tales appear to have excited more interest, in Germany especially, than even his other works. They were swiftly translated into that language, and more than one royal pair listened to the '*märchen*' of the Danish poet, as he read them in the translated German of his patrons. Rings, and albums, and portraits, rewarded the fortunate writer ; but the crowning glory of his life seems to have been the visit he was honoured to make to the king and queen of Denmark, at Wyck, a bathing place, where they were staying, and where, also, he 'read aloud his little stories :—

'I sailed in their train to the largest of the Halligs, those grassy runes in the ocean, which bear testimony to a sunken country. The violence of the sea has changed the mainland into islands, has riven these again, and buried men and villages. Year after year are new portions rent away, and, in half a century's time, there will be nothing here but sea. The Halligs are now only low islets covered with a dark turf, on which a few flocks graze. When the sea rises these are driven into the garrets of the houses, and the waves roll over this little region, which is miles distant from the shore. Oland, which we visited, contains a little town. The houses stand closely side by side, as if, in their sore need, they would all huddle together. They are all erected upon a platform, and have little windows, as in the cabin of a ship. There, in the little room, solitary through half the year, sit the wife and her daughters spinning. There, however, one always find a little collection of books. I found books in Danish, German, and Frieslandish. The people read and work, and the sea rises round the houses, which lie like a wreck in the ocean. Some-

times, in the night, a ship having mistaken the lights, drives on here and is stranded.

'We found only one man upon the island, and he had only lately arisen from a sick bed. The others were out on long voyages. We were received by girls and women. They had erected before the church a triumphal arch with flowers, which they had fetched from Fohr; but it was so small and low, that one was obliged to go round it; nevertheless they showed by it their good will. The queen was deeply affected by their having cut down their only shrub, a rose bush, to lay over a marshy place which she would have to cross. The girls are pretty, and are dressed in a half Oriental fashion. The people trace their descent from Greeks. They wear their faces half concealed, and beneath the strips of linen which lie upon the head is placed a Greek Fez, around which the hair is wound in plaits.

'On our return, dinner was served on board the royal steamer; and afterwards, as we sailed in a glorious sunset through this archipelago, the deck of the vessel was changed to a dancing room.'—p. 220—222.

'As I sat there, the whole of my former life passed in review before my mind,' says the grateful poet, 'and I was obliged to summon all my strength to prevent myself bursting into tears. How deeply I felt my own nothingness, how all, all, had come from God.' Our limits will not allow us space for further extracts, or we should introduce our readers to some other of the interesting characters who figure in this volume, especially to the all-admired Jenny Lind, who, we think, has made an indelible impression on Andersen's susceptible heart. We must, however, find room for the following. Would that every popular writer felt as deeply, and as correctly, the solemn importance of his calling:—

'I returned home. In this year my novel of the Improvisatore was translated into English, by the well-known authoress, Mary Howitt, and was received by her countrymen with great applause. O. T. and the Fiddler soon followed, and met with, as it seemed, the same reception. After that appeared a Dutch, and lastly a Russian translation of the Improvisatore. That which I should never have ventured to have dreamed of was accomplished; my writings seem to come forth under a lucky star; they fly over all lands. There is a something elevating, but at the same time, a something terrific in seeing one's thoughts spread so far, and among so many people; it is indeed, almost a fearful thing to belong to so many. The noble and the good in us becomes a blessing; but the bad, one's errors, shoot forth also, and involuntarily the thought forces itself from us: God! let me never write down a word of which I shall not be able to give an account to thee. A peculiar feeling, a mixture of joy and anxiety, fills my heart every time my good genius conveys my fictions to a foreign people.'—p. 235.

A third journey to Italy at the commencement of the last year, was taken; but Andersen suffered so much from the heat of the sun, that he repaired to the baths of Vernet, in the department of the east Pyrenees, to recruit his strength. From hence this pleasant volume was sent forth, and from hence we trust he has returned strengthened to his native land, prepared to write many more pictures, many more 'märchen,' and in years to come, to give us as pleasant a continuation of this 'True Story' of his life.

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ART. VII.—*The Nonconformist Elector.* Tuesday and Friday. London.

THE general election is now over. Candidates and Committees have returned to their ordinary occupations; our walls are no longer placarded with professions of political faith; the stir and excitement of contest have passed away; and thoughtful men are engaged in scrutinizing the result, and in asking what English liberty has gained by the struggle. This inquiry is pertinent, and we shall do our best to follow it out to an honest conclusion. We are not indeed yet possessed of all the materials proper to the case; time has not been allowed for a thorough classification of results; local circumstances, which were powerfully operative, may in some instances be unknown; and the opinions of members just returned may in others have been mistaken. Yet there are general and broad lines which cannot well be overlooked; features too distinctly marked to admit of misapprehension or doubt. It may suit the purpose of party scribes to represent the contest which has just closed as wanting in a distinctive character. Their efforts in this direction were obvious from the first moment that a dissolution was announced. They laboured most industriously to produce the impression, and circumstances were not wanting to give it countenance. The election of 1841 turned solely on the free-trade question, or rather on the relaxation of our commercial policy then proposed by Lord Melbourne's government. This question has been happily settled by Sir Robert Peel; and the country is yet unripe for those changes in the representative system which await us. A feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing order of things is becoming daily more intense and general; but the changes which are to cleanse and popularize the Commons'

House loom only in the distance. They are too far off, and are as yet too distasteful, to operate very powerfully on the electoral body. They are, however, making healthy progress, are silently winning converts, and, ere many more elections have passed, will be found on the surface of the political world, commanding the best energies and the soundest hearts of the empire. In the meantime, and for all the purposes of present electoral agitation, their voice is feeble,—their utterance indistinct and unattractive.

The abettors of things as they are have taken advantage of this apathy to represent the present contest as destitute of any distinctive character. It has involved, we are told, no principle; the people have not been appealed to in order to determine between the rival claims of two contending parties. Parliament has lived out its term, and has died a natural death. In one part of this statement there is a colouring of truth. No observers of our parliamentary history for the last twelve months can fail to have noticed the approximation of the Conservative and Whig factions. The representatives of defunct Toryism have indeed stood aloof, glorying in their shame; but Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel have been essentially one. The line which separates their policy is imperceptible to the popular eye. So nearly is their creed identical, that the *Morning Chronicle*, long the recognized organ of the Whigs, has formally advocated a coalition; affirming that, 'With respect to general principles, the two chiefs seem now to be as nearly as possible in unison.' The ordinary topics of electioneering warfare have, therefore, to a great extent, been wanting; and the great question which has now arisen had not, prior to the recent election, forced itself into sufficient publicity to take rank amongst the leading topics of the day. Whig and Tory organs have been alike concerned to prevent this new and most ominous movement from being recognized. It has not yet become 'a great fact,' but he must be blind indeed who fails to perceive 'the signs of the times.' Various circumstances have recently contributed to force the church question on public attention. Like all other monopolies, in the last stage of their existence, that of the church has been quickened into more than wonted vigour. The growing intelligence of the age, before which one evil after another has fallen, has made our bishops and clergy tremble. The more reflecting of them have seen the danger, and hence their efforts to sustain the tottering fabric. Force was first proposed by Sir James Graham, in order to restore the factory population of the north to the surveillance of the church. The Irish catholics were then deluded by the endowment of Maynooth, as a means of preserving the protestant hierarchy of that



realm. Bribery, on a wholesale scale, was next resorted to, with a view of restoring clerical ascendancy over the young hearts of England. And last of all, new bishops have been created under the miserable pretext of promoting the religion of the people. The first of these measures failed, but the rest were carried, spite of the solemn and earnest protest of hundreds of thousands. English legislation was arrested in its onward course, in order to fulfil the pleasure and cater to the passion of ecclesiastical supremacy. We are not surprised at this. All history might have taught us to expect it. We are far from being discouraged by the temporary success which it exhibits. The atrocities of Laud preceded the abolition of episcopacy; the murder of Russell and Sydney paved the way for the banishment of the house of Stuart; and in our own day, the Tory triumph of 1841 facilitated the erasure from our statute-book of one of the most disgraceful and selfish pieces of aristocratic legislation. It has been so in every age, and in all great moral revolutions. The darkest hour immediately precedes the dawn, and we have therefore viewed with exultation rather than despondency, the spasmodic efforts recently made to extend the influence and powers of the hierarchy.

The Nonconformists of these realms have been driven to the distinct and emphatic enunciation of their principles. How long they might have continued their former course, it is not for us to say. They were clearly averse to agitation. Old associations bound them to the Whig party; historical services commanded their gratitude; a feeble and unintelligent piety recoiled from the turmoil of political action; whilst the conservatism of wealth added to the reputed vulgarity of ultraism, contributed to keep things in their former state. Misapprehended duty on the part of some, sheer indolence in others, and downright worldliness in a third class, combined with higher and more generous motives, to prevent our taking the position to which Providence invited us. These influences might have prevailed for many years, had our opponents been wise. But their folly has been our redemption. Not content with what they had, they madly sought for more. Instead of confining themselves to the defensive, they adopted an aggressive policy, and have thus effectually aroused that abhorrence of ecclesiastical usurpation which had long slumbered, but was never extinct in the English mind.

So long as dissenters could delude themselves with the hope of error dying out by a natural process, they were quiescent. Inaction was favourable to the secular interests of many, and was apparently commended by the spirituality of their religion. But when error was not only perpetuated, but was sought to be

confirmed and extended ; when new buttresses were erected in support of an edifice for whose fall we were waiting ; when fresh attacks were made on religious liberty,—fresh burdens laid on conscience ; when a junior establishment was added to the hierarchy already existing, and the endowment of popery was distinctly contemplated as a means of perpetuating political protestantism, it was impossible for honest men to continue neutral any longer. The measures of our opponents effectually disturbed our quietude, compelled us to cast away the false hopes which had been cherished, and infixed deeply in our hearts the conviction, that there was no safety for truth but in the destruction of error, and no discharge of duty, befitting Christian men, short of a firm, uncompromising, and universal resistance to human authority in matters of religion. To this ground nonconformists were driven by the measures of their opponents. They would have stopped short of it, they had done so for several generations, and would have continued to do so for a generation yet to come, had not our legislature taught them that in order to this they must relinquish self-respect, be faithless to their God, and treacherous to his truth. Nothing short of this would have aroused them. Other means had been tried in vain. Arguments, expostulations, reproaches, entreaties, had been alike fruitless. They had turned a deaf ear to all, till the advocates of secular Christianity sought to counteract the progress of knowledge, and to perpetuate, through distant generations, the evils under which the present groans. This was too much even for their endurance. Slavery was permitted to subsist in our colonies so long as it tolerated the presence of Christianity ; but when it sought to provide for its own safety, by the banishment of our faith, the people of England pronounced its immediate doom. Just so it will prove with that spiritual serfdom which has hitherto lived on our sufferance. The days of its power are gone. The madness of its advocates has sealed its fate ; and another generation will not pass without witnessing changes to which there has been no parallel since the Long Parliament. Irreligious men will smile at what they deem our folly, when we speak of the providential coincidence observable in the dissolution of the recent parliament at this precise juncture. They are welcome to do so, but we shall not, on this account, be frightened from our propriety. Had the ecclesiastical policy of our statesmen—who are, in this respect, little more than the puppets of the hierarchy—been concealed until after a general election, no earthly power would have availed to prevent its being carried out. A seven years' tenure of office would have emboldened our senators to neglect, if not to despise, the petitions of their constituents. They ha

been guilty of much of this, even in the near prospect of an election; and what would they not have done under the long tenure of the Septennial Act? Happily it has not been so. Either their sagacity failed them, or they were too honest to be deceivers. In either case we have been forewarned, and the result affords good promise for the future.

In the near prospect of a general election, the Nonconformists of the kingdom felt they must act. They had, in fact, no option. They were shut up to one course. Necessity was laid upon them, and they began to prepare for the discharge of their duty with the clear-sightedness and resolution of men not to be trifled with. Their purpose was recorded at the Educational and the Anti-State-Church Conferences of April and May last, and received a positive embodiment in the *Dissenters Parliamentary Committee*, which grew out of the former. The principles on which their resolution was founded, were unfolded in our July number; and what has since occurred has fully borne out the views then imputed to them. The Conference on Education recommended 'the immediate adoption of well considered means of securing the return to the House of Commons of such candidates as not merely profess to hold sacred the claims of religious liberty, but also clearly understand what those claims imply.' The resolution of the Anti-State-Church Conference was expressive of the same general views, though it went a step further, in denouncing *all* ecclesiastical endowments, past as well as future. Its language was clear, and emphatic, and betokened the rapid progress which dissenters were making in the right direction. The elective franchise was referred to as a solemn trust committed to them by Divine Providence, and their members were exhorted to employ it 'in vindication of those ecclesiastical principles which constitute the sole basis of religious freedom and equality,' and resolutely to stand aloof from all contests in which an opportunity would not be afforded of recording their testimony 'against any form of alliance between the church and the state.' Yorkshire, Lancashire, and many other parts of England, pursued a similar course; and in Scotland the *Committee for maintaining the Civil Rights of Congregational Dissenters*, unanimously adopted the following resolutions on the second of July:—

'That whatever differences may in other respects separate the Whig from the Tory party in this country, there is none as it respects their relation to dissenters—both parties being alike opposed to dissenting principles and hostile to dissenting interests.

'That under these circumstances it is in the highest degree undesirable that dissenters should mix themselves up with the interests of any candidate who comes forward simply as belonging to one

or other of these parties, as in this case they would be using their electoral influence to return to parliament a decided enemy of principles and interests which every enlightened dissenter will hold dear, and which every honest dissenter should feel himself bound to uphold.

‘That the course which both sound principle and sound policy dictate for dissenters to pursue, is that of reserving their votes for such candidates as are in favour of anti-state-church principles; and where no such candidate appears, that they should stand aloof, conscientiously refusing to have any part of the responsibility of returning to parliament one who pretends to legislate for the interests of this country without a distinct recognition of the line which separates the domain of things civil from the domain of things sacred.’

One of the most significant signs of the times is found in the unanimous adoption of the following resolutions by the church and congregation assembling at the Tabernacle, London, Dr. Campbell, the pastor, being in the chair:—

‘That this meeting fully recognising the claims of Christian citizenship look upon the present period—the eve of a general election of representatives in parliament—as one which demands their earnest and prayerful consideration, with a view to such an exercise of the elective franchise as will best conduce to the advancement of pure and undefiled religion, and the deliverance of Christ’s kingdom from the contaminating, and, consequently, the enervating, influence of legislative connexion with the kingdoms of this world.

‘That this meeting being convinced from the proceedings of the past, and from the indications of the future, that the coming parliament will be largely occupied with matters ecclesiastical, and having viewed with alarm the disposition of the leading statesmen of both the great national parties to treat with indifference the claims of Christian truth, and to make the ministers and ordinances of religion subservient to state purposes, and the mere puppets and tools of the executive government, do most earnestly call upon all their brethren who possess the elective franchise, to remember that it is a solemn trust confided to their care, that it is to be exercised as in the sight of God and with reference to their final account; and especially do they recommend them in the present crisis to record their votes for no man who is not prepared to resist all further recognition of the antichristian principle of the union of church and state, whether involved in the grant of public money for religious or educational purposes, or in any other manner whatsoever; and, if it should happen that none of the candidates are sufficiently enlightened on these subjects to be prepared to pledge themselves to such resistance, this meeting recommend their brethren to abstain from voting altogether, considering in the present state of political affairs that all

other considerations are secondary to this which affects the purity and extension of Christ's kingdom, for which as Christians they are witnesses, and for the defence of which they are set.'

It is very easy for political men to sneer at such things, but those who are acquainted with English history, and know the force and the intense action of religious feeling, will regard with anything but indifference, the introduction of such an element into our electoral contests. It was before this power that the ancient chivalry of England fled at Naseby and Marston Moor, and its might is now increased a thousand-fold by its more enlightened and peaceful action. We honour Dr. Campbell for the noble example he has set, and commend it to the imitation of his brethren. Let the religious element, free from all alloy of intolerance and bigotry, be allowed free scope, and our labours will speedily prove invincible.

The almost universal adoption of these views constitutes a remarkable feature of our case. The oldest man amongst us had witnessed nothing of the kind. There were, undoubtedly, exceptions, and some of them highly respectable, but the rule was what we have stated. We have never witnessed an approach, either to the unanimity, or to the earnestness, which was exhibited. Men of all classes, and of every shade of political opinion, united in the conviction that religious freedom was in danger, and, therefore, that their paramount duty was so to exercise the franchise as should best guard so sacred a heritage.

It is, also, specially worthy of remark, that the course resolved on had the consistency of a great, transparent, principle. There was nothing selfish in it, nothing mean, low, or narrow-minded. It aimed at no sectarian purpose, but was so broad and universal, as to respect the rights, and to seek the welfare of all. Dissenters sought nothing for themselves which they did not readily cede to all others. The principles they advanced were equally applicable to the catholic and the protestant, to the episcopalian and the congregationalist. Their rallying cry was, 'Religious Equality,' and their primary motive, a vindication of the Christian faith from the secularity and suspicion to which it had been exposed by subjection to political craft.

The policy of dissenters was in this respect perfectly distinct from that of evangelical churchmen. In the latter case we see one religious faction struggling against another, with a zeal which partakes largely of the elements of earth, and is tinged with the bitterness of a former age. Let churchmen say what they may, the common sense of our countrymen will never be convinced, that their zeal for protestantism is not

debased by love of 'the loaves and fishes' which they have inherited from a catholic ancestry. Their contest is the struggle of those in possession, against those who claim to share the spoils; the outcry of monopolists against such as ask to divide the treasures which superstition filched from an ignorant and credulous people. Their contest is therefore wanting in all the higher and more generous elements. It commands no respect. It wins no confidence. It is deemed by the great mass of the people, aye, and by our senators, too, a miserable squabble about the temporalities of the church, rather than a contest for truth,—the movement of men whose religious convictions and hopes are staked on its issue. Political protestantism can never be an effectual break-water against popery. Force is its appropriate weapon. With this it worked in former days, and short-sighted politicians and mistaken divines imagined that it was successful. But its triumph was only for an hour, and short as it proved, was purchased by the sacrifice of its own vitality, the surrender of that living faith before which alone, the power of 'the man of sin' will fall. Happily, the day is now past for the employment of such a weapon. It is unsuited to our age. It would provoke only the indignant resistance of every enlightened man, and the system dependent on it is, consequently, powerless and contemptible. The 'No Popery' cry may stand in the way of remedial measures; it may be obstructive, for a season, of that which is good; it may be a living witness to the present generation of what bigotry could prompt in former times; but its character will not be imprinted on our legislation, much less will the masses of our people become its dupes. To confound the policy of dissenters with such a movement is one of the lowest and most disgraceful devices of party strife. It has, however, been attempted even by pseudo-liberal journalists, and may possibly—for what is too monstrous to gain belief in some quarters—have been credited for the hour. Well, let it be. Our vindication is at hand, and he who runs may read. 'To you we need not say,' remark the Dissenters' Parliamentary Committee, in their address of July 27, 'we have no sympathy with the political protestantism which shows itself in the old 'No Popery!' cry. We have suffered from its intolerance. We detest it from our very souls. Our objection does not lie against the endowment of Romanism only, but against the endowment of any form of religious faith or worship, be it protestant or catholic, episcopalian, presbyterian, wesleyan, or congregational.'

Such, then, were the principles and views with which the nonconformists of England, Scotland, and Wales, contemplated the recent election. Let us now see what has been done. Have

they fulfilled the expectations awakened? In the hour of contest, have they redeemed their pledges, acted worthy of their character, and laid a basis on which the respect and confidence of their countrymen may be challenged? We have not been amongst their flatterers, and have suffered somewhat for our plain-speaking. No suspicion of pandering to their vanity will therefore attach to us when we say that we are now proud of the name we bear, and look with brighter hopes than we ever previously entertained to the career on which our associates have entered,—the course to which they have earnestly and in a self-sacrificing spirit consecrated themselves. We marvel much at some of the things which we daily hear. Verily, men walk with their eyes shut and their ears closed, or they would never utter the simple things which proceed from their lips. ‘Lord John,’ they tell us, with a mingled feeling of triumph and of taunt, ‘is returned for London; and Mr. Miall is rejected at Halifax, Mr. Sturge at Leeds, Mr. Kershaw at Stockport, and Mr. Alexander at Wakefield. Such,’ they remark, ‘are the fruits of your dissenting agitation; and surely they will sober your judgments, and make you wiser for the future.’ ‘Gentlemen,’ we reply, ‘there is some truth in what you say. The facts to which you point will indeed teach us wisdom, but not exactly after the fashion or in the mode you imagine. They read us an instructive lesson; but instead of counselling the abandonment of our course, they pledge us to it more deeply, by rebuking our past confidence in Whig liberalism, and demonstrating our possession of an electoral strength far greater than we had anticipated. It is now clear as day that a large proportion of the boroughs of the kingdom are in our hands. We have repeatedly asserted this, and have been laughed at for our folly; but we now point to the very places where we are alleged to have suffered defeat, and we say unhesitatingly that *here* are evidences of our power, which the more considerate of our statesmen will not overlook in their future policy. If, with so little preparation—with no other organization than that which sprung up at the moment, and was designed to meet the existing crisis—with an absolute neglect of the registration, and the want of combined action, arising from the disunion which until recently existed amongst us—if, under all these disadvantages, we have accomplished so much, what may not be expected from the harmonious and systematized course on which we are about to enter? We have just tried our wing—we have ascertained our strength. Discipline only is required, and arrangements will soon be completed to insure this. Gentlemen,’ then we say to those who now affect to laugh, ‘estimate rightly your position before you raise the shout of victory. Our first effort has carried dismay into your camp: our

second will annihilate your hopes. We have shown you what we can do, and shall now address ourselves to the improvement of our machinery, in order to act with yet greater effect on the next occasion.' 'After all,' says Douglas Jerrold, and we quote his testimony in preference to any strictly dissenting journalist, 'there *has* been an election cry—the separation of church and state. Wait awhile, and the cry will deepen into a roar. The church has heard the distant muttering; and, if she take not good heed, the thunder will be rolling and breaking about her towers. For the truth is, public opinion has begun to contemplate the use and dignity—not according to act of parliament, but according to the acts of the apostles—of a bishop.'

The first thing which strikes us on reviewing the elections, is the independent position taken up by dissenters. They have ceased to act as a section of the Whig party. From the revolution of 1688, they have been content to do the work of political leaders, who threw contempt on their religious principles. Fear of Toryism deterred them from separate action, and there has been much in their history to extenuate, if it could not justify, their procedure. So long as the public mind was in sympathy with an intolerant priesthood, the parliamentary influence of a political party appeared needful to their safety. The sufferings of their fathers, their fines, imprisonment and expatriation, stared them in the face; and they deemed it prudent to barter their services as electors, for the defence of their religious rights. It would have betokened a higher and more generous appreciation of their duty, had they fearlessly cast themselves on the God of truth, rendering political service where such was due, but not bating one jot or tittle of their religious convictions, in order to purchase the advocacy required. Such a course, had it been steadily followed out, might have involved them in severer temporary sufferings, but would, unquestionably, have accelerated the ultimate triumph of their principles. Their course, however, was different. We regret that it was so, but are neither surprised at the fact, nor disposed severely to censure it. It is enough for our present purpose to remark, that the only reason which could give it a semblance of propriety has long ceased. The schoolmaster has been abroad for many years, and the numbers, wealth, intelligence, and public spirit of dissenters, form an effectual protection against any such intolerance as was formerly practised. It therefore became the dissenters to review their position, and to adapt it to the improved order of things. There was no ingratitude in this. They have rendered an ample return for whatever they received. If the Whigs were the parliamentary advocates of toleration—and their notions went no further than this—they were indebted



mainly to dissenters for their parliamentary seats. The votes of St. Stephens were repaid by the votes at the hustings. It was at least a balanced account. Past services entailed no future obligations on the one side more than on the other. We were no further bound to Lord John Russell than his lordship was bound to us. We had mutually served each other, and were free honourably to part company. The exigency of party warfare is strikingly shewn in the reproaches with which we are assailed by the Whig press. Their journalists have most retentive memories when the parliamentary exploits of their leaders are to be recorded; but they are smitten with absolute forgetfulness when reminded of the earnest, untiring, and self-sacrificing labours by which the electoral triumphs of those leaders were achieved. Against such a one-sided morality we protest, while we further remind our assailants that the rupture which has taken place, and with which they reproach us, was not effected by dissenters. It lies at the door of the Whigs. They were distinctly forewarned of it, were told again and again that the aggressive character of their ecclesiastical policy rendered it inevitable, and were entreated by the memory of former alliances, and the evils which might flow from disunion, to pause in their career. Such was the language used, such the temper in which we sought to avert the apprehended schism. How were we met? Let the speeches of Whig ministers, and the reports of their interviews with dissenting deputations say. Insult was added to hostility. Our views were misrepresented, our spirit was denounced, we were charged with the worst vices of our opponents, were superciliously reminded of what had been done on our behalf, and received significant hints that our strength was too feeble, and our councils too distracted, to entitle us to much respect. These things are matters of history, and they sunk deeply into the hearts of our people. They were, probably, needful to destroy our lingering attachment to the Whig party, and they have proved effectual. Lord John and his associates have persisted in their policy. They deemed us too powerless to be feared, or too dishonest to fulfil our pledge, and now that we have proved ourselves to be neither, they cry out against us as ungrateful. Had our counsels been heeded, dissenters would not have waited for his lordship. They would have taken the initiative, and avowed on *the pure ground of principle*, their secession from a party whose firmest support is given to a system which we deem pernicious to society and obstructive to religious growth.

But, whatever may have been the immediate occasion of it, we rejoice in the policy of dissenters. They have stood aloof from party contests, have raised a new standard, and rallied round it

thousands of enlightened and generous hearts. From one end of the empire to another they have proclaimed the immutable doctrine of religious equality, have demanded the exemption of Christianity from secular patronage and control, and pledged themselves to persist till the rulers of the state cease to intermeddle with the affairs of the church, and the ministers of the latter are divested of their secular dignities and wealth. The extent to which this has been carried, has of course varied in different parts of the kingdom, nor are we concerned to deny that in some cases, the advocates of our views have been defeated. For all this we were prepared. It was to be looked for. It would have been unnatural had it been otherwise. So far from being discouraged by defeat we are astonished at the measure of our success. For the first time since the Long Parliament and the Protectorate, the obligation of religious men to employ their elective franchise in vindication of the supremacy and church of their Master, has been distinctly recognized. A great truth, long neglected, has been brought forth to public view, popular misapprehensions have been corrected, and the battle of religious freedom has been commenced on the very ground where alone it can be successfully waged. Henceforth our electoral contests will wear a new aspect. They will be conducted, so far as dissenters are concerned, in the temper befitting a religious service, and with the earnestness and zeal which enlightened conscientiousness alone can supply. We have learnt to walk alone and shall not contentedly sink again into bondage. Whig and Tory have hitherto been charmed words, but their spell is dissolved, their power is broken. We are Englishmen still, and shall not fail in our service to popular rights, but a new element has been infused into our political life, which will give a higher range, a purer tone, a more generous impulse, to our actions. Let dissenters abide, as we are confident they will do, by the course they have commenced, and the religious liberty of our country will be perfected at no distant day.

Another fact of great practical importance, elicited by the recent elections, is the substantial agreement of our Whig and Conservative politicians. So far as we are concerned, they are one. Whatever theoretical varieties may characterize their political creed, they know no difference where our principles and interests are involved. We speak not of the old Tory clique which, with diminished ranks and faded glory, boast of the spirit that formerly crowded our jails with confessors, and banished our fathers to the colonies. We refer rather, though not exclusively, to the more moderate and reflecting section of the party which sympathizes with Sir Robert Peel, and is ready to move forward with his

policy. Between these and the Whig supporters of Lord John Russell it is difficult to distinguish, and they have therefore been ever ready to unite when, by doing so, they could defeat a dissenting candidate. This is the secret of the failure—so far as it can be called such—of London, Leeds, Halifax, Norwich, and other places. The fact is significant and highly instructive, and dissenters will do well to examine it closely. For ourselves, we are fully satisfied. The result of these contests has surpassed our expectations. The constituencies are riper for ecclesiastical action than we had imagined. Our sentiments are more widely diffused, are better understood, are moving more deeply the hearts of our people, than we had ventured to suppose. Defeated for the moment, we have insured future victory, and are consequently in a position vastly more commanding than we were three months since. Our opponents know this, and none of them better than those who are loudest in their maledictions.

But let us look at the matter somewhat more closely. We are not yet furnished with an analysis of the London election, and can therefore speak of the votes given only in general terms. It is well known that 'The Dissenters' Parliamentary Committee' repudiated the supposition of the Premier representing the views of nonconformists. They did this openly, and in distinct terms; and counselled their constituents to refuse him their votes. Lord John Russell, however, was returned at the head of the poll; and the fact is appealed to in proof of the weakness of dissenters, or of their contemptuous rejection of the counsel given. We submit that neither of these conclusions is legitimate, but that the fact admits of another explanation in better keeping with the truth of the case. From the commencement of the city contest we had but one opinion, and that was, that the issue entirely depended, so far as the premier was concerned, on the course that would be pursued by the more moderate section of the Conservatives. If left to the Liberal portion of the constituency, his rejection was certain; but if aided from the enemy's camp, his success was equally sure. Such was our judgment before the contest, and we are now in a condition distinctly to affirm that it was by conservative votes his lordship's majority was obtained. We say nothing of the profuse expenditure of the liberal party, or of the charges preferred by the Tory press, but, without fear of contradiction from any well-informed and impartial man, we affirm that many hundred Conservatives came to the rescue of his lordship, and thus gained him the victory. We speak not unadvisedly in this, nor do we blame Conservatives for having done so. They acted wisely, and with forethought, but the Liberals should consider well before they boast of a triumph achieved by

such suspicious means. The numbers polled for the respective candidates are clearly confirmatory of our view. Lord John Russell's majority over Mr. Masterman, the only avowed conservative returned, was 415, whereas, Mr. Masterman's majority over Mr. Bevan, the highest of the remaining three conservatives, was 1,454. What became of these votes? An honest reply to this question will disclose the true character of the triumph obtained. The votes given by Conservatives to the Whig minister, were the severest reflection which could be cast on his policy. They justify all we have advanced, and show that the popular party must find other leaders than those which are furnished by the aristocracy. When the hereditary opponents of freedom, glorying in their name and political faith, bring aid to the professedly liberal camp, the common sense of Englishmen will know what conclusion to draw. It was not, then, from the insignificance or supineness of dissenters that the Premier drew his victory, but from the confidence of his political opponents in the conservative policy of his administration. Let this fact be known, and Whig journalists are welcome to all the consolation which his lordship's return can yield.

In the case of Leeds, we are happily supplied with fuller and more precise data. Figures are stubborn things, and these have been furnished by the editor of the 'Leeds Mercury.' It is well known that the attention of the kingdom was directed to Leeds, as having taken the lead in opposition to the educational policy of the government; and when the defeat of Mr. Sturge was known, nothing could exceed the exultation of the Whigs. It was instantly proclaimed as decisive of the contest, and was repeated from journal to journal as the victory of knowledge over ignorance, of constitutional liberty over unscrupulous and factious opposition. We stay not to remark on this representation. Its accuracy is sufficiently discredited by the character of the men concerned. Those who know anything of Mr. Sturge and his supporters, will know how to estimate such wholesale vituperation. Calm, clear-sighted, and earnest, eminent for philanthropy and sound political knowledge, they need no vindication at our hands. We leave both their character and their actions to the impartial judgment of their countrymen, assured that the decision of every impartial man will be in their favour. Our business is with the victory achieved, and happily we are not reduced, as in the case of London, to the necessity of recurring to general considerations, in order to estimate its worth. The 'Leeds Mercury' supplies data, from which there is no appeal, and a more discreditable disclosure than which it makes, has never been exhibited even in the party history of our country. For the honour of political men we could wish it had been

otherwise. But the facts are these, and let our readers judge of the conclusion which should be formed. There were three candidates,—Mr. Beckett, a Tory; Mr. Marshall, a Whig-radical; and Mr. Sturge, a complete suffragist and voluntary. The numbers polled were—Mr. Beckett, 2529; Mr. Marshall, 2172; and Mr. Sturge, 1978. The political creed of the first two were in direct hostility. Mr. Beckett and Mr. Marshall assumed to be the representatives of distinct and hostile parties, who had been accustomed to charge each other with the foulest political heresies. Yet, in violation of their professions, and with the avowed design of excluding Mr. Sturge, a coalition was effected at the instance of the Whigs. No matter what became of principle, what damage was done to public character, the dissenting candidate must be excluded, and every means were fair by which this could be accomplished! The following analysis of the poll-book speaks for itself. We take it from the 'Leeds Mercury' of July 31, merely remarking, that the total of votes is nine less than the number announced at the declaration:—

'How were Mr. MARSHALL's numbers made up? Did he realize that '*majority of our Liberal electors*,' without which he had declared he would not stand? Did his chairman, Mr. HAMER STANSFIELD, find, as he deliberately told the public, and 'confidently assured' Mr. MARSHALL, that '*the MAJORITY OF LIBERAL ELECTORS would be found at the poll on the side of Mr. Marshall, and not of Mr. Sturge?*' How scandalously far from the truth were these assurances and assertions will be seen from the following analysis of Mr. MARSHALL's votes, made somewhat roughly, but by a very experienced and accurate election agent:—

ANALYSIS OF MR. MARSHALL'S VOTES.

Liberals.....	479
Doubtful and unknown (so entered by the registration agent of the Liberals at the registrations.) .....	133
Tories .....	1,551
Total.....	2,163

Let us suppose that of the 133 doubtful and unknown voters, one-third (44) may be ranked as Liberals, and two-thirds (89) as Tories—not an improbable supposition, as it is always found that a majority of the 'unknown' votes turn out to be against the party to whom they are thus unknown—it would then appear that Mr. MARSHALL's poll was made up as follows, viz., of—

Liberals.....	479
Unknown.....	44
Total supposed Liberals.....	523
Tories.....	1,551
Unknown.....	89
Total supposed Tories.....	1,640

'HERE, then, is MR. MARSHALL recording 523 Liberal votes against MR. STURGE's 1976. That is, MR. MARSHALL, 'our townsman,' the great and liberal manufacturer, to whose personal character we rejoice to give tribute due, obtains about ONE-FIFTH of all the Liberal votes; and MR. STURGE, the 'stranger,' obtains FOUR-FIFTHS!!!

'BUT even of MR. MARSHALL's 523 Liberal votes, 90 were split between himself and MR. STURGE, leaving the number of Liberals *opposed to Mr. Sturge* only 433.'

Upon these figures it is unnecessary to comment. The fact which they disclose lies on the surface, and the English mind is too practical to overlook it. Of 2,400 or 2,500 Liberal votes, Mr. Marshall secured little more than five hundred, including ninety split votes with Mr. Sturge, whilst the latter polled 1976. Verily, the Whigs are welcome to their triumph. They have dearly purchased it, and will rue the day when passion tempted them to sacrifice self-respect and permanent strength for the accomplishment of an ephemeral victory. Their Tory confederates exulted in their degradation, and taunted them with it. Even Mr. Beckett was ungenerous enough to tell his supporters that, 'he gloried in the blues more than ever. They had not only now to settle who shall be their own candidate, but the other party also came to them to ask who shall be their candidate, and,' added he, 'you have decided that knotty point for them.'

So much for Leeds. Let us now turn to Halifax. We have not yet been furnished with a minute analysis of the votes given in this borough. Enough however is known to determine the point now under consideration. The candidates were four, and the numbers at the close of the poll stood thus: Mr. Edwards, a Tory, 511; Sir Charles Wood, chancellor of the exchequer, 507; Mr. Miall, 349; and Mr. Jones, 280. A considerable majority was thus obtained for the Tory and Whig candidates; and the fact of 356 votes having been split between them, sufficiently explains the way in which this was secured. 'Of these votes,' says the 'Nonconformist,' 'between fifty and sixty, upon a rough calculation, were primary Whig votes, and considerably upwards of 200 were primary Tory votes. We have the means of knowing that the exchange of votes between the two parties took place at the suggestion of the Chancellor himself—that it was the only mode left him of evading an ignominious defeat—and that, had he not received the aid of those political foes, against whom he has fought for fifteen years past, in the borough of Halifax, he would have stood lowest on the poll.' Here, then, is another of the Whig triumphs, and let impartial men say what is its worth. It has, indeed, accomplished the purpose of the

hour. An obnoxious candidate has been defeated. Mr. Miall has been prevented, for a time, from entering St. Stephen's as the advocate of our views; the rising waters have been dammed up, and, in the folly of their momentary exultation, our opponents imagine that they have achieved a victory. Well, let them make much of it. We err greatly if it prove not the last they will obtain in this borough. One thing is evident, and with this we are content:—of the liberal constituency of Halifax, dissenters constitute by far the most powerful section; and now they know their strength, and are about to organize, they cannot well fail on the next occasion.

'No words of ours,' says the 'Nonconformist,' 'can express our admiration of the earnestness, the vigilance, the self-sacrifice, the unremitting activity of the dissenters during this election. Mr. Miall's committee worked night and day, spared no pains, shrunk from no legitimate expense, thoroughly identified themselves with their candidate, and, from first to last, evinced an attachment to their principles, the depth of which nothing but true religion can produce. They were defeated by a combination such as they had never anticipated, but their gallantry has won for Halifax in future two seats for Nonconformist candidates.'

Let us turn next to Norwich, where, with minor variations, the same general result is seen. At Leeds and Halifax, Whig candidates were returned by Tory votes; but at Norwich, the Marquis of Douro was indebted for his election to the split votes of the Whigs. Mr. Parry was introduced to the constituency at the eleventh hour. He did not come forward as a dissenting candidate, but avowing, distinctly and without reserve, the anti-state-church principle, he received, with partial exceptions, the cordial support of nonconformists. At the close of the poll, the numbers were:—Mr. Peto, 2,448; the Marquis of Douro, 1,727; and Mr. Parry, 1,572. The majority of the Marquis, therefore, over Mr. Parry was only 155, though it included two hundred and seventy votes drawn from the professed liberals of Norwich. Even with such aid, the success of the Marquis was for a time very doubtful; and we know, on good authority, that the slightest deviation on the part of Mr. Parry's friends from the course to which they had pledged themselves, would have secured the return of that gentleman. A small sum would have turned the scale, but they nobly spurned the offer, and preferred temporary defeat to the loss of character. To Mr. Parry we are absolutely unknown, but it is simple justice to say, that his demeanour throughout the contest was worthy of the English gentleman, and of the champion of popular rights.

He did full justice to the private virtues of Mr. Peto, scrupulously abstained from all unworthy personalities, and laid the basis of a public reputation, to which the electors of Norwich, if we do not greatly err, will render full justice at no distant day. Taking all things into account, we look to the Norwich election as one of the proudest victories of the popular cause, whether we regard the temper in which that cause was advocated, the strength which it arrayed, or the foundation laid for eventual and speedy triumph. Let another election occur—and it cannot be long delayed—and we confidently expect to see a second Liberal returned for Norwich.

We are not yet supplied with materials on which a satisfactory judgment can be formed respecting Ipswich, Boston, Huddersfield, Wakefield, and other places; but from the information which has reached us, we feel assured that they illustrate the same fact, and may be put in the same category as the other places we have named. The Whigs have committed a gross blunder. For a temporary triumph they have undermined their permanent strength. The year 1847 will be memorable in their history. Long declining in public confidence, their descent will now be swift and unlamented; whilst English liberty, freed from aristocratic control, will speed forward with a bound to its destined goal. The real contest of the age lies between aristocracy and the people, and the policy recently adopted by the Whigs will do much to accelerate the progress of the latter. 'The Whigs, indeed,' remarks the 'Norfolk News,' 'may attempt to set public opinion at defiance, and patch up a compromise with Toryism; and their conduct at many of the elections, as during the past session of parliament, goes to show that this is their plan. At Leeds, Boston, Halifax, Ipswich, Norwich, and other places, highly popular reformers, supported by large minorities of the electors, and by the universal and enthusiastic sympathies of the non-electors, have been defeated by a coalition of the ministerial and Conservative candidates. The attempt, however, cannot succeed. If persisted in, it must prove suicidal, by precipitating the fall of an aristocracy, which has only been maintained thus far by the semblance at least of an alliance between one of its parties and the people. The Whigs have already lost far more in character by their apostacy, than they have gained in numbers. Coalitions of all sorts are deservedly unpopular, involving, as they of necessity do a compromise of principle. But a coalition of professed Liberals with the hereditary foes of freedom, for the express purpose of stifling the popular voice, is a fatal blunder. The return of Mr. Parry for Norwich would not have proved half so severe a



blow to our local Whig leaders, as the victory of the Marquis of Douro, secured by their votes.'

But it is alleged that we have gained nothing by our movements. It might be sufficient in reply to say, that we have at least unmasked our leaders, have learnt the value of their professions, been taught confidence in our own principles, and reliance on our own energy and strength. Had we gained nothing more than this, our labour would have been well spent, and we should be content. For a first essay it might satisfy more avaricious minds than ours. But is this all? Most certainly not, our opponents themselves being judges. In proof of our statement let a few simple facts be pondered. In anticipation of the election, the Committee of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies of the three denominations in London, sent a series of questions to the gentlemen who had then announced themselves as candidates for London, and its surrounding boroughs and counties. On receipt of their replies a general meeting of the Deputies was summoned, and the following resolution adopted at that meeting records the answers obtained.

'From the replies of the following gentlemen to the questions submitted by the Committee of Deputies or from other public avowals of opinion made by them, this meeting is satisfied that they entertain substantially correct views on the great questions of civil and religious liberty, which are likely to come under the notice of the new Parliament, and deserve the cordial and steadfast support of all Protestant Dissenting electors in the ensuing general election.

James Pattison, Esq., M.P.; General Sir De Lacy Evans, M.P.; Charles Lushington, Esq.; Sir Benjamin Hall, Bart, M.P.; T. S. Duncombe, Esq., M.P.; T. Wakley, Esq., M.P.; the Right Hon. Tennyson D'Eyncourt, M.P.; George Thompson, Esq.; Thomas Alcock, Esq.; the Honourable P. Locke King; Sir William Clay, Bart., M.P.; Charles Pearson, Esq.; D. W. Harvey, Esq.; Mr. Alderman Humphrey, M.P.; Rear-Admiral Dundas, M.P.

Of these gentlemen, fourteen have been elected, the remaining one having withdrawn from the contest under circumstances which must prevent his again obtaining the confidence of a popular constituency. But more than this. The circumstances attending the return of some of these gentlemen have demonstrated a degree of strength on which the most sanguine did not calculate. Few ventured to anticipate the rejection of Mr. Hawes at Lambeth. His local influence was known to be great. His attention to the interests of his constituents had secured him many friends, and his respectability of character and business habits afforded ground of confidence which his supporters deemed impregnable. On the other hand, his votes had been hostile to the views of his dissenting constituents, and they

resolved, therefore, to place Mr. Pearson at the head of the poll, and, if possible, to return Mr. D'Eyncourt with him. The former would have been a significant hint, but the latter was like the handwriting on the wall. What, then, has been the result? Throughout the day Mr. Pearson headed the poll, but, up to two o'clock, Mr. Hawes was second on the list; when the dissenting electors, who had previously plumped for Mr. Pearson, split their votes between him and Mr. D'Eyncourt. The effect was instantly visible, and the rejection of the Under-Secretary for the Colonies ensued in consequence.

The triumph of our cause in the Tower Hamlets was still more signal. Mr. George Thompson was returned by a majority of 3,646 over Major-General Fox, the government candidate, and of 2,429 over Sir William Clay, his other opponent.\* From the first hour of polling, there was no doubt of the issue so far as our candidate was concerned. He at once took the lead, and maintained it throughout the day. So decided, indeed, was his majority, that, had the confidence of our friends equalled their strength, a second Voluntary might have been associated with him. And this victory, be it remembered, was achieved without a single paid agent, and in opposition to the strenuous efforts of the publican class. Nor is this all. Not only, as already noted, have fourteen out of the fifteen candidates recommended by the dissenting deputies been elected, but further communication has induced the adhesion of some others. Gentlemen who were ignorant of our principles, or perhaps indifferent to them, have been convinced of their soundness, or satisfied of the expediency of their advocacy. This was the case in Marylebone, and in the City. In the former instance, Lord Stuart was induced, by the representations made to him, to remove the objections which had existed; and the following resolution was consequently adopted at a public meeting of the Nonconformist electors of that borough:—‘That this meeting, having heard with great satisfaction that, in a conference with Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, those points of difference which existed between his lordship and the Nonconformists of the borough have been

\* We have been much pained to hear of some of the votes recorded in the course of this election, and cannot understand how the parties giving them can retain an atom of self-respect. That gentlemen in the Ordnance service should vote for Major-general Fox, who is at the head of that department, may be comprehended; but that dissenting ministers should record their votes for the supporter of ecclesiastical endowments, and in opposition to the advocate of scriptural voluntarism, does surprise and pain us. Surely such men are out of their proper place, and the sooner they put themselves right the better. We do not, be it remembered, question their title to do as they please; we only demur to the *morality* of their procedure. At any rate we claim for dissenters generally, to be exempted from the disgrace and guilt of such inconsistency.

wholly removed, pledges itself to use its best exertions for returning him to parliament, in conjunction with Sir Benjamin Hall.' In the case of the City of London, an equally gratifying result was obtained, which was announced by 'The Dissenters' Parliamentary Committee,' in the following terms:—'In pursuance of the important object for which this committee was appointed, they have closely and anxiously investigated the claims of the different candidates for the City on the votes of consistent dissenters; and they have the satisfaction to state, that they have received from the Baron Rothschild and Sir George Larpent the assurance that they will on all occasions oppose every grant for the endowment of any religious body whatever; and will oppose the interference of government in any way with the religious education of the people. Considering this fact, and that in our late highly-respected member, James Pattison, Esq., we have a true and consistent friend of civil and religious liberty, we recommend you to support on the day of election,—James Pattison, Esq., the Baron Rothschild, and Sir George Larpent, Bart.' The first two of these gentlemen have been returned, and the third, as is well known, was defeated by a majority of three only. The result would unquestionably have been different, had entire confidence been reposed in Sir George Larpent. This, however, was not the case. It was only at the last moment that he committed himself, and the manner in which it was done, nullified, in the judgment of many, its practical worth. We are personally cognizant of several votes which were withheld on this account. To the fourteen recommended by the deputies, we must therefore add, Lord Dudley Stuart, and the Baron Rothschild. Middlesex, also, has brought us help, and by returning Mr. Ralph Osborne, has sent to the Commons-House a thorough reformer, and an enlightened advocate of religious liberty.

On turning from London to the country we meet with many indications of the progress of our sentiments. The most marked of these is the rejection of Mr. Macaulay at Edinburgh. We are not surprised at the wrath which this event has elicited, though there is something amusing in the form which it takes. To judge from the language of Whig journalists, we should conclude that the citizens of Edinburgh have inflicted an irreparable injury on our national interests, and covered themselves with eternal disgrace. From having been the most intelligent, independent, and honest constituency, they are suddenly become a by-word and reproach. We could smile at all this, and let it pass, if there were not involved some most unconstitutional doctrines. Our system of representation, though miserably defective, is something more than nominal. It in-

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volves a right on the part of electors, as well as, and even prior to, any claim on the part of the representative. It knows nothing of a vested interest, so far as the latter is concerned, but leaves the constituency a free right of choice as to the persons who shall represent it in St. Stephen's. To suppose otherwise, as much of the language now uttered really implies, is to reduce our boasted liberty to a name, and to establish an oligarchy, under the form of a free constitution. The right, therefore, of the Edinburgh electors being conceded, the wisdom of their choice is the only thing to be considered. We admit Mr. Macaulay's talents, and had his appearance at Edinburgh been that of a literary man only, we should have regretted his rejection. But this was not the case. He did not present himself in any such character. His appearance was that of a politician; and the favour he solicited was not honour to his literary merits, but confidence in his professions and policy as a statesman. He asked the citizens of Edinburgh to return him to the imperial parliament as the representative and advocate of their views. This was his request, and hence his rejection. They knew that he differed from them on what they deemed the most important of all subjects, and had gone out of his way to mark his contempt of their views; and they therefore, as honest men, declined to continue him as their representative, and wisely preferred intrusting their interests to one of themselves, on whose advocacy they had better grounds for relying. Mr. Cowan is, doubtless, the inferior of Mr. Macaulay in point of talent; but this was not the point to be decided. He was the sounder politician of the two, and his views more accurately express the sentiments of his fellow-citizens. The language of Whig advocates respecting Mr. Macaulay is disgustingly laudatory. We have no desire to do the Paymaster of the Forces wrong, but we have yet to learn that his political services entitle him to any such apotheosis as his flatterers are now attempting. A few splendid speeches in the course of a session, if well timed, may constitute a powerful claim on party gratitude, but the nation is yet waiting for any signal proof of the political sagacity and eminent public services of the ex-member.

It is important that the character of the Edinburgh election should be understood. It has been grossly misrepresented, and many are interested in keeping up the delusion. The two great parties of the kingdom are alike concerned in this matter, and we consequently look in vain to Whig or Tory journalists for a calm and accurate exposition of the case. The most paltry motives are attributed, causes utterly inadequate are assigned to the effect, local and temporary passions are represented as uppermost, and even chance, that most convenient, but least

satisfactory, of all reasons, is invoked to explain the mystery. A simple solution, however, is at hand, and we give it from the 'Nonconformist' of August 11th:—

'A short time ago,' says the editor, 'one or two persons, who heartily approved of the conduct at elections recommended by the Anti-State-Church Conference, resolved either to start a Voluntary for Edinburgh, or to abstain entirely from interfering in the election. They accordingly began to look about them for some individual, who, while holding similar opinions with themselves on the church and state question, occupied at the same time a position such as might warrant the expectation that he would meet with support from other classes of the electors. About the same period, some leading members of the Free Church, apprehensive of the endowment of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, strongly disapproving of the new Whig principles in religious matters, and having no confidence in Mr. Macaulay as a member of an administration professing such principles, had also come to the determination to oppose his return. Neither of these parties were so foolish as to regard Mr. Macaulay's abilities alone as affording any reason why he should not be turned out. They preferred one silent vote against endowments to a great many brilliant speeches in favour of them,—conduct, one would be inclined to think, which every man would perceive to be perfectly reasonable. \* \* \* In pursuance of this object, the individuals referred to—those of the Free Church being opposed to further endowments, those of Voluntary persuasions disapproving of all endowments whatever—had their attention directed to Mr. Charles Cowan, as a man in every way meeting their wants. Highly respected by the Free Church as a liberal and active member of that communion, yet going further than most Free Churchmen in his opposition to church establishments—far enough, indeed, to come up to the mark chalked out by the Conference—having a strong hold on the commercial interest, from the circumstance of his being a partner in perhaps the first house in the city—an active member, moreover, of the Association for Excise Reform, and having good personal qualifications—Mr. Cowan was at once pronounced to be a fit and proper person to be brought forward as a candidate for the representation of the city. We defy any man to shew wherein consists the want of principle in making use of such a combination of circumstances. \* \* \* Mr. Cowan would have gained the election without the assistance of the Excise Reform Association *as a body*. The whole support the association gave is understood not to have amounted to above between 400 and 500 votes. His majority over Macaulay was nearly 600; and out of the 400 or 500 association votes, he would probably have had about a half, whatever his opinions regarding excise reform had been. Of the dissenters and free churchmen a mere fraction, as examination of the polling-books proves, voted for Macaulay. They voted almost to a man for Cowan, and the vast proportion of their votes for him were plumpers. These two classes combined formed Mr. Cowan's great support, but yet alone they would not have carried him. It was necessary to success that the candidate should be free from all cliquery, and party, and ministerial connexion—one who would do more

for the place he represented than distribute government offices among the members of his committee and their relations, which has hitherto been the utmost extent of Whig liberality in the Scottish metropolis, unless we except the removal of government offices to London, whither has also been removed a great portion of its most promising youth, who have the good fortune to be nephews or cousins to members of the clique. Mr. Cowan, in this respect, also gave satisfaction; and citizens who usually never interfere in politics came out to vote for him because he is unimpeachable in his character for honesty and independence. If in such a combination as this, with the slight exception alluded to, there be want of principle, then must that word principle have changed its meaning of late. We have always understood, that in such matters as these, true principle consisted in neglecting party connexions, and regarding the candidates themselves and their own individual opinions.'

Such were the facts of the Edinburgh election, and on several accounts we regard the result with complacency. No statesman of the day needed, more than Mr. Macaulay, the lesson it teaches. He has too successfully cultivated some of the worst qualities of his party, has mistaken hauteur for independence, and contempt of others for self-respect. His personal popularity was therefore at the lowest ebb, and his return would have confirmed all those tendencies of his character which specially needed correction. The airs of aristocracy are sufficiently ridiculous, even when sanctioned by a long pedigree, but they are absolutely laughable when aped by the man of yesterday. Lord John Russell has more than enough of this, but Mr. Macaulay has secured to himself an unquestioned superiority. We are glad therefore, he has been taught a lesson, and hope it will prove useful.

The rejection of such a man, by such a constituency, is also a most significant hint to the Whig ministry. Edinburgh has hitherto been considered one of the strongholds of the Whig party. It has been little more than a government borough, and its representation has been successively held by Whig placemen. Its defection will therefore alarm, and, in concurrence with other events, will admonish the Premier of the necessity of pursuing a different policy. The most hopeful political sign of these times is the breaking up of party rule. It has endured already too long; and when the history of its overthrow is penned, the defeat of Mr. Macaulay at Edinburgh will occupy a prominent place.

We are further, and especially, gratified by this event, as it proves the growth of voluntarism, and the consistency of its advocates. Disguise the fact as they may, misrepresent it as they please, none are more sensible than the Whigs, that this has been the most potent cause of all. This is obvious, even from the version of the 'Spectator,' which is, of course, suf-

ficiently tinged with the misapprehension and bitterness of its school. 'It is not liberalism,' says this erratic journal, 'which has ousted Mr. Hawes from Lambeth, or Mr. Macaulay from Edinburgh, but *sectarianism*.' The meaning of this is plain enough, and we accept the admission, while we deny the correctness of the charge implied. Special objections are entertained against Mr. Macaulay, from the conviction that the sophistries he uttered in the House have not commanded his own conviction. We have, unhappily for his reputation, his written sentiments, and know, therefore, how to estimate the splendid oratory and apparent earnestness with which he has advocated the worst measures of his party. We can respect an honest opponent, though we deem his creed intolerant, but no eloquence can reconcile us to the man who, for party purposes or personal aggrandizement, can give utterance to sophisms, the hollowness of which he must be the first to perceive. Mr. Macaulay has not only pledged himself to the ecclesiastical and educational policy of the Whigs, but has shown the irritation of a man dissatisfied with his own course, by affecting contempt towards those who are more honest than himself.

Many other hopeful indications have been exhibited, on which we are prevented, by want of space, from dwelling. Some of the largest constituencies of the empire have returned enlightened and earnest voluntaries. Manchester has done itself honour by deputing Mr. Bright to represent it in the Commons' House. Bradford has replaced Colonel Thompson in the assembly from which he ought never to have been absent; and East Surrey, West Kent, West Norfolk, and other counties have proved, that agricultural districts may yet constitute our strength, from the living evidence they furnish of the inefficacy and oppression of a state-paid clergy.

To these things we can only allude at present, as there are some topics, pertaining to the future, at which we must glance. We have seen, as yet, only 'the beginning of the end.' The first stage of the final conflict is now passed through. Some years have been occupied in rousing dissenters to a due appreciation of their position and responsibilities. The effort was, for a time unpopular. Those who conducted it were subjected to misapprehension and contumely. Their motives were impugned; their spirit was mistaken. At length, however, they are understood. A great change has come over the dissenting community; and, in the elections just closed, we have had the first expression of the new thoughts and purposes which have arisen. The cogitations of many minds have converged to one point; the labours of devout men, conducted in private, and persisted in amidst indifference or hostility, have produced their

result. The under current has risen to the surface, and our politicians are amazed at the vastness of its volume and the rapidity of its course. So far all is well, but we must not stop here. The progress we have gained must stimulate our efforts, the point to which we have attained must be the commencement of other and more systematic labours. Now is the precise moment for action. Our people are prepared, the nation looks to us with hope, and we must instantly show ourselves worthy of the confidence inspired. The procedure of the Anti-Corn Law League affords an admirable precedent, and we must be prompt and single-minded in its imitation.

Our first duty respects the registration. Hitherto Dissenters have neglected it. As free-traders, we have been ready to qualify, but, as friends of religious liberty, we have done nothing. The victory of the League was achieved mainly in the registration courts, and its triumph has left an immense power in our hands, which we must now consolidate and strengthen. Thousands of freeholds have been purchased by dissenters, and we are glad to read in the 'Norfolk News' of the 14th of August, the proposal of Mr. Tillett for the formation of an 'Electoral League for extending the county franchise, and securing the return of Independent members.' The suggestion is well timed, and the plan submitted is admirably suited to its object. It has our best wishes, and shall receive our most cordial aid. Other opportunities will occur for expounding its details, and we therefore content ourselves, at present, with this passing reference.

Our efforts must not be limited to the counties. In the boroughs we have vast power ready to our hands, and nothing is wanting save organization to call it forth, and prepare it for effective action. Let this be superinduced on the materials existing, and another election will not pass without demonstrating the certain triumph of our principles. Let steps, therefore, be immediately taken in every borough of the kingdom, to ascertain our electoral strength, not merely, be it remembered, the number of voters technically called dissenters, but the number who hold fast our Anti-State-Church principle, and are prepared, whether on religious, social, or other grounds, honestly to apply it. Let lists of such be carefully prepared, and let measures be adopted to secure prompt and united action. Special attention should also be given to the insertion on the register of every qualified name. Our friends have been sadly negligent on this point, and there are consequently but few towns in which material additions may not be made to the number of our voters. Various causes have contributed to this. In some cases it has resulted from mere thoughtlessness, in



others, from ignorance of the forms prescribed, and in many, from desire to avoid the ill-will and possible injury which might follow an honest exercise of the franchise. The first class must be roused from their indifference, the second be assisted with competent advice, and the third be taught the paramount claims of religious duty. There is a large mass of electoral power scattered through the kingdom, which has hitherto lain dormant, but which, under the vivifying influence of the system we counsel, would take shape, and be added to our effective strength. It needs only combination to be called forth, and is clearly at *our* command, since our opponents have done their utmost to augment their strength, and it is the fear of their displeasure which has deterred the more timid of our number from registering themselves. Combination will give to the many power to contend against the intimidation of the few, and thus annihilate the disgraceful serfdom in which some are held. Let the results of such an organization be added to the minorities which recently polled on behalf of our principles, in Leeds, Halifax, Worcester, Ipswich, Wakefield, Huddersfield, Stockport, and Bolton, and a marvellous change will be effected in the returns.

In order, however, that the full benefit of such a movement may be secured, it is needful that there should be some central body acting concurrently with local efforts, especially adapted, in its machinery and resources, to the exigencies of the kingdom. We shall be glad therefore to find such an organization springing up, and look to 'The Dissenters' Parliamentary Committee,' to take the initiative. On some accounts we should prefer to see it engrafted on the British Anti-State-Church Society, but if there are objections to this, let us, by all means, have a separate organization. The great thing is to have the work done; we care comparatively little about the form of the machinery employed to effect it. Wise and honest men may determine this as they please, and our best services are at their command. Fifty thousand pounds is a small sum to be contributed by the friends of religious liberty for the emancipation of the church of Christ, but such a sum wisely expended on the registration, would determine, we verily believe, the great controversy of our land.

We must hazard another suggestion, and we commend it to the special attention of religious voluntaries. What has recently occurred at Leeds, Bradford, Halifax, Worcester, Norwich, the Tower Hamlets, and other places, goes clearly to prove that our strength is with the people. We have nothing to expect from the aristocracy. Whig and Tory it is with the church, and it would be marvellous if it were not so. To the

upper classes, the church question is a money question. They look to the hierarchy as the means of providing for the younger members of their families, or for their dependents, and regard it in consequence, as essential to the maintenance of their rank. About seven thousand six hundred and thirty-four church livings are in their hands, and the manner in which these are disposed of, may be learnt from the materials which constitute the clerical order. Is it not therefore absurd to look for aid to this quarter? The aristocracy has a large money interest at stake, which is quite sufficient, without charging on them more than ordinary selfishness, to determine their procedure. What sane man conversant with the fact that the Duke of Bedford has twenty-seven livings, Earl Fitzwilliam thirty-one, and the Duke of Devonshire forty-eight, would expect either of these noblemen, or any member of their families, to advocate a separation of the church from the State. This simple fact, to say nothing of the one hundred and three livings which are in the gift of the Premier, or the eight hundred and ninety-nine which are at the disposal of the Lord Chancellor, may suffice to account for the church zeal of Lord John Russell and other members of the Whig party. But enough of this. We allude to such facts only to show the folly of looking for aid to the upper classes: The people have no such pecuniary interest in the existing system. On the contrary they are compelled to pay heavily, and in a most vexatious mode, for its maintenance. With them, therefore, is our strength. To them we should make our appeal. They constitute the material which must be combined, and in the perfect combination of which will be found our strength. In order to this, however, we must obtain their confidence. They must see that we sympathise with them, that we are not afraid of their influence, that we do not despise and shrink from their fellowship. There has been too much of this, and a divorce has consequently taken place between the middle and lower classes. Let us shew a generous appreciation of their rights, and they will speedily place at our command, a power before which no aristocracy or clergy on earth will long stand.

‘The crowning cause of our unprecedented success,’ says a member of the Tower Hamlets Election Committee, ‘will be found in the fact that the dissenters followed nature, and thus adopted a sound principle. Hitherto their alliances had been with the aristocracy: on this occasion their proceedings were exactly the reverse. They formed an alliance with the people, and so carried every thing before them. They, in the most manly manner, cast their jealousies to the winds, and based their proceedings on equal justice to all. This is the fundamental principle on which the election was conducted, and on which it was decided.

And this is the ground on which the battle of civil and religious freedom must be fought.\*

We have done. Many topics crowd upon us ; but, for the present, we must desist. We confess to a grave and fearful sense of responsibility. It has been in no light mood that we have written. Our emotions are stronger than our words ; our conviction of duty—present, urgent, paramount duty, is deeper and more abiding than any passing interest could induce. According to our apprehension, the welfare of religion is at stake, and the voice of God, distinctly uttered in his word, calls upon us to do battle for his truth. To the Nonconformists of Great Britain he assigns the completion of the work which our fathers commenced. They struck down the power of the papacy, and on us it devolves to assert, in all its length and breadth, the freedom of religious faith and worship from human control. Let dissenters, then, be worthy of their calling. Their vocation is a noble one, and if faithful to its obligations, their names will rank high amongst the benefactors of their race. Let the inflexibility and high-mindedness of the old puritan spirit be revived, without its harshness, dogmatism, and intolerance.

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### Brief Notices.

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*Russell : a Tale of the Reign of Charles II.* By G. P. R. James, Esq.  
Three Volumes. London : Smith, Elder and Co.

THE title of these volumes is attractive, and though we had our misgivings, we yet opened them with considerable expectations. The name of Russell is historical, and few Englishmen are insensible to its charm. The times in which Lord William Russell lived, the men with whom he acted, the part he bore, the crimes and the virtues, the madness and the heroism of his age, combined with his beautiful completeness of character, and tragical end, give a charm to his story which fiction vainly essays to equal. There is scarcely a passage in our history, save that of 'The Great Rebellion,' which is so richly fraught with the materials of deep and thrilling interest, as that which Mr. James has embraced in the present work. We had, however, our misgivings, and these were founded on two considerations. Mr. James is too continuous a writer to do justice to such a theme. His pen is perpetually at work. His volumes are thrown off at railway speed, as though his life or daily bread depended on their being produced within a given time. Such a writer is not competent to such a theme. He may catch the general expression, may correctly delineate the outline of the history, but the inner life, the

• Nonconformist, August 4.

minuter and more distinctive features of the epoch, will be invisible in his sketch. Furthermore, Mr. James does not thoroughly sympathise with the patriots, who, amidst the cloudy days which marked the close of the reign of Charles II., held up the cause of English liberty. His former works, though free from the grosser ebullitions of party spleen, have sufficiently indicated his hostility to the Roundheads, of whom the best men of Charles the Second's reign were but the adumbration. As a historical novel, therefore, we do not rank the present work very high. Not that it is wholly deficient in this respect. It has some sterling qualities, and may bear a favourable comparison with most of its class. Its principal charm, and this is by no means inconsiderable, is derived from the minor personages which figure on the stage. Some of these possess more than ordinary interest, and are sketched with a felicity which makes us the more regret that Mr. James will not do justice to himself. Altogether, 'Russell' is undoubtedly the most attractive novel which has for some time past proceeded from the author's pen.

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*Letters on Puritanism and Nonconformity.* By Sir John Bickerton Williams, Knt., L.L.D. Second Series. London: Jackson and Walford.

IN his former series, Sir John Williams attempted an explanation of the principles of the Puritans and Nonconformists, their loyalty and learning, together with 'the temper and misrepresentations of their enemies;' and in the present volume he follows up these topics by an 'endeavour more exclusively, though not without observations,' to exhibit the *goodness* which has ever been allied to those principles. The volume is divided into twenty letters, which are intentionally desultory, and throughout which the intelligent reader will find much interesting information and sound sentiment. The work is indeed too desultory for our taste, but there is a large class to which it will prove highly acceptable, and whose benefit it will materially serve.

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*The Constitution of Apostolical Churches; or Outlines of Congregationalism, with Two Addresses suited to the Times.* By J. Spencer Pearshall. Second Edition, pp. 143. London: John Snow.

THIS little work occupies a very respectable position among the many publications of the kind continually issuing from the press. In thirteen chapters it discusses in a lucid and intelligent manner the principal points of church polity, and in two addresses, one to 'Professors tempted by various trials to abandon their denomination;' the other to 'Parents and others on their duties as Nonconformists to the Rising Generation,' it gives wholesome and reasonable advice. On some subjects we should hesitate to express agreement with the author, but as a whole, we wish for his little work a wide circulation.

*Tracts for the Million.* Nos. I. to XVII. British Anti-State Church Association. London: Warwick Square.

THESE tracts are the first and second issue of a series of short tracts designed for extensive circulation. Possessing various characteristics and merits, they are all more or less adapted to impart wholesome truth, and more or less deserving of being widely spread abroad. We draw attention to them for two objects. In the first place, we suggest to those in the habit of composition, that they may do great service by writing tracts for this series. There are many who have not time or taste for larger works, who could with zest and spirit fill two or four pages. A medium is here provided for the communication to a great variety of minds, of pithy and condensed thoughts on favourite and familiar themes. We would also suggest to a still larger class the desirableness of scattering these sketches of truths and facts in all directions. The design of their publication is obviously not that they may be bought by those who want them for themselves, so much as that they may be plentifully circulated by those who have the opportunity. They are meant not to be used as corn, but to be disseminated as seed. And who is there that can do nothing in this matter?

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*Life at the Water Cure, or, a Month at Malvern. A Diary.* By Richard J. Lane, A.R.A. With numerous illustrations, to which is added *The Sequel.* pp. 386. London: Longman & Co.  
 'A FULL, true, and particular account' of very unusual experiences, accompanied with much amusing chit-chat. The book is worthy the attention of the invalid, and will prove interesting to the general reader.

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## Literary Intelligence.

*Just Published.*

Cooksland in North-Eastern Australia, the future Cotton-Field of Great Britain, its characteristics and capabilities for European Colonization. With a Disquisition on the Origin, Manners, and Customs, of the Aborigines. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D.

Philipsland; or, the Country hitherto designated Port Philip. Its present condition and prospects as a highly eligible field for Emigration. By John Dunmore Lang, D.D.

The History of the Revival and Progress of Independency in England since the period of the Reformation. With an Introduction, containing an Account of the Development of the Principles of Independency in the Age of Christ and his Apostles, and of the gradual departure of the Church into Anti-Christian Error until the time of the Reformation. By Joseph Fletcher. Vol. II.

The Crisis of Popular Education, its historical, internal, statistical, financial, and political relations. Including a Consideration of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, and of the Educational Controversy in General. By John Hoppus, LL.D., F.R.S.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR OCTOBER, 1847.

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ART. I.—*The Revealed Doctrine of Future Rewards and Punishments.*

By R. W. Hamilton, LL.D., D.D. London: Jackson & Wal-  
ford. 8vo. pp. 555.

THE identity of the mental constitution of mankind under all the phases which locality, tribe, time, and sin have imparted to it, is a primary fact of vast importance to the establishment of various reasonings, both in intellectual and moral philosophy; and not less so to the confirmation of the first principles of revelation itself. If this fact could not be ascertained, foundations would be wanting in all the departments we have indicated, and many of the conclusions now generally deemed secure, could not be safely reached.

Happily, this mental and moral identity can be made out even more readily and satisfactorily than the physical identity of the species, viewed apart, and under the wide varieties it presents of form, colour, etc. When, however, the mental identity is established, it becomes a main stay to the doctrine of physical identity; and deprives, and, as we think, ought to deprive, trivial and unexplained varieties in that department, of all power to disturb the general conclusion.

The unquestionable fact, that all the same intellectual faculties, and that the same laws applicable to their exercise, have been always and everywhere developed among the human tribes, and are still invariably developed, under the given circumstances of civilization and social rule, goes far to establish the identity of the mental constitution of all the races bearing

the form of man. No other terrestrial animal, under any circumstances whatever, can be made to approach, even by the superior training of man, to say nothing of spontaneous or self-development, this mental type, in its complexity, variety, capability of indefinite improvement, and especially in its marked supremacy over all other living creatures. The widest extremes under which human nature may be found, are made to meet, and that, too, after a comparatively short period of culture. Men may all be taught to move in the same track, to ascend the same hill of science. They may stand for a generation or two, or for as many as you please, at different and distant stages of the ascent; but if there be mutual stimulus, companionship, action and re-action, they may all be perceived in progression towards the summit. Human beings in the lowest grade of civilization may be speedily brought to sympathize in all the mental experiences of those at the highest. This can never take place between man and any of the animals, although individuals, or even races of the latter may be endowed with some single faculty slightly approximating to a similar faculty in man. Yet at best it is a feeble and puny mimicry. It looks like an abortion that never came to the birth—an embryo of intellect never meant to grow, or the crumbs that have fallen to the dogs that feed under the superabundant table of man.

But let the human mental constitution be estimated, not by the comparison of a single power, and that in the lowest human grade with the highest animal, but as a whole; and, as such, it finds no parallel, no resemblance, no counterpart elsewhere. All the intellectual endowments of animals are stunted, subordinate to their purely animal propensities, and improveable only within the narrowest limits. They know nothing of *intellect for intellect's own sake*. It is in them the slave of the organism, not its regent. What thought they have is for the gratification and conservation of the body. Above that it never rises. But man's intellect, however various in degree, preserves its clear identity through all the beings possessing the same physical organization. It finds no reflection of its own image from any other quarter of the visible creation. As a whole, it is unique. Its glory is its isolation by so wide a gulf from all that breathes around it. Man everywhere finds himself on a lofty pinnacle amidst the creation of God; or if not, he seeks it, by the innate ambition of his spirit, and ceases not till all things pay homage to his supremacy.

The identity of the moral nature also, though to be found under considerable varieties, is as clear and undeniable as the intellectual. Some schools have described man's mind as formed merely for moral ideality. We should prefer a less

transcendental terminology ; and would say, because it is more generally intelligible, that he possesses moral capacity, or a perception of moral relations, just as he possesses and evinces intellectual ; that this moral capacity is distinguishable enough in his own ideal consciousness, but inseparable from that consciousness when the proper relations are present and under contemplation. *Then* moral ideas are the natural and inevitable ideas. Human minds invariably produce them, under those relations which are called moral. Philosophers may dispute concerning their origination—whether they are subjective or objective, begotten in the mind only by external relations, or the self-developed progeny of the mind. It matters not. The fact is universal. There they are. Say they are purely ideal, mere creatures, or, if the metaphysician will, *dreams*, of the soul, to which nothing real pertains ; yet if there were superadded an objective reality, such, we mean, as would satisfy the metaphysician, what additional power would these moral ideas acquire over human nature ? What new force would they manifest ? These are the ideas most potent and sacred in every human mind. They cannot be effectually and permanently dislodged. Man *must* be conscious of them. They are the pivot of his happiness or his misery. And the philosophy that would persuade him that they are the dreams of his intellect, must equally persuade him that all else are dreams. And if such things are called dreams, the world may contentedly leave the philosophers to be corrected by their own experience. To the rest of the world they will always constitute the highest reality of life. If these are dreams, then let the sages who call them such, show the world what it is to be awake. If it is to be free from them, then none are awake. Nature is too strong for such philosophy. Produce the human being that is destitute of all such ideas ; that does not recognise them as realities ; that never was conscious of them ; that cannot be made to appreciate them, or that ever did or could nullify their influence upon the conduct of life, however he may have endeavoured to reason them out of their authority. Or let those philosophers who deem other men dreamers, produce the history that records the existence of a race, or even of the individual, bearing the human shape, endowed with the intellectuality, yet destitute of the moral sensibility or capacity common to all the tribes of men. All know that it cannot be done ; for if the intellectual identity be universally preserved in connexion with the physical, so is the moral with the intellectual. The moral capacity always develops itself conjointly with the mental faculties. It grows with their growth. It is inseparable from the consciousness of natural and social relations.



Its centre and fountain seems to be the consciousness of dependent existence. The conception of absolute independence cannot be entertained. The idea of moral obligation has its cause in the constitution of the mind. It is inseparable from consciousness, and the human mind is never found without it. It is not an adjunct or a circumstance, or the effect of any circumstance. We cannot conceive of circumstances producing a nature, however they may shape or misshape it. It is the great law of our constitution that this shall be, or is, essentially, primarily, originally, and universally, a *moral nature*. It is discernible in the lowest, indelible in all. Nothing can alter it, prevent it, or endanger it.

Moreover, it cannot be denied, nor concealed, that this capacity of conceiving of moral obligation, is the highest and most perfect endowment of human nature. No nature of which we can conceive, can transcend this type. Its highest cultivation is the perfection of man. It belongs exclusively, at least in this world, to the being described as made in God's image. No other living being manifests this development, or any promptings towards it; any capacity for it, or any semblance of it. Then this can be no accident of man, no circumstance that might or might not be, or be otherwise. It is his nature. It is characteristic—that which makes him man. It is in us, in us all; and cannot, by any conceivable possibility, be obliterated or counteracted. Imagine it gone, and man ceases to be man. Neither his form nor his intellect would answer to the image of God; but his moral nature, however mutilated, corresponds to the high original from which he came, and the perfect standard to which he was conformed. It is the condition of all moral government, the basis of all law. But if so, it presents the noblest department of our entire constitution. It is the connecting link between the created and the Creator, between the finite and the infinite. It is the sublimation of creature existence: the subtlest and most ethereal bond of dependence. It is, moreover, the realization of the highest possible idea of law. No conception of government can transcend this; for it is the subordination both of animal and intellectual power to the consciousness of moral obligation—and that to a power above all, and from which all beings, powers, and laws, in all their gradations, proceed. It is governed by conscious volition, regulated only by the conception of a superior volition, which is perceived to have a reasonable right to the supreme authority it claims and exercises. Here is found the law of laws.

Now this identity of the moral nature is verified throughout the whole extent of humanity, by a discrimination, acknowledged

both theoretically and practically, among the actions of men, as proceeding from commendable or blameable intentions. Social law assumes it as its authority; aims to express it, and to give it the sanction of the public will. But even where the moral nature does not reveal itself in positive law, as in the very lowest and most degenerate states of our nature, it becomes both palpable and authoritative in some other way. It finds interpreters, and enacts its sanctions. As soon, however, as society advances into anything deserving the name of civilization and order, then the natural tendency to moral distinctions develops itself, in its various efforts to determine and define moral obligations, and to sustain them by appropriate sanctions. It aims at a higher good through moral and social rule. Hence the doctrine of rewards and punishments becomes the issue to which all moral judgments point. A moral nature must culminate in some such theory. Its idea of moral government is incomplete and powerless without it. We might, therefore, fairly expect to find it among the earliest efforts of human speculation. Moreover, we might anticipate that, however varied laws and their sanctions might be, however different men's conceptions of what ought to be the future rewards of good actions, or punishments of bad ones, yet still the doctrine itself would uniformly accompany their moral nature, characterizing it as much and as clearly as the erect posture, or the gift of speech. Accordingly, fact and history fully corroborate this anticipation. Nations the most distant and disconnected in time, locality, and civilization, have entertained the doctrine, and incorporated it with their vivid though often fantastical and absurd imaginations of a future life. Reason or intellect alone would, perhaps, never have indulged that conception of a future life, but for its connexion with a moral nature. It never could have been ascertained as a fact, and could hardly have been inferred from bare, abstract consciousness of being. But when the moral nature is developed, then the future life presents itself as the necessary complement of moral rule; for, if rewards and punishments are inseparable from such government, and, *à fortiori*, from the highest and most perfect, then a future life of the mind, or a continued life out of the body, becomes inevitable to the entireness of the doctrine; since it is undeniable that these sanctions are constantly broken off and defeated in this life. Retribution is only in part effected. Some of nature's moral laws enforce and execute themselves. They then become prophetic, and point to futurity. Every one knows that it required not the teaching of revelation proper to stimulate the human mind everywhere, and through all time, into various and perpetual speculations upon the nature of the future life. Distinctions of virtuous and vicious actions, responsibility, free-

will, fate, immortality, conjectures upon the places and the forms of eternal reward or suffering, together with the evidence of each and all of these, constituted the leading questions of nearly all ancient speculation. Whatever was the system of religious worship, the reasoning of the worshipper always pointed to, and often discussed with great ability and no little subtlety, these subjects. None of these were new questions when Moses commenced his pedagogy, nor when Christ commissioned his apostles to teach all nations. Most of them had been debated before Noah entered into his ark. They were old as human nature itself, which had never lost its interest in them, and propension towards them, even when it had lost the light by which alone it could read them. They were regularly as well as early debated in every school of philosophy from Egypt to China, and from Babylon and Nineveh to Athens and Rome. The forms and the terms, the theories and the arguments, varied according to the genius, the habits, and the civilization of the people; but the radical ideas were assumed in all. They were coins of different value, different metal, and different dies, but from the same mint; they authenticated the deep-seated conviction or consciousness of moral government, and a moral nature, which everywhere wrought in the mind, and fretted after certainty, distinctness, and authority. They were ideas that men felt to be the fountains of social order, inseparable from it, and essential alike to self-government, heroism, philanthropy, friendship, commerce, and whatever else embellishes and ennobles human life.

From the ancient schools, when Christianity appeared and attracted attention, these ideas and theories were transferred to the church, mixed themselves up with its controversies, and became implicated with the defence of Christianity itself. Wherever the evidences of divine inspiration produced conviction, its dogmatic instruction upon these and all collateral topics was, of course, implicitly received; controversy so far ceased, and settled down into calm belief: but where reason still stood upon its supposed rights, and refused to bow to the yoke of Christ and his apostles, the debates still continued; the controversies of ancient days revived; the same questions returned with tenfold urgency; for Christianity infused new life into the moral nature of all. But the difficulties attendant upon the ancient moral theories took altogether a new form. They were no longer the difficulties and doubts with which a bewildered and benighted intellect was bound and doomed to grapple in the state of infirmity and obscurity it had brought upon itself. No longer the burden of its own dark thoughts, but the armoury from whence it drew weapons and missiles against the innovators; and then the whole stock of controversial philosophy passed into

the form of objection to the new morality and theology. The most hostile schools and parties combined to cast them as difficulties in the way of Christianity. The Academy and the Porch, Epicureans and Stoics, Pharisees and Sadducees, united in this warfare. It was cheap, and they had practised it against each other.

The consequence was a sharp and long war of attack and defence, in which the philosophers of all schools assailed Christianity, as if it were obliged to explain all their difficulties, solve all their previous dilemmas, and remove every objection to its own dogmas which they could hunt out of their old philosophies. But Christianity had no such mission to the world. It stood on higher ground. It assumed general principles, asserted primary and grand truths only. It professed not to elucidate all the theories of speculative philosophy, nor to satisfy the uneasy reason of the inquisitive, with a full solution of the mystery of man. It came to shed its benedictions upon the heart, to pour its oil and wine into the wounded Samaritan; and it accomplished the high behest, though beset by a host of objectors. The singleness of its aim and the benevolence of its object were overlooked or disregarded by the philosophers. Its genius was too heavenly for such wranglers. In them the critic, or the sophist, or the disputer, had absorbed the *man*.

To a certain extent this spirit still survives. Christianity is, by many, expected to make all things plain. The difficulties of human reason are made its difficulties. If the oracle does not answer all questions, it is no oracle to them. But Christianity fulfils its own professions. It takes the moral nature of man as all men find it; and it offers its remedy. It adopts or sanctions human nature's own doctrine of a future life, its own convictions or consciousness of immortality, its own anticipation of future rewards and punishments. It confirms the general truths by its authority, and reveals the issues of the system. It does not condescend to prove or argue them. But it leaves its disciples to discuss the details; warning them, however, not to trench upon its authority, nor tamper with its principles. It is the proper province of revelation not to supersede reason, but to supply its deficiencies, and lead it to those ultimate truths which it could not otherwise have reached. We have no right to demand of it a solution of the whole stock of questions, which have been debated in all the schools of philosophy from the dawn of civilisation to the present age, and which would still remain anxious and perpetual subjects of inquiry, if Christianity were to be obliterated. It is the claim, and the just claim of Christianity, that its decisions upon all these questions shall be admitted as final, upon its own authority exclusively, in every case where reason detects no ab-

surdity, and perceives no contradiction ; and more especially in the case of future punishments, where reason had previously arrived at the same conclusion, and taught substantially the same doctrine, upon grounds of its own, and to an extent which, the more it is considered, must appear the more surprising.

The difficulties, then, whatever they may be, attending the entire theory of moral government, pertain more properly to natural religion than to revelation ; because they are found to have arisen in the human mind, independently of revelation, and prior to its discoveries. Christianity may or may not have explained and solved them. It was not its proper business to do so. It was not peremptory that it should do so, before propounding its remedial system, for the sake of which alone it was commissioned to instruct the world.

Dr. Hamilton has very ably and satisfactorily treated this part of his subject. One short extract will put the reader in possession of his views upon it. He says :—

‘ Receiving *nature*, in its largest sense, as an earlier revelation, the author has mainly addressed himself to the *à priori* treatment of the subject. Thus, if the removal of any scripture testimony be demanded, because of its imputed contradiction to *natural* demonstration,—he has throughout his entire argument rejoined upon it. He has endeavoured to prove that nature brings no relief by suggesting any alternative. According to its decisions, even to the apprehensions of sense, moral agents are happy or miserable, just as are the qualities of their agency. Moreover, it must follow that it can only be right so to make them happy or miserable. If these qualities of such agents be permanent, thus permanent must be their happiness or misery. To the dark boundary-line of death, we trace the equal permanency of their character, of conduct, and of their award. No *known* treatment of these agents, consequently, is at variance with these actual results. Whatever *can be ascertained* coincides. It is *always so*, to the best of our knowledge and experience. The difficulty may be only thrown back,—but it now presses upon the impugnors of the scripture doctrine of future punishment. It now becomes their own.

‘ The lecturer, in the confession of these common principles, felt himself warranted at every stage of the argument, to seize the analogy between nature and proper revelation. It is his reiterated urgency that the latter, in this very dispute, only follows up the former : that Christianity as a remedial system, proceeds but on the assumption of an antecedent, independent, dilemma ; and that it is perfectly irresponsible for it.’—Pref. p. viii.

This passage will appropriately introduce the first lecture, which is devoted to an examination of the spiritual, responsible, and immortal nature of man, deduced from himself. The most important portion of this lecture, viewed, at t, in reference

to modern discussions, relates to the question of immortality, as the essential property of the human spirit. In sifting the evidences which have frequently been urged, the author admits that many of them cannot be considered as direct and adequate proofs, but are to be viewed rather as confirmatory and accordant facts, indispensable, if the spirit of man be immortal, but, of themselves, insufficient proofs of it. His main proof he derives from the essential nature of man as the subject of moral government, and that government requiring a future life for its consummation. He then argues, that in the absence of all positive evidence that the future life is to be limited, man's own consciousness, his natural anticipations of reward or punishment, the promptings of his spirit, his hope and his fear, his very passion for immortality, supply, apart from revelation, firm ground for the universal belief of immortality. He then shows that confirmations of this belief are to be derived from many other quarters; all things comport with it; nothing contradicts it; while many of these facts and circumstances can never be made to comport with the physical mortality of the human spirit.

After ably summing up the evidence of immortality, he thus notices the modern revival of an opinion long since propounded, but utterly discarded by all sound and comprehensive thinkers.

‘ There is a speculation, to which we may just advert, concerning the immortality of man. It regards this as conditionally bestowed or withheld. Some of the ancient theories forerun it. The doctrine is that man may, or may not be, immortal, according to certain moral terms. It is itself a reward, and its denial is a punishment. Now, in investigating the truth of immortality, we could not overlook this statement. Nothing can be more fallacious or self-inconsistent. Reward and punishment are contingents. The nature of him upon whom they pass remains the same. They may respect, they cannot change, it. Immortality cannot be mere reward, or its loss mere punishment, through the means and capacity for it, for that would constitute a difference of being. In a nature created only perishing, there can be no physical power to become immortal. But if created immortal, then immortality cannot be the reward of obedience, for it would exist without it: and its abscission cannot be punishment, but escape from it, seeing it was in the creature's original nature that the sin was committed, and the forfeiture was incurred. Besides, there are serious objections to any supposition that nature's physical constitutions can be reversed. They are seen by us through all their types, to be insuppressible. However we torture them, they cannot be eradicated. For perishable nature to become immortal, or for immortal nature to become perishable, contradicts all we learn from the counterparts and analogies of the

creation, and, therefore, equally opposes all we infer of the consistency of Him 'in whom we have our being.'

'And the immortal life which pagan reason contemplated was no vague and inactive—it was retributive. There virtue found its reward, and wickedness its punishment. When the Grecian and the Latin bards caused their heroes to descend by the Kimmerian portal or by the Cumean gate, into the Erebus of their mythology, they beheld the bowers and groves of those who were renowned for excellence, the blest: and, the instruments as well as the conditions of punishment, to which the reprobate were doomed. The patriarchs of philosophy descanted, in like manner, upon the happiness or misery of the future state. It may be said, that the common poetry of the age moulded its philosophy. Then whence was the poetry inspired? It is not of this mighty art to invent opinion and usage; it can but cast back their images on mankind, in colours of its own. It calls into existence, or commands into combination, the forms and types of sentiment; it were not only to transgress its bound, but to lose its power, did it attempt any realms but those of imagination—that law of mind which must not desert, in all its parables and allegories, the substance of what is known and real—which can only reflect, though with diffused rays, what actually exists—which can only give its pomp to history, and its intensity to truth! Whatever be its flights, the poetry to which the column is due, is but the picture of a common conception, the sublimation of the popular sentiment and belief. And, if poetry tinged the ancient philosophy, it did not give it legend and machinery. It might embellish it with beauty. But what is so beautiful as reason? It was reason which prevailed.'—p. 77—80.

In the second lecture, the author proceeds to expound the law and government of responsible agents. It is an admirable summary of natural theology, shewing how all its admitted and indisputable principles coalesce with the peculiar doctrines of the Christian revelation. Herein the foundations of moral science are firmly laid. They cannot be shaken; and we hesitate not to pronounce the argument unanswerable. It may provoke quibbles from those who dispute the reality of any such thing as natural religion; but persons who presume to build up revelation without it, are not the men who will attempt to answer Dr. Hamilton; or if they did ——? And certainly none of clearer and longer sight will.

The third lecture is a continuation of the great subject opened towards the close of the previous one, 'The Harmony of Revelation with Natural Religion,'—shewing how the former has appropriated and identified all the moral theorems of reason, *worked out*, so to say, in the latter. It is a masterly outline of this most interesting subject, and a *study* for divines of every class—the result of great research and deep thinking. It will repay reading more than once. The following passage will

give a clue to the train of argumentation which is pursued with consummate ability throughout this lecture.

'Revelation having appropriated and identified all the moral theorems of reason,—the great truths, the first principles, taught by the light of nature, by the constitution of mind, by the administration of Providence,—having raised its peculiar and exclusive discoveries upon them, might have been absolved from any blame of deficiency, had it assumed them silently as matters already proved. But not satisfied to leave the possibility of mistake, it retraces their outline—often dim, sometimes effaced—in more than its original vividness, because, in its infinite mercy, it charges itself with a remedy which can only be shewn necessary, and rendered availing, by the demonstration of human apostacy, and, of consequence, by an exhibition of the law by which apostacy can alone be demonstrated. It supposes a universal law, because it contemplates in mankind 'the children of disobedience.' It supposes guilt and penalty, because it addresses mankind, as 'children of wrath.' This law is but one, though its copies were not equally clear. This guilt and penalty were but one, though their degrees largely varied in aggravation. The Jew had received the recapitulated law,—precise, and full, and cogent,—'the form of knowledge and of truth.' The less favoured Gentile was left to explore a wider volume, but being more diffuse, less distinct and emphatic. The Israelites had learnt its general features before they received their special code; but there was transcendent advantage in such digest, defining their ideas, and affecting their sensibilities. The Gentiles were not abandoned without instruction and impression, but in a more uncompact shape. They often cherished the most beautiful refinements of sentiment, the most analytic ideas of obligation. Among many of them the grosser and more monstrous vices were not only denounced—they were 'not so much as named among them.' The stern fact is declared concerning both: 'There is no difference; for all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' The gospel clears its immediate, urgent, way to this conviction of universal liability to punishment, that it may sound forth its pardon and its peace. In the same manner of eager haste, it determines the invariableness of the enmity of the human heart to holy good, that it may at once put into operation its power to renew it.

'And we now pursue the inquiry, whether those great characteristics of man, and whether those main instruments of retribution, which we think have been proved to exist, do actually enter into the ground-idea of revelation? For, since we have deemed it most important to learn whether the primary universal law be recognized by it, it is equally imperative to ascertain whether it regards our nature, we will not say truly, for the bare notion of alternative, having assumed its divinity, would be offensively profane; but whether it regards our nature as we think, after our most careful estimate, that it is just and necessary to regard it ourselves.'—pp. 132—134.



The author's next stage obviously arising out of the developed harmony of revelation and natural religion, brings us to the 'Nature and Rewardableness of Christian Virtue.' It is an admirable summary of all that is taught by revelation on this important topic, and its harmony with right reason is forcibly shewn. But we cannot make room for extract. It is a treatise characterized by exquisite discrimination—acute, comprehensive, and powerful. The issues are then pursued. The alternatives are exhibited. 'The Heavenly State,' is the subject of the fifth lecture, and 'Future Punishment,' in its nature, design, and duration, occupies the sixth, seventh, and eighth.

The author first argues that moral government supposes possible defection, and that this necessitates punishment. Man is shown to be under condemnation. The nature and duration of this condemned state, may be argued from the constitution of man. Suffering, with one or two allowed exceptions, must be penal—self-infliction. Punishment not restricted to this—not intended to exercise corrective influence—its only relation is to justice—justice must enforce its character and its conception of sin. No benefit of the atonement except to those who are under its moral influence. Objections are then considered. The principles of man's nature as spiritual, responsible, and immortal, are applied to the duration of future punishment, as necessarily following that nature. The subject is first treated irrespective of revelation.

Dr. Hamilton next proceeds to apply those principles of human nature which serve as instruments of moral government—the force of habit—character—calculation of the consequences of every moral act and emotion. It is then shown that upon the supposition of a moral nature, God himself could not prevent the consequence of sin, but by a mechanical omnipotence which might destroy that nature, but could not control its working, without annulling its responsibility. The remainder of this lecture may be pointed out as the most forcible and satisfactory portion of the entire work. It places the doctrine affirmed on an impregnable rock. We suspect few will feel inclined when they have carefully perused it, to assail its reasonings.

The seventh lecture is chiefly occupied with an examination of the scriptural terms employed to express the place and duration of punishment. It is very satisfactory, and sweeps away much of the feeble and attenuated criticism which has so often been employed upon this subject, and of which modern times have witnessed a temporary revival. The hand of a master is here. The scope and object of scripture phraseology are seized and made obvious; whereas mere verbal criticism quibbles at every thing, but settles nothing.

The eighth and last lecture is devoted to the examination of various speculations which have been set up to invalidate the scripture doctrine. Some considerations have been offered, to show that future punishment may be endurable; these are intended to soften its severity. Then comes the necessarian perfectibility or optimism—the hypothetical withdrawment of immortality from man—the conjecture of destruction or annihilation! From this lecture we select one passage as appropriate to some modern theories.

‘There are other opinions which do not so much assail the doctrine of ceaseless punishment, as question the immortality of the creatures on whom it might be devolved; some rejecting the proper immortality of man, and supposing that punishment consists in physical death, some maintaining that the punishment consists in the definitive withdrawment of that proper immortality.

‘All may not be prepared for this sudden turn of objection. It comes upon them as very bold to deny the immortality of man. But we have forewarned it. Our argument has not been heedless. We have in previous stages endeavoured to establish it. That anticipative proof we now apply. And if man be not physically immortal, if immortality be not a physical constituent and determination of his being,—not his appanage, but his nature—we may inquire how can its forfeiture be penal? Until he sinned, according to this hypothesis, he was only mortal, or, not to imply death, a being who must, at some period or other, cease to exist, unless a sovereign, supernatural, increment be conferred upon him. If he sinned, this was his term of being; if he obeyed, he should be made immortal. We must remember what his real nature is alleged to be: it is determinable: that tendency may be morally allowed, or morally counter-vailed. The punishment falls within the nature: but since the reward exceeds it, the nature is to be enhanced by a new physical property. Now it will be seen that punishment is not dealt in any strict sense upon the man. It descends not upon his nature. After sin, his nature, as determinable, is only what it was before. There is withholdment, but of nothing which was ever his. There is a failure of what was a possible happiness, but not any infliction of harm or hurt upon himself. An inheritance is diverted, but he was never heir. It is loss, but only of an adventitious prize. This cannot be the philosophy of retribution. It reckons nothing upon the present and the past. The worst predicament of the sinner is only according to the natural conditions of his existence!

‘We have, in a very early part of this argument, spoken of this shifted view of man, now perishable, now immortal. It leaves him no fixed nature. It cannot be both. The first cannot be convertible into the second. The second cannot be compressed into the first. There must be a reconstruction; a totally different nature must be created, for a creature, whose being is appointed to be short, in order that he may acquire a capacity of endless durability. In that

case the identity would cease, and the responsibility along with it. One nature would be the subject of the virtue; the other would be the subject of the reward. So, likewise, on the moral inversion. If this opinion be embraced to relieve the Divine conduct of any apparent austerity, we must affirm our impression that it increases it. There is a distinction immediately felt between what a lawgiver directly and indirectly does. His interposition to punish is far more harsh than his permission of the legal course of punishment. If man be immortal, he must be accordingly treated. Righteousness owes this to him. If not, then his life should determine at its proper limit. This, also, seems the claim of righteousness. Any renewal or prolongation of it is preternatural. If renewed or prolonged against its nature, for the very purpose of inflicting suffering, we confess to a shrinking from so unwonted a measure. This transposition of nature cannot be righteous; nor can this violent treatment of either nature be so, seeing that it is in opposition to the nature itself. If man has died, why does not that event, agreeably to the case supposed, agreeably, though unaccountably in our idea, to the sentence of mortality—suffice? He was not, it is alleged, naturally immortal, and the contingent immortality is forfeited. But then the probable course is interrupted. Whether the soul, in this conjecture, be remitted to sleep with the body we are not aware. In the resurrection each, at least, revives. Man lives again. Why is he recovered to being? For suffering, insalutary and hopeless, except in the termination of the sufferer's being? Is this the amiable alternative to our sterner faith? Is not this the stretch of law? Is not this gratuitous infliction?—pp. 436—439.

But here we must terminate our observations and extracts. Dr. Hamilton has given to the public a work of consummate ability, and of inestimable value. It has more of his characteristic excellencies, and fewer of his blemishes than any other production of his pen. It cannot fail to produce a deep and powerful impression, and to supply a timely bulwark to the evangelic theology. With some slight allowance, which we feel obliged to make, for peculiarities of diction, and sometimes of thought, we most cordially and earnestly commend this work to the serious perusal of our readers. But we caution all to read it through, and, if they hesitate upon any passages or arguments, to read again. There is matter for deep reflection in every page. A greater work on theology our country has not produced in the present age. Any evangelic church might feel an honest pride in possessing so scriptural, discriminating, and powerful an advocate of the truth. Long may he continue the ornament of his own denomination, and the friend of all others that maintain the great and common salvation.

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ART. II.—*The Birds of Jamaica*. By Philip Henry Gosse ; assisted by Richard Hill, Esq., of Spanish-town. pp. 447. London : Van Voorst, 1847.

JAMAICA is considerably less in extent than the county of Yorkshire. Its width averages only about forty miles, and its length is about a hundred and fifty. But the island, notwithstanding its small size, presents many attractions to the naturalist. Its varied scenery furnishes habitations for a great diversity of species. To the east of the island, the range of hills, called the Blue Mountains, extend for miles, and rise to the height of from five thousand to seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. A considerable portion of this mountain region is covered with dense forests, displaying all the luxuriance of tropical vegetation. Shrubs in great variety, whose intertwining branches have thickened for ages, choke up the mountain passes, and render the woods almost impenetrable ; whilst, towering in the midst of the forest, are seen the cedars, the palms, the breadnut, and the still more gigantic cotton-trees. The branches of all the trees, from the largest to the smallest, are thickly covered with mosses, or are overgrown with parasites, whose fantastic shapes and hanging flowers clothe the naked boughs, and add to the rich profuseness of the vegetation. These solitary woods, the dark and damp recesses of which are seldom disturbed by human footsteps, are the chosen habitations of many rare and interesting birds.

In the valleys, the grassy savannahs, or natural pasture-grounds, stretch for miles in park-like beauty, diversified with flowery hedge-rows and shrubby thickets. In these districts, many of the insessorial birds are met with, whose sweet notes, varied plumage, and sprightly habits, attract the attention and reward the zeal of the naturalist.

Most parts of the island are well watered with numerous rivers and streams, where various kinds of gaulins, herons, and bitterns, may be seen silently watching for their funny prey. To the west, the plains of Savanna la Mar, and the Pedro Plains, are covered over to a great extent with immense swamps and morasses, which are tenanted by a large variety of snipes, rails, ducks, and other water birds.

The sea-coast, also, has its peculiar denizens. The elegant red flamingoes are occasionally seen ; and pelicans, boobies, frigate-birds, and gulls, are abundant. About sixty miles south of the western end of the island are the Pedro Kays, or islets, and upon these lonely rocks sea-fowl congregate in immense multi-

tudes. 'As soon as visitors land, myriads of birds are upon the wing in all directions. Some flocks rise, in circling flight, high up into the air; and descending again in the same dense numbers as they rose, settle in more remote places: others break away hurriedly, and fly in a wide sweep far around, but return again hastily to the rocks they had quitted, reconciled to bear with the disturbance. The turmoil and hubbub of the thousands of birds thus suddenly put upon the wing overpower, for a moment, the roar of the breakers, and darken the air like the sudden passing of a cloud.'

Such are some of the characteristics of the region to which Mr. Gosse introduces his readers. It is full of interest to the ornithologist, and we are glad that the biography of its varied and beautiful feathered tribes has fallen into the hands of so able an observer as the author of the volume before us. We anticipate that his graphic and pleasing descriptions will render the habits of the 'Birds of Jamaica' familiar to many English readers, and will be highly valued by all field naturalists.

A few species, only, of birds of prey are met with in Jamaica. Of these, perhaps the best known is the turkey vulture (*cathartes aura*), which renders great service by removing carrion and other offal. Our readers may probably recollect the amusing controversy respecting the power possessed by these birds of discovering their food, which occurred a few years since between Audubon, the celebrated American ornithologist, and Charles Waterton, the kind-hearted but eccentric wanderer. Mr. Audubon contended that the vultures discovered their food solely by means of their powers of sight, whilst Mr. Waterton no less strongly urged that it was by their sense of smell alone that they were directed in their search for carrion. Mr. Hill, of Jamaica, to whom Mr. Gosse has been indebted for much valuable information, has furnished an account of the habits of the turkey vulture, from which we are led to believe that the belligerent ornithologists, in the controversy above alluded to, resembled the knights of old in their famous combat about the two sides of the shield. Mr. Hill says:—

'Those who ascribe the power which the vulture possesses, of discerning from a distance its carrion food, to the sense of seeing or to the sense of smelling, *exclusively*, appear to me to be both in error. It is the two senses, exerted sometimes singly, but generally unitedly, which give the facility which it possesses of tracing its appropriate food from far distances. I shall relate one or two occurrences which seem to me to be instances in which the sense of seeing and the sense of smelling were sometimes separately and sometimes unitedly exerted by the vulture in its quest for food.

. 'A poor German immigrant who lived alone in a detached cottage

in this town [Spanish Town], rose from his bed after a two days' confinement by fever, to purchase in the market some fresh meat for a little soup. Before he could do more than prepare the several ingredients of herbs and roots, and put his meat in water for the preparation of his pottage, the paroxysm of fever had returned, and he laid himself on his bed exhausted. Two days elapsed in this state of helplessness and inanition; by which time the mass of meat and pot-herbs had putrified. The stench becoming very perceptible, vulture after vulture as they sailed past, were observed always to descend to the cottage of the German, and to sweep round as if they had tracked some putrid carcase, but failed to find exactly where it was. This led the neighbours to apprehend that the poor man lay dead in his cottage. His door was broken open; he was found in a state of helpless feebleness, but the room was most insufferably offensive from something putrifying which could not be immediately found, for the fever having deprived the German of his wits, he had no recollection of his uncooked mess of meat and pot-herbs. At last, the pot-lid was lifted, and the cause of the insupportable stench discovered in the corrupted soup-meat.

'Here we have the sense of smelling directing the vultures without any assistance from the sense of sight, and discovering unerringly the locality of the animal matter, when even the neighbours were at fault in their patient search.

'Some few days succeeding this occurrence, after a night and morning of heavy rain, in which our streets had been inundated to the depth of a foot, and flood after flood had been sweeping to the river the drainage of the whole town,—a piece of recent offal had been brought down from some of the yards where an animal had been slaughtered, and lodged in the street. A vulture beating about in search of food, dashed in a slanting direction from a considerable height, and just resting, without closing his wings, snatched up the fresh piece of flesh, and carried it off.

'Here was the sense of sight unassisted by that of smelling, for the meat was too recent to communicate any taint to the morning air, and the vulture stooped to it from a very far distance.

'On another occasion very near to the time when these facts attracted my notice, a dead rat had been thrown out, early in the morning, into the street, having been caught in the previous night. Two vultures sailing over head in quest of a morning meal, descended at the same time, stooping to the dead rat, the one from the south, the other from the north, and both seized the object of attraction at the same moment.

'Here again was the vision unaided by the sensitiveness of the nostrils, directing two birds with the same appetite, at the same moment, to the same object.'—pp. 2—4.

We are satisfied that Mr. Hill's theory is the correct one. Mr. Audubon's experiments and Mr. Waterton's facts alike go to prove it. The vulture has both eyes and 'nose,' and no doubt

makes the most use it can of those faculties. We must, however, do Mr. Waterton the justice to say that, in our opinion, he had decidedly the best of the argument, inasmuch as the principal food of the vultures consists of carrion; and there is ample evidence to show that, in the discovery of tainted meat, these birds are *mainly* indebted to their olfactory organs. But they do not feed exclusively upon carrion, and here is the weak point in Mr. Waterton's argument. In the amusing paper upon the 'Faculty of Scent in the Vulture,' originally published in 'Loudon's Magazine,' and afterwards reprinted in the first series of the 'Essays on Natural History,' Mr. Waterton says:—'Were you to kill a fowl, and place it in the yard with the live ones, it would remain there unnoticed as long as it was sweet; but as soon as it became offensive, you would see the *vultur aura* approach it, and begin to feed upon it, or carry it away, without showing any inclination to molest the other fowls which might be basking in the neighbourhood.' This may be true, as the vulture might not distinguish between the dead fowl and the others lying motionless basking on the ground, and his structure is not, like that of the falcons, adapted for pouncing upon living prey; but Mr. Waterton is certainly not justified in drawing from it the inference that the vulture will refuse recent flesh, when placed within his reach. Some of the facts stated by Mr. Hill in the extract above given prove the contrary, and Mr. Gosse also supplies additional evidence of a similar character. He asserts that the turkey vulture will seize upon a weakling young pig when apart from the rest, and will kill it by a severe gripe across the back. Cases have occurred, in which large hogs, and even cattle lying in a sickly or dying condition, have been attacked, and have had their eyes torn out by these birds; and Mr. Gosse relates an instance where a dog, having gorged itself with carrion, was sleeping under a tree, when a turkey vulture descended upon it, and began tearing the muscles of the thigh. The bird had actually laid open a considerable space before the poor dog was aroused by the pain from its stupor, and started up with a howl of agony. The wound was so severe that, although dressed, it soon after caused the death of the animal.

The red-tailed buzzard (*buteo borealis*) is the most common bird of prey in Jamaica. It remains in the island during the whole year, and may frequently be seen sailing in wide circles over the pasture grounds, or soaring into the air in ascending revolutions, until its form is lost amidst the brightness of the tropical sky. Mr. Gosse mentions, that a friend of his once observed a red-tailed buzzard fly out of its nest accompanied by two young ones, which were apparently making a trial of their wings on their first excursion. After one of the young birds had

flown a short way, and was beginning to flutter downwards, the parent was seen to fly beneath it, and present her back and wings for its support. It is not certain that the young one actually rested upon the back of the old bird, but its confidence was probably restored by seeing support so near, and it managed to reach a neighbouring tree. The other little one, invited by its parent, in like manner tried its infant wings, and was attended with equal affection. Mr. Gosse reminds his readers, that this remarkable occurrence furnishes a pleasing illustration of the passage in scripture:—‘As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings; so the Lord alone did lead him, and there was no strange God with him.’ (Deut. xxxii. 12; compare Exod. xix. 4.)

The raptorial birds, notwithstanding their great strength, and the dangerous weapons with which they are provided, for predatory warfare, have frequently to submit to the annoying attacks of lesser species. The petcharies (*tyrannus*) are often seen tormenting the hawk or the vulture. Their habits, in this respect, are well described by Mr. Hill, who gives an account of a pair of petcharies which had taken possession of a very lofty cocoa-nut tree in the neighbourhood of his house.

‘Perched on this vantage-height, they scream defiance to every inhabitant around them, and sally forth to wage war on all birds that venture near. None but the swallow dares to take the circuit of their nestling tree. At a signal from one of the birds, perhaps the female, when a carrion vulture is sweeping near, or a hawk is approaching, the mate flings himself upwards in the air, and having gained an elevation equal to that of the bird he intends to attack, he starts off in a horizontal line, with nicely balanced wings, and hovering for a moment, descends upon the intruder’s back, shrieking all the while, as he sinks and rises, and repeats his attacks with vehemence. The carrion vulture that seldom courses the air but with gliding motion, now flaps his wings eagerly, and pitches downward at every stroke his assailant makes at him, and tries to dodge him. In this way he pursues him and frequently brings him to the ground.

‘The hawk is beset by all birds of any power of wing, but the boldest, and judging from the continued exertion he makes to escape, the most effective of his assailants is the petchary. It is not with feelings of contempt the hawk regards this foe:—he hurries away from him with rapid flight, and hastily seeks to gain some resting-place; but as he takes a direct course from one exposed tree to another equally ill-suited, he is seen again submitting to the infliction of a renewed visit from his pertinacious assailant, till he is constrained to soar upward, and speed away, wearied by the buffets of his adversary.’—pp. 172, 173.



Occasionally, however, this amusement terminates in no very pleasant manner for the pugnacious little bird. The hawk perches himself upon the top of some dry tree, from whence he can dart his keen glances around in the search for prey. Whilst in this position he is frequently attacked by the patchary, which continues to buffet him violently until quite exhausted by its efforts. The hawk bears the infliction with great patience, and watches his troublesome antagonist fly to some neighbouring tree to rest itself, and make preparation for a renewed assault. No sooner, however, does the patchary begin to trim its feathers, and, so occupied, forget that its dangerous enemy is near, than the hawk suddenly pounces down upon it, seizes the unwary bird in his talons, and takes ample satisfaction, in a comfortable meal, for the undignified attacks to which he had been obliged to submit.

But the most curious instance we have met with of the annoyance which quickness of flight enables a little bird to inflict upon much larger and more powerful species, is a fact recorded by Mr. Gosse, that the humming bird will occasionally chase the heron. He says, that in such encounters, 'the minuteness and arrowy swiftness of the one contrasts strangely with the expanse of wing and unwieldy motion of the other. The little aggressor appears to restrain his powers in order to annoy his adversary, dodging around him, and pecking at him like one of the small frigates of Drake, or Frobisher, peppering one of the unwieldy galleons of the ill-fated Armada.'

The food of the patcharies consists principally of insects, in the capture of which they display very great agility. At an hour or two before sunset, numbers of them may be seen in the neighbourhood of the cattle-ponds, darting with unceasing and rapid evolutions upwards and downwards, or coursing over the surface of the water, and capturing at every turn some of the insects which abound in those localities. The grey patchary, however, is not always satisfied with insect fare, but occasionally pounces down upon the humming-bird as it hovers over some attractive blossoms, and having carried it to some neighbouring branch, kills it with repeated strokes. The name of the patchary is derived from its remarkable notes, which are described by Mr. Hill as a 'ceaseless shriek,' and consist of a repetition of three or four shrill sounds, resembling the words *pecheery—pecheery—pe-chèèr-ry*.

Still more singular are the cries of the night-jars (*caprimulgide*), which, being uttered in the dusk of the evening, or during the stillness of night, strike upon the ear with startling effect. The notes of the best known species resemble the words *whip-poor-will*, and throughout the moon-light nights

make the woods of America resound with their oft-repeated and melancholy cadences. Some of the ignorant settlers fancy that these unearthly cries forbode misfortune, sickness, or death, whilst the poor superstitious Indians shudder as they listen to the dreaded sounds proceeding from a creature, whose nocturnal and solitary habits are sufficient, in their minds, to connect it with supernatural agency. Another of the night-jars is called the chuck-will's-widow, from its notes being thought to resemble those words. Both of these species, whose habits have been well described by the graphic pen of Alexander Wilson, are said to inhabit Jamaica, but Mr. Gosse has never met with either, and is of opinion that the potoo (*nyctibius Jamaicensis*), an allied species, has been mistaken for them. The most common night-jar met with in the island is the night-hawk (*caprimulgus Americanus*, Wils.), called also *pyramidig*, from its cry, which is thought to resemble that barbarous compound of sounds,—but Mr. Gosse seems to think its notes are more like *gi' me a bit*, or *witta-wittawit*. No doubt a good deal depends upon the fancy of the hearer. Indeed, it is rather amusing to perceive what very different impressions the same notes make upon different parties. For instance, the red-eyed flycatcher (*muscipapa olivacea*), according to Mr. Gosse's testimony, is constantly calling out with incessant iteration and untiring energy, the words, *sweet-John!*—*John-to-whit!*—*sweet-John-to-whit!*—*John-t'-whit!* etc., whilst others understand it to repeat the very dissimilar cry, '*whip-Tom-Kelly*.'

The night-jars come forth from their lurking-places a little before sunset, when they may be seen darting like swallows through the air, pursuing their insect prey in swift and zig-zag flights.

'It is when the afternoon rains of the season have descended plentifully, that these birds are most numerous, and most vociferous; and they continue to fly till the twilight is beginning to fade into darkness. After this, they appear for the most part to retire, and the strange and startling voices, that before were sounding all around and above us, are rarely heard by the most attentive listening. A lad informed me that when out fishing during the night, not far from the shore, the canoe is often surrounded by bats, which make a great noise. But my assistant, Sam, who heard the statement, assured me that these were not bats, but pyramidigs (with some bats, however, in the company), and that these birds, when the moon is at or near the full, continue on the wing through the night. On dark rainy days, such as we get sometimes in May, I have seen and heard two or three abroad even in the middle of the day, careering just as at nightfall.

'Early in the morning, before the grey dawn has peeped over the mountains, I have heard over the pastures of Pinnock Shafton, great

numbers of these birds evidently flying low, and hawking to and fro. Their cries were uttered in rapid succession, and resounded from all parts of the air, though it was too dark to distinguish even such as were apparently in near proximity. Now and again, the hollow booming sound, like blowing into the bung-hole of a barrel, produced at the moment of perpendicular descent, as described by Wilson, fell on my ear. The articulations or syllables, if I may so say, which make up the note, are usually four, but sometimes five, or six, uttered as rapidly as they can be pronounced, and all in the same tone.'—pp. 35—37.

The structure of the night-jars is very peculiar, and is admirably adapted for the capture of their food. Their plumage has the soft puffy unwebbed character which marks that of the owls, and which enables them to fly through the air without causing the slightest noise by the strokes of their long and powerful wings. The eyes are remarkably full and large, possessing great acuteness of vision in the dusk. But the feature that gives the most singular appearance to these birds is the enormous mouth, which is capable of wonderful expansion, and is surrounded, in most of the species, with long stiff bristles. Curiously enough, the negroes who are certainly not remarkable for having very small or elegant mouths themselves, have hit upon this feature in the night-jar as a proverbial expression of ugliness, and deem it the most severe stigma upon the personal appearance of any one to say—'Ugh! you ugly like one potoo!'

The width of gape possessed by the night-jars is of course intended to give facility for the capture of insects during their swift flight through the air, and the rictal bristles probably assist in securing the prey after it has been captured. They do not, however, appear to be so essential for this purpose as Mr. Swainson seems inclined to believe. He states that the quantity and stiffness of the bristles have a manifest relation to the size and power of the insects upon which the birds feed, and that, therefore, the swallows which capture only 'little soft insects' are destitute of these appendages. Mr. Gosse doubts the correctness of this hypothesis on the ground that the potoo, which preys upon the hardest and most rigid beetles of large size, has no true rictal bristles at all.

Gilbert White was of opinion that the night-jar caught some of its prey with its foot, and, in securing the insect, made use of the curious serrated claw with which the middle toe is provided. But the feet appear to us to be very ill adapted for this purpose, and we are quite satisfied that the mouth alone is used for the capture of insects on the wing. Wilson's opinion as to the use of the claw seems more reasonable, that it serves to

free the birds from the vermin with which they become much infested whilst reposing during the heat of the day; or, perhaps, it is simply used to free the rictal bristles from the legs of beetles which may catch there, and be difficult for the bird to displace. If the latter explanation be correct, it will account for the fact, recorded by White, that the night-jar, when on the wing, occasionally brings its foot up to its mouth.

Several species of the swallow tribe (*hirundinidæ*) are common in Jamaica, and remain there the whole year. The cave swallow (*H. pæciloma*, Gosse,) considered by Mr. Gosse to be distinct from *H. fulva*, Viell., and characterised accordingly, is remarkable on account of its ingenious nest which is generally built in the cavernous recesses along the sea-coast. One of these localities, near a precipitous rock about a mile from Bluefields, is thus described by Mr. Gosse:—

‘The foot of the cliff is girt with irregular masses of honey-combed rock, between which the incoming tide rolls, and frets, and boils, in foaming confusion; and the front is hollowed into caves, some of which are long passages with an opening at each end, and others are merely wide-mouthed, but shallow hollows. In one of these I counted forty nests of this species of swallow, each consisting of a half cup, built with little pellets of mud, retaining, in so damp a situation, and where the rock itself is covered with a slimy mouldiness, their original humidity. Each was thickly lined with silk cotton. If we imagine a pint basin divided perpendicularly through the middle, and the one-half stuck against a wall, we shall perceive the form of these nests; some, however, were both larger and deeper than this. In many instances advantage was taken of a slight hollow in the rock which increased the capacity. In one, (it was about the middle of July,) I found three eggs; in some others, the callow young; and in one, two full fledged birds, which lay quietly in the nest, side by side, while their black eyes watched my motions. The parent birds flew about in affright, occasionally coming close up to the nests, and hovering as if about to alight, but scarcely one ventured in.’—pp. 65, 66.

The green tody (*Todus viridis*) excavates for itself a chamber in the earth, where it can build its nest in secrecy. For this purpose it selects the banks of some ravine, or gully, where the mould is soft and friable, and by means of its beak and claws, digs a hole several inches deep, in the form of a winding gallery, rounded at the bottom, and terminating in a chamber sufficiently large for its purpose. Here it carries pliant fibres, and dry moss and cotton, and having comfortably furnished its ingenious habitation, the tody lays its eggs and rears its young. The feet are syndactylous, having two of the front toes united together, and although feeble, are well adapted for burrowing

in the soft earth. In this habit the todies resemble the kingfisher, but the latter species has the feet very muscular, the toes united into a broad palm, and the claws remarkably strong and sharp. With these effective instruments, the belted kingfisher (*Alcedo alcyon*) digs out a cave several feet deep in the clayey or gravelly cliffs, where it nestles in perfect security.

The green tody is very abundant in Jamaica. Its elegant plumage, quiet and inoffensive habits, and the confidence with which it allows the approach of man, have made it a general favourite. Perhaps on this account, as well as on account of its crimson-velvet gorget, which contrasts beautifully with the bright grassy-green of its back, it is popularly called the robin red-breast. The tody may often be seen sitting patiently on some twig, apparently in a state of stupid abstraction, with the head drawn in, the beak pointing upwards, and the loose plumage puffed out; but its odd looking grey eyes are glancing on every side, and no sooner is a small fly or beetle perceived, than the bird sallies forth, with feeble flight, and having snapped up its prey, returns again to its accustomed perch. Mr. Gosse remarks, with great justice, that 'it is instructive to note by how various means the wisdom of God has ordained a given end to be attained. The swallow and the tody live on the same prey, insects on the wing; and the short, hollow, and feeble wings of the latter, are as effectual to him, as the long and powerful pinions are to the swallow. He has no powers to employ in pursuing insects, but he waits till they come within his circumscribed range, and no less certainly secures his meal.'

Another, and perhaps the most interesting family of insectivorous birds found in Jamaica, are the humming-birds (*Trochilidae*). These tiny creatures, whose exquisite forms and gorgeous plumage have rendered them universal favourites, were formerly thought to subsist entirely upon the nectar of flowers; but it is now an admitted fact that their food consists principally of minute insects. This was proved by the observations of Wilson, who states that he has seen the ruby-throat (*T. colubris*) for half an hour at a time, darting at those little groups of insects which dance in the air on a fine summer evening, retiring to an adjoining twig to rest, and renewing the attack with a dexterity that sets all the other fly-catchers at defiance. And Mr. Gosse mentions having noticed the mango humming bird, just before night-fall, fluttering round the top of a tree upon which there were no blossoms, and from its motions, when hovering in a perpendicular position, he was satisfied that it was catching insects. Many small insects, also, inhabit the blossoms of flowers, and it is no doubt principally in search of these, that the humming birds probe with their long slender

tongues, the tubular nectaries. When dissected, the stomach of these birds is usually found distended with the broken fragments of minute beetles, etc. Mr. Gosse made many attempts to keep the lovely long-tailed humming-birds (*T. polytmus*) in confinement, but failed in his endeavours; as although they sipped up the sweet syrup with which he plentifully provided them, it was not sufficient to sustain them in health, and after a few days' imprisonment, the birds invariably died in consequence, as Mr. Gosse believes, of being starved to death from the want of insect food. On dissection, he found that they were excessively meagre of flesh, and that the stomach, which ordinarily is as large as a pea, and distended with insects, was shrunken to a minute collapsed membrane, discovered with difficulty. A friend of Alexander Wilson's, Mr. Coffey, of Virginia, was more fortunate with the *Trochilus colubris*, two specimens of which he kept in a cage for some months, supplying them with honey dissolved in water; but in addition to this, they fed upon the small flies and gnats that were attracted to the cage by the sweet liquor, and were snapped up, and swallowed by the humming-birds with great eagerness.

The pugnacity of the humming-bird has often been noticed, and is certainly not a very creditable trait in the character of these lovely little beings. Wilson mentions having seen one attack, and, for a few moments, tease the king-bird (*Muscicapa tyrannus*); and he had also seen it, in its turn, assaulted by a humble-bee, which, however, it soon put to flight. Mr. Gosse has recorded the particulars of a combat between two mango humming-birds, which was carried on with much pertinacity, and protracted to an unusual length. The subject of dispute appeared to be the possession of two Malay apple trees, whose branches were thickly covered with beautiful blossoms, that hung in rich profusion, 'like bunches of crimson tassels.' No doubt there was ample provision for both of the little birds, and for many more, but the one who had played around the trees for several days, was too selfish to admit a partner in his enjoyment, and therefore resisted fiercely an intruder, which, attracted by the blossoms, came flying down to the trees one morning. The combat then began:—

'They chased each other through the labyrinth of twigs and flowers, till, an opportunity occurring, the one would dart with seeming fury upon the other, and then, with a loud rustling of their wings, they would whirl together, round and round, until they nearly came to the earth. It was some time before I could see, with any distinctness, what took place in these tussles; their twirlings were so rapid as to baffle all attempts at discrimination. At length an encounter took place pretty close to me, and I perceived that the beak

of the one grasped the beak of the other, and thus fastened, both whirled round and round in their perpendicular descent, the point of contact being the centre of the gyrations, till, when another second would have brought them to the ground, they separated, and the one chased the other for about a hundred yards, and then returned in triumph to the tree, where, perched on a lofty twig, he chirped monotonously and pertinaciously for some time; I could not help thinking in defiance. In a few minutes, however, the banished one returned, and began chirping no less provokingly, which soon brought on another chase, and another tussle. . . . In their tortuous and rapid evolutions, the light from their ruby necks would now and then flash in the sun with gem-like radiance; and as they now and then hovered motionless, the broadly expanded tail,—whose outer feathers are crimson purple, but when intercepting the sun's rays transmit orange-coloured light,—added much to their beauty. A little Banana quit, that was peeping among the blossoms in his own quiet way, seemed to look with surprise on the combatants; but when the one had driven his rival to a longer distance than usual, the victor set upon the unoffending quit, who soon yielded the point, and retired, humbly enough, to a neighbouring tree. The war, for it was a thorough campaign, a regular succession of battles, lasted fully an hour, and then I was called away from the post of observation.'—pp. 93, 94.

Not less interesting than the birds just noticed, although distinguished by very different qualities, is another denizen of the woods of Jamaica—the celebrated mocking-bird (*Orpheus polyglottus*), whose extraordinary powers of imitation have often excited the admiration and astonishment of naturalists. Alexander Wilson, in his account of this species, says, 'a bystander, destitute of sight, would suppose that the whole of the feathered tribes had assembled together, on a trial of skill, each striving to produce his utmost effect, so perfect are his imitations. He many times deceives the sportsman, and sends him in search of birds that perhaps are not within miles of him, but whose notes he exactly imitates; even birds themselves are frequently imposed on by this admirable mimic, and are decoyed by the fancied calls of their mates, or dive, with precipitation, into the depth of thickets, at the scream of what they suppose to be the sparrow-hawk.' When kept in confinement, the mocking-bird imitates all the sounds about the house; the dog's bark and the cat's mewing, the crowing of cocks and the cackling of hens, and even the creaking of a passing wheelbarrow, are given with an exactness which is hardly credible. But the mocking-bird is not alone a mimic. It has powers of song of its own which are of a very high order. Like our own nightingale, it chooses the solemn stillness of the night for its sweet serenades, and,

perched on some high branch, pours forth its notes, free from mimicry, in full gushes of the most inimitable harmony.

The wanderer through the wild mountain districts of Jamaica, who penetrates into the deep and solitary recesses of the woods, where all nature, abounding in variety and profusion, seems to lie in solemn and undisturbed repose, is suddenly startled by hearing the long-drawn measured notes of a bird, whose singularly sweet modulations are borne over the forest 'like the hymn of praise of an angel.' This is the solitaire (*Muscicapa Armillata*), which, although very different from the mocking-bird, deserves scarcely less admiration. In Hayti, where the species is also met with, its habits have been observed by Mr. Hill, and are recorded by him in one of those beautiful sketches which add so much to the value and interest of Mr. Gosse's volume.

'As soon as the first indications of daylight are perceived, even while the mists hang over the forests, these minstrels are heard pouring forth their wild notes in a concert of many voices, sweet and lengthened like those of the harmonica or musical glasses. It is the sweetest, the most solemn, and most unearthly of all the woodland singing I ever heard. The lofty locality, the cloud-capt heights, to which alone the eagle soars in other countries—so different from ordinary singing-birds in gardens and cultivated fields—combine with the solemnity of the music to excite something like devotional associations. The notes are uttered slowly and distinctly, with a strangely-measured exactness. Though it is seldom that the bird is seen, it can scarcely be said to be solitary, since it rarely sings alone, but in harmony with some half-dozen chanting in the same glen. Occasionally, it strikes out into such an adventitious combination of notes, as to form a perfect tune. The time of enunciating a single note, is that of the semi-breve. The quaver is executed with the most perfect trill. It regards the major and minor cadences, and observes the harmony of counter-point, with all the preciseness of a perfect musician. Its melodies, from the length and distinctness of each note, are more hymns than songs. Though the concert of singers will keep to the same melody for an hour, each little coterie of birds chants a different song, and the traveller by no accident ever hears the same tune.'—pp. 201, 202.

In the same lonely wilds, where the sweet hymn of the solitaire is heard, the attention of the traveller is often attracted by notes of a very different character. He listens, for the sounds appear to be the harsh and guttural intonations of some savage language, and he is perhaps expecting the uncouth speaker to issue from amongst the trees, when the delusion vanishes on catching sight of a jabbering crow, perched upon the top of some immense cotton-tree, and gabbling forth its



loquacious cries. Mr. Gosse remarks, that 'all the crows are garrulous, and several are capable of tolerable imitations of human speech, but the present is the only example I am aware of, in which the language of man is resembled by a bird in a state of nature. The resemblance, however, is rather general than particular; every one who hears it is struck with its likeness to speech, though he cannot detect any known words: it is the language of a foreigner.'

The negroes, who are very fond of exercising their ingenuity in interpreting the language of birds, have been able to catch amidst the varied and harsh tones of the jabbering crow's voice, the following words, which may give some idea of the character of the whole;—'*Walk fast crab! do bukra work.—Cuttacoo better than wallet!*' A 'cuttahoo' is a negro's hand basket.

Amongst the other remarkable sounds which break the silence of the mountain forests are the coos of the doves, of which several species are found in Jamaica. These, also, to the apprehension of the negroes, resemble the utterance of human voices. The white-wing dove (*Turtur leucopterus*) is heard repeating the words,—'*Since poor Gilpin die, cow-head spoil;*'—and the white belly (*Columba Jamaicensis*) complains all day long, in the most melancholy cadences, uttered as though the bird were mournfully sobbing forth its sorrows.—'*Rain-come-wet-me-through.*' The common note of the blue pigeon (*C. rufina*) somewhat resembles the barking of a cur; but perhaps the most singular, though certainly not the most agreeable, of all, is the coo of the mountain witch (*Geotrygon sylvatica* Gosse) which 'consists of two loud notes, the first short and sharp, the second protracted and descending with a mournful cadence. At a distance, its first note is inaudible; and the second, reiterated at measured intervals, sounds like the groaning of a dying man. These moans, heard in the most recluse and solemn glens, while the bird is rarely seen, have probably given it the name of the mountain-witch.' In other respects, the bird deserves a more pleasing appellation, as its plumage is very varied and extremely beautiful. Indeed, Mr. Gosse is of opinion, that with the exception of the long-tailed humming bird, the mountain-witch is the most lovely species found in the island. Its habits also are interesting, and Mr. Gosse, upon the authority of 'intelligent men very familiar with these birds,' has recorded the remarkable fact, 'that the young leave the nest about a week after they are hatched, and are led about by the mother, who scratches for them in the manner of a fowl. Some have declared that they have been eye-witnesses of this; persons who have never heard that this pigeon has any

systematic affinity to the *Gallinaceæ*.' Mr. Gosse made many inquiries respecting this fact, and found the testimony in its favour, 'very general, almost universal.'

The gallinaceous birds, to which the species, last mentioned, naturally conducts us, appear to be restricted in Jamaica to the guinea-fowl (*numida meleagris*) and the quail (*ortyx Virginiana*): both of these species were introduced one or two centuries ago, and have become perfectly naturalized. The guinea-fowls are very numerous, and do great injury to the plantations by destroying the yams and cocoas; they also scratch up seed-corn and peas. The settlers adopt various expedients to lessen the numbers of these destructive birds: the plan which has been found most effective, is to pursue them with a dog, when they immediately betake themselves to a tree, and their attention being concentrated upon the barking cur, it is easy to get within reach, and to shoot them down. Others are taken by means of corn, which, after being steeped for a night in proof rum, is placed in a shallow vessel, along with a little fresh rum, and the water expressed from a bitter cassava, grated; a small quantity of the grated cassava is then strewn over it, and it is deposited within an inclosed ground where the depredators resort. The fowls eagerly devour this tempting bait, and soon becoming intoxicated, are unable to escape.

The grallatorial or wading birds are very numerous, and comprise several interesting species. The one most distinguished for beauty of plumage and elegance of form, is the sultana (*Gallinula Martinica*) which may frequently be seen, in company with great numbers of allied species, upon the vast morass in the neighbourhood of Savannah le Mar. The sultana has the toes extremely long, which enables it to walk with ease upon the leaves and tangled stems of water-plants that float upon the surface of the pools. Mr. Gosse noticed one walking upon some aquatic herbage which only sank an inch or two under its tread, as it gracefully moved from one leaf to another with great deliberation, frequently standing still, and looking leisurely around.

The flamingo, which is one of the most elegant of the swimming birds (*Natatores*), is now rarely seen upon the coast of Jamaica, and then only singly, or at most associated with three or four companions; but in Cuba they congregate in flocks of two or three hundred, and are called by the colonial Spaniards, 'English soldiers,' from their red plumage, and their habit of moving together in lengthened lines. Mr. Hill says:—

'I visited the district of Boyamo, on the south side of Cuba, in the year 1821, and was on the coast from January to April. I was much

among the marshes and swamps about the river Conta, a stream that receives the tidal waters, which here rise and fall six or seven feet, at fifty miles along its course. At the mouth of this river there are long stretches of shoal ground, where the floods of the river and sea form lakelets, and successively deposit their stores of living atoms, with the rising and falling tides. Here the flamingoes flock and feed. They arrange themselves in *what seem to be lines*, in consequence of their finding their food along the *edges* of these shallows; and though it is true that whilst their heads are down, and they are clattering with their bills in the water, they have one of their number on the watch, standing erect, with his long neck turning round to every point, ready to sound the alarm on the apprehension of danger—what appears to be a studied distribution of themselves back to back, as some observers describe their arrangement, is nothing but their regardless turning about in their places, inwardly and outwardly, at a time when all are intent on making the most of the stores which the prolific waters are yielding.’—pp. 391, 392.

Mr. Hill mentions an instance of a domesticated pelican, (*Pelecanus fuscus*) which winged backwards and forwards,—visiting the wild flocks in the harbour during the day, and returning in the evening to roost upon a trunk of a tree which lay in its master’s yard. Whilst it was being domesticated, and the quill-feathers had been drawn to prevent its escape, it was wholly dependent for food upon the fish given to it by the fishermen on the beach. There was consequently no supply for it on Sundays, and the bird at length became so conscious of the recurrence of this fast-day, that although on every other day it went down to the sea-side to wait the coming in of the fishing canoes, it never stirred from its roosting-place upon the day of rest, but spent the whole time in a state of drowsy repose.

The sympathy which gregarious birds manifest towards their wounded companions has been often observed, and none are more distinguished in this respect than the boobies. Mr. Hill kept a pair of the black and white booby (*Sula parva*), in a domesticated state, and on one occasion, a circumstance occurred which displayed a great amount of kindly sympathy on the part of the female towards her mate, accompanied, unfortunately, with anything but surgical skill. We shall give the account of this booby-doctor in Mr. Hill’s own words.

‘My little nephew, in chasing with a small whip one of our birds, entangled the lash about its wing, and snapped the arm-bone. The one bird not alone showed sympathy for the other, but exhibited curiosity about the nature and character of the accident. Our two birds are male and female. The wounded booby withdrew into a lonely part of the yard, and stood there drooping. The female sought

him as soon as she heard his cry of agony, and after ascertaining, by surveying him all round, that the injury was in the wing, proceeded to prevail on him to move the limb, that she might see whether he was really disabled beyond the power of using it for flight. After a quacking *honk* or two, as a call to do something required of him, the female stretched out one of her wings; the wounded male imitated her, and, making an effort, moved out, in some sort of way, the wounded member to its full length. He was now required, by a corresponding movement, to raise it: he raised the broken arm, but the wing could not be elevated. The curiosity of the female was at a stand-still. After a moment's pause, her wounded companion was persuaded to make another trial at imitation, and to give the wings some three or four good flaps. He followed the given signal, gave the required beats upon the air with so thorough a good will, to meet the wishes of his curious mate, that he twirled the broken wing quite round, and turned it inside out. The mischief was prodigiously increased. It was now necessary to put a stop to this process of investigation of the one bird into the misfortune of the other. I came in just as these exhibitions had occurred, and, taking up the bird with its twisted wing, I was obliged, after setting the limb, to restrain him from any further gratification of his mate's curiosity, by tying the wing into place, and keeping it so tied till the bone united. The one now attended the other, and carefully examined, day after day, the broken limb. Calling on him to make an occasional effort to raise the disabled and immoveable member, she used her ineffectual endeavours to persuade him to lift it, though tied, by lifting her own from time to time.'—pp. 419, 420.

The black and white booby is met with on the Pedro Kays, where myriads of sea-fowl resort in the breeding season. The eggs of several species more especially those of the noddy (*Megaloptyerus stolidus*) 'the Sandwich Tern' (*Thalasseus Cantiacus*), and the egg-bird (*Sterna fuliginosa*) form important articles of commerce, and every year several small vessels are sent from Kingston and other ports, in the months of March, April, and May, for the purpose of gathering the eggs. 'The Kays are open to all adventurers; but the egg-gathering is regulated by a custom which recognizes the first-coming vessel as commanding for the season. The second vessel is called the Commodore; the first being styled the Admiral.' A code of rules has been drawn up for the regulation of this little fleet, and in cases of infraction, a jury selected from the various vessels is summoned to decide upon the complaints, and to award the appropriate punishment.

Mr. Gosse states, that his own acquaintance with the grallatorial and natatorial birds of Jamaica is but slight, and he has consequently contented himself with a bare enumeration of some of them, whilst of others his notice is necessarily meagre.

This deficiency is, however, the less to be regretted, as Mr. Hill is preparing for the press a work upon the migratory birds of Jamaica, which will include many of the water-birds, and will embrace the results of long-continued observations. The evidence which we already possess of Mr. Hill's extensive information as a naturalist, and of his abilities as a writer, will secure from us a cordial reception of his promised contribution to ornithological literature, which, we have no doubt, will prove a worthy companion to the excellent volume which has formed the subject of our present notice.

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ART. III.—*Ancient Egypt : her Testimony to the Truth of the Bible ; being an interpretation of the Inscriptions and Pictures which remain upon her Tombs and Temples. Illustrated by very numerous Engravings and Coloured Plates.* By William Osburn, Jun., Member of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature. 8vo. London : Bagster & Sons.

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since some French soldiers dug up from the ruins of an Egyptian town a slab of black marble, which filled the learned world with sanguine expectations. For ages the gigantic monuments of Egypt had presented copious records of her early history, the annals of the world's youth ; but it had been only to tantalize, not to satisfy, the curiosity of man ; for ages he had gazed with keen desire, but gazed in vain. A peculiar interest invested these records. They were those of the most renowned of nations. The polished Greeks pointed with reverence to Egypt as the cradle of their science and art, the parent of their learning and refinement ; the founders of some of their states had emigrated thence ; and thither their philosophers travelled, to sit at the feet of the priests of Memphis and Thebes. Long lines of illustrious monarchs were unrolled by these sages to their admiring visitors, carrying back the history of their country till it was lost in the obscurity of mythic fable. The gigantic piles which astonish the modern traveller by their grandeur and their profusion, were then the wonder of the world ; and spoke of the skill, knowledge, opulence, and power, which had existed in Egypt for more than a thousand years.

Ascending from the uncertainties of human tradition to the

stability of the truth of God, we find another interest investing this ancient land. Its remote antiquity, its civilization, its wealth, its power, are now confirmed by the pen of inspiration, and are intertwined with the destinies of that family of man whom God chose out from among the nations, to be 'a peculiar treasure' to himself. As early as the call of Abram, Egypt is introduced to us as a prosperous nation, enjoying the advantages of a settled and hereditary monarchy, in whose court the patriarch finds a hospitality and deference to moral sanctions, indicative of a polished age. The story of Joseph's bondage and exaltation, and of his family's emigration to Egypt, and kind reception there, brings out more fully the same characteristics; and, though we soon afterwards find the most oppressive tyranny and the most daring impiety in the monarchs, we obtain an increased acquaintance with the fact of their possession of all that the world associates with greatness.

It was not, then, with an irrational curiosity, that the learned looked upon the inscriptions which everywhere covered the walls of the stupendous palace-temples, and sepulchres of Egypt. Cut to an indelible depth in the hardest granite, yet finished with elaborate beauty and delicacy; ever accompanying, and subordinate to, enormous sculptured and pictured scenes of martial prowess or pacific grandeur, it was evident that they were coeval with the structures on which they were found, and that both were the productions of her most glorious age. What details would they not reveal of the early history of man! what light would they not throw on the origin and primal destinies of surrounding nations, or the rise and infancy of renowned kingdoms! But they were shrouded in characters, the meaning of which was entirely lost; and all the patience of research and ingenuity of conjecture, which had been again and again spent upon them, had failed to pierce their mystery; and baffled hope had almost given up the task in despair.

The Rosetta Stone at length furnished the link that was wanted to connect these inscrutable characters with some whose power was known, and thus afford a point of attack, whence gradual inroads might be made upon the darkness which had hitherto been unbroken. An inscription of the Ptolemaic age, engraved in a three-fold form,—twice in the language of Egypt, in the hieroglyphic and the enchorial characters, and once in the Greek language and character,—afforded the key which was to unlock the venerable treasures of Egyptian literature.

The expectations which were suddenly awakened on this auspicious discovery, have been as yet, however, but very imperfectly fulfilled. The study of hieroglyphic and hieratic inscrip-

tions, which has now been pursued, with the aid of its light, for nearly fifty years, has not yet made us very much wiser than we were, on the subject of early history. For this barrenness of anticipated result, several sufficient apologies present themselves. It must be remembered that the triple inscription of the Rosetta Tablet gave not the immediate mastery of the Egyptian manner of writing, but only the clue, by which, through a slow and painful process, it might ultimately be attained. It was not yet known whether the characters were alphabetic, syllabic, or symbolic; nor whether they were to be read from left to right, or from right to left. The general sense of a certain number of lines composed of these characters, was expressed (somewhat loosely, as was afterwards proved) in a certain number of lines in Greek. Had the latter, instead of being a translation, been a transcription of the Egyptian words in Greek characters, the task would have been much more easy; a simple comparison would have put the student in immediate possession of the power of the hieroglyphic and enchorial forms; and the meaning of the words thus read would have been almost as intelligible as the ancient Hebrew; for it is now known that the modern Coptic, scarcely yet a dead language, is but a degenerate form of the old Egyptian tongue, modified, of course, in its descent through many centuries, yet much less changed than might have been expected.

Another difficulty arose from the mutilated condition of the stonc. A large fragment of the upper left corner was broken off; the sides were much worn, and the termination of the Greek inscription was also lost; about one-third of the hieroglyphic inscription was wanting, as were the beginnings of the lines in the enchorial.

But the labours of such men as Akerblad, De Sacy, Champollion le Jeune, and Young, succeeded in overcoming even these difficulties. Certain groups of characters frequently repeated, and contained within oval cartouches, were found to correspond pretty well in frequency and position, to proper names in the Greek, and being examined in detail, were proved to have a phonetic or alphabetic power. By applying this key to ovals in other inscriptions, the names of most of the Greek and Roman sovereigns of Egypt were read, proving the true value of the characters, and greatly increasing the number of those known.

The publication of the '*Grammaire Egyptien*' of M. Champollion le Jeune, after his death, in 1831, embodied the discoveries which up to that time had been made in the study of Egyptian literature. This work, though incomplete, remains a surprising monument of industry, learning, and ingenuity; and

though errors have been discovered in it, and improvements have been made on some of its details, it must ever be regarded as an invaluable exposition of the written language of ancient Egypt.

The interest thus awakened in these no longer hopeless investigations, attracted many men of science to Egypt; some to study the sculptured scenes and hieroglyphic inscriptions from the originals; others to make accurate drawings and casts from them for study at home; and others to collect and transmit to the museums of Europe, such of the remains as could be removed. From these labours have resulted the beautiful works of Sir J. G. Wilkinson and Professor Rosellini. The two series of the 'Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians,' each consisting of three volumes, 8vo., are full of the most interesting details of the public and private life of this renowned people, very copiously illustrated by original drawings copied from the monuments. The scrupulous care with which these have been taken, their beauty of execution, and their evident correctness, are worthy of all praise. It would scarcely be imagined by those who have not examined these charming volumes, how minute and full an acquaintance we here gain with the habits of the Egyptians of nearly four thousand years ago. Various processes in the arts, such as glass-blowing, metallurgy, carpentry and cabinet-making, the tanning, dyeing, and manufacturing of leather, weaving, rope-making, sculpture and painting, and a hundred others, are depicted on the walls of the tombs with a graphic power and spirit truly surprising; while others display the objects and scenes of the chase, the ingenious traps, and other resources of the fowler, or the labours of 'the fishers,' 'that cast angle into the brooks, and that spread nets upon the waters.' Very numerous illustrations (and some of a particularly interesting, because unexpected character) are thus obtained of the Word of God; and it is not the least pleasing trait in Sir J. G. Wilkinson's writings, that he gladly seizes every occasion for pointing out these illustrations to his readers.

But the publication of the grand work of Dr. Rosellini, Professor of Oriental Languages and Antiquities at Pisa, must be considered as forming an era in the study of Egyptian archæology. In the year 1829, a scientific commission had been sent to Egypt under the joint auspices of the French and Tuscan governments, expressly to make drawings and collections of antiquities, and to prosecute researches connected with this subject. At the head of this expedition were Professor Rosellini and M. Champollion le Jeune. The latter dying before the results were published, it remained to the Italian professor to present to the world the fruits of their very successful labours.



By the liberality of the Tuscan government this is done in a style worthy of the subject.

This magnificent work, entitled, 'I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia disegnati della Spedizione scientifico-letteraria Toscana in Egitto, distribuiti in ordine di materie, interpretati ed illustrati,' consists of eight volumes, embracing investigations of the history, institutions, and manners of Egypt, recorded upon her monuments, from the times of the Pharaohs down to the Roman emperors. To say, that the contents of these volumes are rich in valuable instruction would be to say but little; but it is to the plates with which they are illustrated that we refer when we characterize this work as marking an era in archæological literature. They are arranged in three volumes of gigantic dimensions, one of which is devoted to subjects connected with mythology, another to historical records, and a third to the institutions and customs of civil life. Of these, while the last-named is perhaps the most generally interesting, as being most readily intelligible, we regard the second as the most valuable. The foreign wars of the illustrious Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty are here represented in a spirited manner in numerous battle-scenes, triumphal processions, and public thanksgivings. No labour has been spared by the Egyptian artists in depicting these scenes, nor by the European *savans* in copying them; and the immense size of the plates permits the details to be faithfully transmitted. For the most part the subjects are traced merely in outline, which gives clearness, if it lacks effect; but not a few are coloured with the most brilliant tints, in *fac-simile* imitation of the originals.

In these elaborate engravings we have, then, at length, accounts of the relations of the early Pharaohs with foreign nations, recorded by themselves. The scenes which depict the invasion of the hostile country, the investing and storming of its mountain-fortresses, and the rout of its armed hosts; those which display long lines of captive chiefs led in strings behind the conqueror's chariot, and those which represent the horrible sacrifice of supplicating victims tied to a common stake in the idol-temple, are alike accompanied with long hieroglyphic inscriptions, studding the surface of the picture wherever there is a blank space to receive them.

It is to these scenes that Mr. Osburn has directed his chief attention in the work before us. He has laboured to decipher the historical inscriptions, in the hope of reading in them the names of the nations with which Egypt had dealings at so primitive a period, and by thus giving individuality and precision to the impressions conveyed by the pictures, throwing important light upon early history. His views respecting the importance

of these pictures, and the proper mode of studying them, are thus expressed :—

‘ No subject in the whole range of the recently recovered antiquities of Egypt, at first, excited more attention or expectation than these evidently faithful portraits of foreign enemies or vassals. The physiognomies and complexions are clearly distinguished, and very various; the names, also, written in alphabetic characters, are of frequent occurrence. Here, then, is a mine of information regarding the ancient world, from the working of which much valuable truth might reasonably be anticipated. Hitherto, however, it must be acknowledged, that the result has grievously disappointed these expectations. Nothing, or next to nothing, has yet been elicited, which subserves the cause of truth effectually, with the single exception of the fragment of the wall at Karnak, which commemorates the invasion of Judea by Shishak; and this belongs to the era of decline, and is therefore necessarily inferior in value and interest to those of an earlier date, which still remain unknown, as to the nations against whom these wars were undertaken. The conjectures which have been hazarded as to the identification of names, scarcely go beyond one or two groups of hieroglyphics, which have been interpreted as general appellations of the inhabitants of a continent, rather than as the particular names of any known ancient nation. . . . The names, as generally interpreted, are mere collocations of vowels and consonants, bearing no resemblance to any names known to ancient geography.

‘ The very important nature of the subject seems to justify our considering for a moment the cause of this singular failure. The enormous size of the pictures has a natural tendency to produce the impression of a corresponding greatness in the events they commemorate. A design covering the wall of a temple nearly eight hundred feet in length, representing battles of infantry and chariots, with the siege and capture of forts, the passing of rivers, and the encampment of armies, suggests the idea of a series of conquests extending over vast districts. Such, however, is by no means necessarily a legitimate conclusion. The one object of these representations was, to exalt the deeds of arms of the personage at whose charge the temple had been erected. It would, therefore, be incumbent upon the artist to cover the wall with the details, real or invented, of the war to be commemorated, whether the hero had extended his ravages over whole continents, or confined them to some petty kingdom in the immediate vicinity of Egypt. Nor is it to be denied that the latter is an occurrence more probable than the former, and therefore more likely to have furnished the originals whence these huge portraits were taken; for it must be borne in mind, that one monarch of Egypt only (Sesostris) is said by the Greek historians to have carried his conquests far beyond the limits of Egypt; whereas, the walls of the temples give the details of important victories achieved by many of the Pharaohs. The single case, also, in which the particular war which one of these vast scenes commemorates, has been satisfactorily ascer-

tained, is the picture on the south wall of the palace of Karnak, representing the invasion of Judea by Shishak (1 Kings, xiv. 25, 26), a mere predatory expedition, not extending beyond the limits of that kingdom, and probably ultimately repelled by the invaded. Yet, in point of magnitude of extent and detail, it yields to no other similar design that is now known to exist. It may, therefore, be safely assumed, at any rate, that the colossal size of these pictures is no necessary indication of the greatness of the events represented in them.

'Another cause, however, has been far more efficacious than this deception in keeping us in the dark as to the true nature of these reliefs. Those who have occupied themselves with Egyptian antiquities, seem by common consent to have rejected the aid of the Bible (the only book in existence which professes to be co-temporary with them), and to have relied upon the classical authorities, the earliest of which dates at least a thousand years later than the temples on which these reliefs occur, so that they could not possibly contain any thing beyond vague and obscure traditions of a period so remote. This, as we hope to shew, has been the principal cause of their failure.'—pp. 33—36.

We think this reasoning is correct. It is unhappily true, that among too many scientific men, in England as on the Continent, all citation of the Word of God is carefully avoided. That it should be implicitly submitted to, as an infallible authority, we could hardly expect, knowing as we do the pride and darkness of the natural mind. But we might reasonably expect, that the Bible would be treated with as much deference as a profane historian; that the narratives of Moses would be valued, at least, as highly as those of Herodotus. Unhappily it is not so: as has been well remarked, the statements of Moses with respect to Egypt are believed, if they are confirmed by the monuments; those of the Greek writers, if they are not contradicted. If it were not for its claim to inspiration, a claim of which many are so intolerant, the sober unvarnished narrative of the Bible would be hailed as an invaluable light, by which to study the contemporaneous records of Egypt. We rejoice to find that Mr. Osburn has pursued this course; and not without encouraging success. He arrives at the conclusion, that the wars depicted with so much care and pains on the gigantic walls of the palace-temples, were for the most part prosecuted against the early inhabitants of Palestine and its borders. Now, we know, that about a thousand years before the time of Herodotus, a complete revolution took place in the history of that land. Of 'the Hittites and the Girgashites, and the Amorites, and the Canaanites, and the Perizzites, and the Hivites, and the Jebusites, seven nations greater and mightier than' Israel,—what could Herodotus or Diodorus know?

It is admitted, on all hands, that the pale races of these battles and triumphs are of Asiatic origin. Contests with the black or dark tribes that had settled to the west and south of Egypt, frequently occur also; but these people are easily identified by the contour of their features and by their complexion, as well as by a conventional mark of relative position.

'The geographical situation of the countries of which the captives were inhabitants is denoted by the tassel of the cord by which the conqueror is dragging them. Those which lay to the south and west, against which an expedition would have to set out from Upper Egypt, were led by a cord terminating in the bud of the lotus, which was the symbol of that division of the kingdom. The nations of Asia and Europe, on the other hand, lying across the Isthmus of Suez, could only be invaded by an army from Lower Egypt, and were, therefore denoted by a tassel representing . . . the culm of the papyrus rush. To this rule there is no exception.'—pp. 32, 33.

Now a glance at a map will remind us that an army proceeding eastward from the Egyptian frontier must come into immediate collision with the warlike nations of southern Palestine.\* No progress could be made till these were either subdued, or persuaded into alliance. The unavoidable jealousy subsisting between nations having a common frontier, but alien in blood and language, would render the latter alternative extremely improbable; while the military resources and prowess which the Scriptures repeatedly attribute to the Canaanite nations would render the former an enterprise of great difficulty. From the details given us, of the war which ended in their national extermination, we learn many interesting particulars of their martial power. The land of Palestine seems to have swarmed with population in the time of Joshua; the inhabitants had a military reputation well-known and undisputed; their cities were many 'and walled up to heaven;' every hill-top of their mountainous country, every rocky ridge was crowned with a frowning fortress; large bodies of chariots, ('iron chariots,') could

\* By following the shore of the Red Sea, an Egyptian army might, it is true, penetrate into the peninsula of Arabia; but its inhospitable deserts, and more particularly the indomitable bravery and love of independence, which have always characterized the Arabs, would form an insuperable bar to any permanent conquests in that direction. We might expect, however, to find some collisions with its inhabitants in these monuments, and we think we can trace them in a people called the *Rebo*, described by Sir J. G. Wilkinson, as in almost continual war with Egypt, from a very remote era until long after the accession of the nineteenth dynasty; as occasionally defeated, but never conquered; and as obstinately refusing to submit to an alliance with the Egyptians. The name *Arabah* seems from the earliest times to have been the native appellation of the north-west portion of Arabia.

be poured into the plains; and, above all, the numerous tribes of this defensible country knew that union is strength, and whatever occasional quarrels they had among themselves, could make common cause against a common enemy.

From a consideration of these facts we might with almost certainty expect to find that Palestine was the ordinary scene of Egyptian warfare; or at least of that portion of the warfare, which being aggressive and successful, and prosecuted in the enemy's country, would be deemed a fit subject for record by Egyptian art; for we may be sure that if such an event as an invasion of Egypt, did by any sad reverse occur, very little trace of it would be perpetuated on those monuments, whose object was to sound forth the glory, not the misfortune of Egypt and its monarch. We repeat that, to us it seems an incredible thing to suppose that Egypt and Canaan were not engaged in frequent, fierce, and long-continued struggles for military ascendancy; and this, though not a tittle of evidence could be gathered, by the identification of the names transmitted in the hieroglyphic texts.

We make these observations to guard against the feeling of disappointment which may arise from the slenderness of direct evidence with which some of Mr. Osburn's suggestions are supported. It would be very unfair to receive or reject any of these attempts at identification, on philological evidence alone; a word in the hieroglyphic text might be found having a tolerable resemblance to some name found in an ancient author, sacred or profane, (and this the more readily, in a language where vowels are vague, and several sets of consonants are interchangeable), and yet there might be no shadow of reason, beyond this resemblance, to suppose that the one represented the other. On the other hand, it is easy to imagine that circumstances might render extremely probable the identity (in value, if not in sound) of two names, the similarity of which might be deemed fanciful and unsatisfactory. Such, too, is the relation which the actors in many of the pictured scenes evidently bear to each other, that the identification of them becomes a chain, every separate link of which not only adds its own individual weight to the whole, but importantly increases that of all the others. We will illustrate our remarks from the work before us.

In one of the pictures which cover the exterior of the north wall of the great temple at Karnak, given by Rosellini, in *Mon. Stor.* pl. xlv., div. 1 :—

‘Sethos is represented as just alighted from his chariot, holding the reins and his bow in his left hand, and gracefully upholding his

right hand in the act of listening to one of his principal officers, who, in a supplicating attitude, is interceding for a group of foreigners behind him, some of whom are kneeling and stretching forth their hands in the attitude of supplication, while others are busy at work, felling timber. A destroyed fort appears below his horses; and, evidently, he has just gained a victory. The discourse of the [officer] is as follows:—‘O thou divine lord, the saviour of all, like the god Monthra, the [R D N N U]\* see thee, and their members are stupified.’ The timber-fellers, therefore, are evidently of this race, which Sethos has just vanquished, and conformably to the universal custom of ancient war, he is employing them as slaves. The hieroglyphic inscription which accompanies this picture, is, unhappily, much mutilated by the destruction of the upper part of the wall. Enough, however, remains to afford a satisfactory clue to much of its meaning. The conqueror is said to cut down trees in the land of the [R M N N], in order to build great ships upon their chief rivers or waters. Some of the foreigners behind the [officer] are the inhabitants of this country, and they thus address the king:—‘The wicked race of the [R M N N] say, glory be to the lord of the world in the greatness of his avenging power. We behold thee like thy father, the sun, living in the beauty of thy youth.’ The group of foreigners being all dressed alike, and having the same physiognomy, we conclude that the two tribes to which they belonged were contiguous to each other, and that the latter of them, alarmed at the terrible defeat sustained by their neighbours, came to sue for peace, which was granted; and the king employed his prisoners in felling timber in their country, for the purpose of building ships wherewith to prosecute his conquests. We find in another part of this picture, that the ships were built by the former people; for there it is said that ‘in the ships of the wicked race of the [R D N,] we (*i. e.* the gods) brought his majesty to his conquests over the land of the [Sh T N.] Let us now endeavour to identify these names, if possible, so as to give these ancient facts a useful bearing upon history. They both end with the letter N, which is also the plural afformant of the Syro-Phœnician language, and constantly used to denote a tribe or race. Thus the Anakim אֲנָכִים of the Hebrew Bible, they would have written and pronounced *Anakin*.

‘As we have already pointed out many probabilities that the war here commemorated was waged against the ancient inhabitants of Canaan, we will assume that such is the case, and that these are the names of two tribes of Canaanites, written in the way in which they were usually pronounced. The first of them consists of two consonants R and D, or T. These are also the consonants of אַרְבַּד *Arvad*, which is the name of one of the sons or descendants of Canaan, whose tribe is called in the Hebrew Bible אַרְבַּדִּים *Arvadim* (Gen. x. 18), but would doubtless have been pronounced by the Canaanites

\* Mr. Osburn here introduces the phonetic hieroglyphics, most exquisitely cut in wood, for which we are compelled to substitute their literal representatives: *et sic inf.*

*Arvadin*, in which word are contained the consonants of the hieroglyphic name of this ancient people, in the order of their occurrence. As nothing like literal exactitude in spelling can possibly be looked for on monuments of so remote a period, and as vowels were uncertain and often omitted in all very ancient languages, there is enough, at any rate in the coincidence to justify our pursuit of the inquiry. —pp. 50—52.

The name which Mr. Osburn here endeavours to identify, has been supposed by M. Champollion to express the Lydians; while Sir J. G. Wilkinson, confessing his inability to apply it, writes it Rot-n-no. The letters R and L are used identically in hieroglyphics, as are also D, T, and Th, and the termination NU or NO very frequently found in proper names which end in N, is stated by Champollion to be unnecessary to the sense, as the same names are often found written without it. That the letter ' in the name Arvad was very slightly sounded, is probable from the fact that, in process of time, it was altogether dropped; the little island-city, which became the chief port of this prosperous maritime people, and to which they gave their name, being known to the Greeks by the appellation of *Aradus*. In the modification of the name *Antaradus*, too, to *Tortosa*, and *Tartous*, we see the same thing; for, on removing the initial T, as the relic of the prefix *anti*, *opposite*, and the termination *ous*, or *osa*, we have the letters RT or RD, as the constituent elements of the original word.

The nautical skill of 'the men of Arvad,' alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel, their maritime situation, and the proximity of magnificent forests of ship-timber to their country, are adduced by Mr. Osburn as strong confirmatory evidence of the correctness of his identification. The RMNN had been already supposed by Sir G. Wilkinson to be the people of Lebanon, B and M being commonly interchangeable; nor would this interpretation invalidate, but rather confirm, that which we have just noticed. If the final N, however, be the plural afformant, Mr. Osburn's suggestion, that the word signifies the Hermonites, may be likely enough, if the initial aspirate ' was really 'not pronounced in ordinary discourse.' The relative positions of the two ranges of mountains, with respect to Arvad, incline us, however, to prefer the former reading.

By similar investigation Mr. Osburn has satisfactorily shown the identity of the *Amori* with the Amorites, the *Shairetana* with the Sidonians, and the *Palishta* with the Philistines; all of whom are conspicuous actors in these early conflicts. With a less degree of certainty, he reads the names of the Jebusites, the Hittites, the Amalekites, the Zuzim, (whom he supposes to have been the shepherds of Manetho's tradition,) the Hamath-

ites, and other tribes and districts. To some of these interpretations we have difficulty in assenting; the reading of the Hittites, חת, in the TAHEN-NU, by an inversion of the text, does not appear satisfactory; while in the red-haired TAMAHU, with their hair shaven into corners, who wear ostrich plumes as a head-dress, and large rings in their ears, whom Mr. Osburn considers as representing the Hamathites,—we are rather disposed to recognise the Edomites, whose country bordered on the great Arabian desert.

Perhaps the most important and the most successful identification in Mr. Osburn's book, is that of the *Sheta* or *Shtin* of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, with the Ammonites and Moabites of the Holy Scriptures. The first hieroglyphic character of this word seems at times to have had the various powers of Kh, Sh, and Sc; for which it is used indiscriminately. Hence this name has been written, *Kheta*, *Sheta*, *Sceto*, and, by Mr. Osburn, who supposes the last character to be equipollent to N, *Shtin*. The nation so named has been commonly supposed to be the Scythians (Σκύθαι) of the Greek historians; but besides that we have no reason to believe that the latter people had a national existence at so early a period, the fact that the struggle between Egypt and the *Sheta* was protracted through a hundred and fifty years, from the reign of Sethos I. to that of Rameses IV., during which, on one occasion, it appears that Egypt was actually invaded by the *Sheta*, proves that this powerful nation dwelt at no great distance from the Egyptian frontier. They are also enumerated with the tribes that are identified as inhabiting Canaan or its borders, though distinguished from them.

‘They heard of the advance of Sesostris upon Punon by Mount Hor, and sent an embassy to his camp; and probably, in consequence of the failure of that embassy, they laid siege to Hadasha, which seems to have been situated to the west of the Dead Sea, near its northern extremity. Their country, therefore, must have extended to within no great distance of both these points.

‘We have seen that both Sethos and Sesostris went against them in the ships of the Arvadites; and that, probably, these ships were on the Dead Sea.

‘In the enumeration at Ipsambul, of the countries subdued by or making peace with Sesostris, the land of the *Shtin* is named between those of Naharaim and Heth; and upon the probable supposition that geographical order is observed in it, this country must have been situated between these two districts.

‘The same inscription implies that the *Shtin* consisted of *two confederated races*, and that there were in the country *two places* or cities, *both of which were known by the name of Rabbah*.



'If we now refer to the maps of Canaan, as laid down from the scripture narratives, we shall find the country denoted by all these indications, inhabited by races agreeing very remarkably with all the specified particulars.

'The district to the eastward of the Dead Sea, or, in other words, between Naharaim (Mesopotamia) and the land of Heth, was inhabited by the Ammonites and the Moabites, the descendants of the incestuous daughters of Lot.

'Though not of the family of the Canaanites, these races were in constant communication with them, and warmly embraced their quarrel with the Israelites in after times, against whom, notwithstanding their blood-relationship, and notwithstanding the Divine command to spare them for Lot's sake (Deut. ii. 19), they entertained an antipathy at least equal to that of the Canaanites. See Numb. xxv. 1, 2; Judg. iii. 12; 2 Sam. x. These circumstances abundantly account for the similarity between them in dress and customs.

'The identity of the *Shtin* of the hieroglyphics with the Moabites and Ammonites, is rendered further probable by the circumstance that the latter were gross idolaters, and having learned their false religion from the Canaanites, they were doubtless like them, the worshippers of Asher and Ashtaroth.

'The two branches of the family of Lot seem to have been very generally in close confederation at all times (see the passages just referred to); and their being originally from the same stock would naturally lead to their being known in Egypt under one designation.

'The descendants of Lot also resembled this unknown nation in their practice of going to battle with large bodies of chariots and horsemen; two and thirty thousand are mentioned on one occasion (1 Chron. xix. 7).

'It is likewise a remarkable circumstance that the capital cities both of Ammon and Moab had the same name, and that name was Rabbah.—pp. 133, 134.

The author then deduces an argument, which our limits preclude us from quoting, from an event recorded in the hieroglyphic inscriptions. The nation whom he considers as the Zuzim, complain to the Egyptian monarch of an invasion of their land by the *Sheta*; and this invasion and its results Mr. Osburn presumes to be alluded to by Moses, in Deut. ii. 19—21.

'The name is now the only point of identification between the [Sh T N] and the Moabites and the Ammonites, which remains unestablished. This single missing link, to complete the chain of evidence, is supplied by the prophetic denunciation of Balaam against Moab: 'There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel, and shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the children of  $\text{𐤇𐤍}$  Sheth,' Numb. xxiv. 17. It is needless to dwell upon the undisputed fact, that as Jacob and Israel in the one parallel are two names of the same people, this must also be

the case with Moab and Sheth in the other. Sheth, therefore, was a name of Moab, and this was also the name by which they and the children of Ammon were known in Egypt. . . . This fact furnishes a valuable illustration of the passage of Scripture before us, which hitherto has been but ill understood. Sheth was the name of the territory of Moab and Ammon. The meaning of the prophecy of Balaam is, therefore, perfectly obvious; and it received its accomplishment in the subjugation of both these nations by David.

'The [Sh TN] or Shethites, then, by whose formidable armaments of horse and foot the eastern frontier of Egypt was constantly threatened during the reigns of Sethos and Sesostriis, were the children of Moab and Ammon. The proof of this point amounts to absolute certainty.'—p. 136.

About two-thirds of the work before us are devoted to these interesting investigations; the remainder is occupied by the service of the tabernacle, and the music of the ancient Hebrews, illustrated by the designs and inscriptions on the monuments, in a manner similar to that adopted by Professor Hengstenberg, in his work entitled, 'Egypt and the Books of Moses.' On these subjects Mr. Osburn has many original and valuable observations.

The manner in which the volume is got up deserves great praise. An immense number of hieroglyphic symbols, cut in wood, so minute as to be printed in the letter-press, and yet possessing a delicacy and accuracy quite astonishing, give an unique character to the work. But besides these, there are many copies of the historical and mechanical plates of Rosellini in wood, and several plates printed in colours, after the same authority.

We cordially recommend Mr. Osburn's book to our readers. Its value is not to be measured by the actual light which it pours upon ancient literature, but by the example which it affords of the manner and tone in which such researches should be prosecuted, and of the confirmation which they are calculated to yield to inspired truth. The antiquities of Egypt have been the favourite resource of modern infidelity: already, as in the cases of the Zodiacs of Esnè and Dendara, an acquaintance with the hieroglyphics has rebuked the arrogance of French atheism; and every subsequent examination of these primeval records, so far from shaking our confidence in 'those things which are most surely believed among us,' as was by some fondly hoped, and by others weakly feared, has only accumulated proof that our faith is founded upon a rock.

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ART. IV.—*Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A., late senior Fellow of King's College, and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge. With a selection from his Writings and Correspondence.* Edited by the Rev. William Carus, M.A., Fellow and Senior Dean of Trinity College, and Minister of Trinity Church, Cambridge. pp. 884. London: Hatchard and Son. 1847.

WHETHER or not this be the age in which men greatly live, it is unquestionably the age in which lives are greatly written. The increase of biographical works is becoming a serious inconvenience and injury. The simplicity and truthfulness which are the charm of epistolary correspondence, and the most essential qualities of private diaries, are in danger of disappearing altogether. Most men who write, do so 'with a view to publication,' and those who do not desire to appear before the public in biographical or autobiographical records, refrain from writing altogether. Nor is this all. The plentiful supply of common-place experiences and performances cannot fail to exert a pernicious influence on character; while many deceive themselves by substituting the reading of uninteresting and unimpressive 'lives' for the study of a literature which would task the intellectual powers, and nourish and mature the moral and religious sentiments. If our advice were likely to be taken, we would earnestly counsel writers before they publish the histories of the dead, to ask, what they contain which has not already appeared in a thousand forms; and readers, before they peruse them, to inquire, what advantage, in augmented knowledge or spiritual stimulus, they are likely to derive.

Mr. Simeon was one of the few men who deserve a record, if not on account of natural greatness or acquirement, yet because of the work which was given him to do, and the position that he filled, during half a century, in connexion with the most enduring interests of men. It was originally intended that the Rev. John Sargent, his 'most beloved friend,' should undertake the work; but he was removed by death just as he was preparing to visit Mr. Simeon for the purpose of receiving his papers; whereupon, the present editor was requested to supply his place. Few editors have had more abundant materials for their task. The difficulty and labour must have been in a wise selection. A short sketch of his life to 1813, written by Mr. Simeon himself, with memoranda and correspondence almost without end, imposed the necessity of a patience of no common strength, and a discrimination more than ordinarily skilful. The 'sketch' has been, with the exception of a few words, en-

tirely used ; and after the date to which it reaches, no attempt is made to present a continuous narrative, but a selection from his writings and correspondence is relied upon to furnish 'a sufficient history of his thoughts and actions.' With a high appreciation of the editor's difficulties, and a lively sympathy with him on this account, we cannot but regret his adoption of this plan. He has certainly fallen into an error of judgment, and this not without having perceived a more excellent way. It is much to be wished that he had kept to his original intention 'to compile the memoir in the usual historical form, connecting it, as might naturally be expected, with the religious events of the times.' The reason of the abandonment of this plan does not seem to us sufficient ; namely, that as 'Mr. Simeon had given the strictest injunctions that on no consideration whatever should the memoir exceed the limits of 'a single octavo volume,' the fulfilment of the original design would have necessitated the omission of much of the correspondence.' That letters are important, especially when the writer is a man of extraordinary powers, or has passed through an experience of a peculiar nature, that is, when they contain valuable knowledge or advice, or describe an internal history which illustrates interesting questions, or may serve to guide those who are groping after God and truth in thick darkness, will be universally admitted. But there is no value in a letter because it is a letter, apart from considerations such as those now mentioned. Upon this subject a very unreasoning taste and estimate prevail. The cry is for 'correspondence ;' and if a book be filled with letters, it matters not to whom, or upon what ; it is taken for granted that it must be of richer worth than one composed of materials without such interesting revelations of the writer's heart. Now, in the first place, the mass of letters are no revelations of heart at all ; and, secondly, the mass of hearts, and of hearts that are exhibited for the good of the public, or the profit of the exhibitors, are not worth exhibiting. The craving for such documents indicates a mistake of the chief end, in many cases, of biography, which is not to present to the world the opinions, and feelings, and character, of a particular person, so much as to show his course and service, to point out his relations to his race, to assign him his true place in the economy of providence, and thus to contribute a chapter to the public history of righteousness and truth. Now, a man's letters are not the best things to do this. They may or they *may not*, give a better view of the mind than can be obtained otherwise, but they do not give so good a view of the outer man, the man that works and operates in the world. Many things are naturally omitted in friendly epistles, as being

well known to the persons addressed ; and of many more, the least valuable view is given, the view not from without but within—the partial and exaggerated view of the actor, not the cooler, and often juster view of contemporaries and successors. We should be sorry to be thought to disparage Mr. Simeon's correspondence. On the contrary, we highly appreciate it. Many of the letters are full of important truth, and practical sagacity ; but still, they often relate to the same subjects, not unfrequently express the same thoughts, now and then relate to matters which, however pleasant to private friendship, are not likely to be interesting to the public ; and, we frankly confess, in any case, we would gladly dispense with them *all*, in order to possess what the editor proposed, in the first instance, to give, a 'memoir in the usual historical form, *connecting it with the religious events of the times.*' The neglect, to so great an extent, of this connection, is a serious deduction from the value of the work. No one, not previously acquainted with Mr. Simeon's Life and Times, will derive from this book a continuous view of his history, a complete and exact view of his character and gifts, or a just and full view of his position and work in the church and the world. And this is owing to the anxiety to preserve the correspondence. The life is, in a sense, sacrificed to the letters.

The family of the Simeons 'trace their descent directly from the ancient house of the Simeons of Pyrton, in Oxfordshire ; in which country, and that of Stafford, they formerly held very large possessions. Their only male representatives are now to be found in Mr. Simeon's branch of the family : the other branches having terminated in females ; one of whom intermarried with the celebrated JOHN HAMPDEN ; and others are merged in the families of the Welds of Lulworth Castle, and the Lords Vaux of Harrowden.' Mr. Simeon's ancestors, in the two preceding generations, held the living of Bucklebury, in Berkshire, 'a circumstance,' observes the editor, 'which may have had some influence in directing his thoughts to that profession, of which he afterwards became so distinguished and influential a member.' He was the fourth and youngest son of Richard Simeon, Esq., of Reading, where he was born, September 24th, 1759.\* While yet very young, he was sent to Eton, where he displayed characteristic vigour and activity, and acquired much fame for feats of agility and strength. His conversion to God, although he had previously been visited with

\* The text makes the year 1758 the year of Mr. Simeon's birth, but this must be a misprint. It is unfortunate that one of the very few errors of the press which occur in the volume should relate to so important a particular.

religious impressions and desires, did not take place until after he went to King's College, Cambridge. The occasion of it was singular. These are his words, when writing, in 1832, to a clergyman: 'Your question about *renatus*, I can only answer by saying, that, under God, *I owe everything to Provost Cooke*. I see you full of amazement: 'Pray, explain yourself,' I hear you say. I will, in few words:—On the 29th of January, 1879, I came to college. On February 2nd, I understood that, at division of term, I must attend the Lord's Supper. *The Provost absolutely required it*. Conscience told me, that Satan was as fit to go there as I; and that if I *must* go, I *must* repent, and turn to God, unless I chose to eat and drink my own damnation. From that day I never ceased to mourn and pray, till I obtained progressive manifestations of God's mercy in Christ in the Easter week, and perfect peace on Easter day, April 4th,\* —pp. 710, 711.

The early religious course of Mr. Simeon was beset with great difficulties; it is not wonderful that in his circumstances the progress of his mind to full faith and spirituality was slow and unequal. 'As yet, and, indeed, for three years after, I knew not any religious person, and, consequently, continued to have my society among the world. When the races came, I went to them, as I had been used to do, and attended at the race-balls as usual, though without the pleasure which I formerly experienced. I felt them to be empty vanities, but I did not see them to be sinful; I did not then understand those words, '*Be not conformed to this world*,'—pp. 11, 12.

The state of things at college was most unfavourable to his religious growth, not being able to find one, while an undergraduate, who feared God. He appears, however, to have been preserved from the grosser forms of backsliding, with one exception, in 1799, and to have gradually acquired clearer views of truth and duty. On May 26, 1782, he was ordained by the Bishop of Ely, and began his ministry in St. Edward's church ('good old Latimer's pulpit'), which, in a few weeks, he filled with hearers, a thing unknown there for nearly a century. The circumstances of Mr. Simeon's appointment to the living of Trinity Church, were singular. On the death of his brother

\* Mr. Simeon was too wise to infer from this happy issue in his own case the excellence of the rule mentioned. 'I am far from considering it a good thing that young men in the university should be compelled to go to the table of the Lord, for it has an evident tendency to lower in their estimation that sacred ordinance, and to harden them in their iniquities; but God was pleased to make use of that compulsion for the good of my soul, and to bring me to repentance by means, which, for the most part, I fear, drive men into a total disregard of all religion.'—p. 7. How true this judgment, and how condemnatory of the system!

Richard, he had prepared to leave Cambridge, in order to reside with his aged father:—

‘Every thing was settled; my books, etc., were just going to be packed up; and in a fortnight I was to leave college for good. But, behold! in that juncture an event took place that decided the plans of my whole life. I had often, when passing Trinity Church, which stands in the heart of Cambridge, and is one of the largest churches in the town, said within myself, ‘How should I rejoice if God were to give me that church, that I might preach his gospel there, and be a herald for him in the midst of the university!’ But as to the actual possession of it, I had no more prospect of attaining it, than of being exalted to the See of Canterbury. It so happened, however, that the incumbent of it (Mr. Therond,) died just at this time, and that the only bishop, with whom my father had the smallest acquaintance, had recently been translated to the See of Ely. I therefore sent off instantly to my father, to desire him to make application to the bishop for the living on my behalf. This my father immediately did; and I waited in college to see the event of his application. The parishioners of Trinity were earnest to procure the living for Mr. Hammond, who had served the parish as curate for some time; and they immediately chose him lecturer, concluding that the living without the lectureship would not be worth any one’s acceptance; it being, even with the surplice-fees, not worth more than forty guineas per annum. They all signed a petition to the bishop in behalf of Mr. H., informing him at the same time, that they had appointed him to the lectureship. The parish being so extremely violent for Mr. H., I went to the vestry, where they were assembled, and told them that I was a minister of peace; that I had no wish for the living but for the sake of doing them good; and that I would, *if upon further reflection it did not appear improper*, write to the bishop to say that I declined any further competition. Accordingly, I went home, and wrote to the bishop precisely to the effect that I had stated in the vestry; but it so happened, that my letter was too late for the post. This being the case, I had the whole night for reflection; and upon reconsidering the matter, I found I had acted very foolishly, for whether the bishop designed to give it me or not, it was unwise; if he did not intend to give it me, my declining it was superfluous; and if he did, it was throwing away an opportunity that might never occur again. I therefore determined to keep back the letter, which indeed my own declaration at the vestry had authorised me to do. But still, having in appearance pledged my word, what was to be done? This I determined with myself; I will wait the event; if the bishop gives Mr. H. the living, it is well; and if he give it me, I will appoint Mr. H. my substitute, with the whole profits of the living, and continue him in the situation as long as he chooses to hold it; and then, if I am alive when he wishes to leave it, I can go and take possession of it as my own, without any risk of having another bishop in that See, or of meeting

with a repulse on renewing my application for it. Thus I shall keep my word most fully with the parish, and yet avoid all the evils which a hasty declining of the living might have occasioned.

'Here then behold to what a situation I was reduced! the living now could not possibly be mine, at least for years to come. Whether the bishop should give it him or me, I was equally precluded from possessing it. But God, in submission to whose will I had made the sacrifice, most marvellously interposed to deliver me from this difficulty. No sooner had I made the declaration in the vestry, than the parishioners, without any authority from me, wrote to the bishop that I had declined: and this brought me a letter from the bishop saying, 'that if I chose to have the living it was at my service; but that, if I declined it, Mr. H. should not have it on any account.'—pp. 40—43.

Mr. Simeon was long before he ceased to suffer the effects of the people's disappointment. They nearly all put locks upon their pews; and when, at his own expense, Mr. Simeon placed forms, and erected open seats for the accommodation of the hearers, the churchwardens removed them. The lectureship being filled by Mr. Hammond, Mr. Simeon had but one opportunity of preaching in the week; he therefore established an evening lecture, but the churchwardens shut the doors against him. In order to prevent those who might be impressed by his preaching being 'drawn away by the dissenters,' he opened a room, that he might meet them himself, and thus keep them together.

Prior to Mr. Simeon's appointment to Trinity, there was scarcely such a thing as evangelical religion, and very little religion of any sort, in the established church at Cambridge. Before his ordination, 'he never was in company with an earnest Christian,' p. 27. He once attended at Trinity Church 'to hear a very popular preacher; and, as he then never turned his back upon the Lord's Supper, he staid during the administration of it; and was himself one of *three*, who, besides the parson and clerk, formed the whole number of the communicants,' p. 788. It is not wonderful, therefore, that the faithful preaching of the gospel should bring upon him severe and continued persecution. His parishioners complained to the bishop, the young gownsmen disturbed the public worship, and the townsmen followed their example. Nothing could have triumphed over the opposition with which he met, and the difficulties that lay in his path, but that mixture of prudence, gentleness, and firmness, which he exemplified in a remarkable degree. While none could doubt of his honesty, and any attempt to urge him to do what he believed to be wrong would have caused a smile in all who knew him, he was wonderfully free, considering his zeal, from the haste and



rashness that so often prevent the success of the ardent and energetic. He did not unnecessarily expose himself to reproach and suffering, distinguishing between being persecuted as 'an evil doer' and as 'a Christian.' Indeed, very much of his freedom from annoyance and triumph over it, and of the success of his course and ministry, must be traced to his avoidance of opposite extremes. His views of church government and authority were not the highest or strictest. He could say, 'There is no precise line in scripture drawn with respect to church government;' yet he paid a profound deference to office and rule. 'Irregularity' found no favour from him, however pure its pretence or great its apparent utility. Subordination he inculcated, and subordination he displayed. The voice of a bishop was to him the voice of God. The remarks he addressed to a clergyman respecting his brother, who was coming to college, are a fair specimen of his general views and counsel:—'If he go about visiting the sick instead of attending to his academical studies, I shall give my voice against him instantly, that he may be removed: and if he come to college, he must come with the express understanding, that he shall be removed upon the first intimation from the tutor, and not be continued to be dismissed by authority. If he come without a full determination to conform in all things to college discipline and college studies, or with any idea of acting here as he might in a little country parish, he will do incalculable injury to religion. Pray let him understand this, and not come at all, if he is not prepared both to submit to authority and to follow friendly advice.'—p. 433.

It may sometimes be questioned whether he did not carry the doctrine of expediency rather too far, whether he did not sometimes put conciliation in the place of decision, and 'wait' when he should have acted. Paul's advice respecting the disputes between Jewish and Gentile Christians, and his conduct at Jerusalem in reference to the 'vow,' were highly favoured and frequently quoted by him; not always, in our judgment, with exact propriety and relevance. But, beyond doubt, his observance of a 'happy medium' on most subjects indicated a well-balanced and well-regulated mind, and contributed not a little to his influence as a private monitor and public instructor. His judgment, on the whole, was sound. He distinguished between things that differ. The letters to 'a young lady on her duty to her father,' p. 462; to 'a lady on her duty to her husband,' p. 465; to 'the Duchess of Beaufort,' p. 582; are happy illustrations of his habit and power in this matter.

His observations may not be marked by profundity, but they express distinctions which it is important to observe, and which are not always noticed by men of Mr. Simeon's class.

The same moderation obtained in respect of his theological views. These were strictly evangelical, but of the school neither of Calvin nor of Arminius, or, perhaps, it may more truly be said, of both. We do not imagine that Mr. Simeon ever went very deeply into the problems of which these names represent different solutions, or, indeed, that he could go very deeply into them. His mind was not constructed for profound metaphysical investigations, nor was he competent to a high order of criticism. It may be that his mode of treating the opposite sentiments on the vexed questions of theology arose in part from an inability to grapple with them, but we are much mistaken if it was not, nevertheless, the right mode. We shall present it in his own words. In the preface to the '*Horæ Homileticæ*,' he says —

'The author is no friend to systematizers in theology. He has endeavoured to derive from the scriptures alone *his* view of religion, and to them it is his wish to adhere with scrupulous fidelity; never wresting any portion of the Word of God to favour a particular opinion, but giving to every part of it that sense which it seems to him to have been designed by its great Author to convey.

'He is aware that he is likely, on this account, to be considered by the zealous advocates of human systems as occasionally inconsistent; but if he should be discovered to be no more inconsistent than the scriptures themselves, he will have reason to be satisfied. He has no doubt but that there is a system in the holy scriptures (for truth cannot be inconsistent with itself); but he is persuaded that neither Calvinists nor Arminians are in *exclusive* possession of that system. He is disposed to think that the scripture system, be it what it may, is of a broader and more comprehensive character than some very exact and dogmatical theologians are inclined to allow; and that, as wheels in a complicated machine may move in opposite directions, and yet subserve one common end, so may truths *apparently opposite* be perfectly reconcileable with each other, and equally subserve the purposes of God in the accomplishment of man's salvation. This the author has attempted to explain more fully in the preface to his former work. But he feels it impossible to repeat too often, or avow too distinctly, that it is an invariable rule with him to endeavour to give to every portion of the Word of God its full and proper force, without considering one moment what scheme it favours, or whose system it is likely to advance. Of this he is sure, that there is not a decided Calvinist or Arminian in the world who equally approves of the whole of scripture. He apprehends that there is not a determined votary of either system, who, if he had been in the company of St. Paul whilst he was writing his different epistles, would not have recommended him to alter one or other of his expressions.'—pp. 528, 529.

In a freer style he thus expresses the same sentiments in a letter to a reverend friend:—

'Here are two other extremes, Calvinism and Arminianism (for you need not be told how long Calvin and Arminius lived before St. Paul). 'How do you move in reference to these, Paul? In a golden mean?' 'No.' 'To one extreme?' 'No.' 'How then?' 'To both extremes: to-day, I am a strong Calvinist; to-morrow, a strong Arminian.' 'Well, well, Paul, I see thou art beside thyself: go to Aristotle, and learn the golden mean.'

'But, my brother, I am unfortunate: I formerly read Aristotle, and liked him much: I have since read Paul, and caught somewhat of his strange notions *oscillating* (not *vacillating*) from pole to pole. Sometimes I am a high Calvinist, at other times a low Arminian; so that, if extremes will please you, I am your man; only remember, it is not *one* extreme that we are to go, but *both* extremes.'—p. 600.

We shall not inquire how far some of the expressions now quoted may be vindicated, nor assert that Mr. Simeon, in all cases, exemplified that freedom from systematic theology which he claimed to enjoy. It is possible that he said more on this point than, if hardly pressed, he would have been found to mean; or that he meant more, than on a careful investigation, he would have been found to realize. He does not seem to have been fully aware of the deeper difficulties involved in the subjects referred to, and erred in considering his mode of treating them as peculiar, 'a new discovery,' as J. J. Gurney, 'ventured to call it,' and he himself appears to have thought it.\* But, whencesoever derived, and however held and applied, it is the right mode, the only safe and philosophical one, of dealing with the records which contain the great mysteries of godliness. Any other, proceeds really on a principle the very opposite of that which is professed and boasted, and is an impeachment of their proper use and full sufficiency as a revelation of truth. Thus diligently eschewing names, ('if, in anything,' were his words, 'he grounded his sentiments upon *human* authority, it would not be on the dogmas of Calvin or Arminius, but on the 'Articles and Homilies of the *Church of England*,' p. 178, upon

\* Our readers will perhaps be surprised to find him describe the following (part of a note to a sermon he published) as 'perhaps a harder blow at Calvinism, as *an exclusive system*, than it has ever yet received;' but this only illustrates our remarks above. 'It is worthy of remark, that whilst Calvinists complain of Arminians as unfair and unscriptural in denying *personal*, though they admit *national*, election, they themselves are equally unfair and unscriptural in denying the danger of *personal* apostasy, whilst they admit it in reference to *churches* and *nations*. It is lamentable to see the plain statements of scripture so unwarrantably set aside for the maintaining of human systems. Happy would it be for the church if these distinctions were buried by the consent of all parties, and the declarations of Holy Writ were adhered to by all, without prejudice or partiality!'—p. 566.

which we are not clear that he did not ground some of his sentiments,) and keeping sensitively aloof from the exclusive and unconditional theory of either theological party, his ministry was doubtless more peaceful and fruitful, than it would have been otherwise, and escaped, or removed, a host of prejudices and enmities which many men, not less sincere or sagacious, would have felt and fallen by.

Mr. Simeon had a just estimate of the importance of his position as a minister in a University town, especially as affording him an opportunity of reaching a large number of young men preparing for the ministry. Very soon after the commencement of his labours, the Rev. H. Venn wrote, 'We may, indeed, say, 'a great door is opened!' for several gowns-men hear him,' p. 47. They did not, however, always conduct themselves with propriety, as the following passage will show, while it evinces also the wisdom and energy with which their opposition was met and overcome:—

'As, on some complaints being made to the tutors of one or two colleges, I found that I had nothing to hope for from the university, I was forced to take the matter into my own hands, and maintain by my own energy what I could not expect to be supported in by the proper authorities. Accordingly, I appointed persons to stand with wands in all the aisles; and as the chief disturbance was generally made when the congregation was leaving the church, I always went down from my pulpit the moment the service was finished, and stood at the great north door, ready to apprehend any gownsmen who should insult those who had been at church. I endeavoured always to act with mildness, but yet with firmness; and, through the goodness of God, was enabled to keep in awe every opposer. I requested those who withstood my authority not to compel me to demand their names, because, if once constrained to do that, I must proceed to further measures. This kindness usually prevailed. When it did not, I required the person to call upon me the next morning: nor did ever a single instance occur of a person daring to refuse my mandate. On several occasions, stones were thrown in at the windows, and the offenders escaped; but on one instance a young man, the very minute after he had broken a window, came in. I took immediate measures to secure him, and charged the act upon him; upon which, conceiving himself detected, he acknowledged the truth of the allegation. About this time, the disturbances had risen to such an height, that it was necessary I should make an example. I therefore laid the matter before the vice-chancellor, who, far beyond my most sanguine expectations, acknowledged the enormity of the offence, and offered to proceed with the culprit in any way I should require. I did not wish to hurt the young man; but it was indispensably necessary that I should act in a way that should intimidate all the young men in the university. Unless they should be reduced to order, I must entirely

lay aside my lectures, both on the Sunday and Thursday evenings; but as such a sacrifice would be most injurious to the cause of God in the whole town, I determined either, as we say, to kill or cure. I required that the offender should read, in the midst of the congregation, a public acknowledgment written by myself: and this the young man did on the following Sunday evening, begging pardon of the congregation for having disturbed them; and thanking me for my lenity, in not having proceeded against him with the rigour which his offence deserved. The church was very full of gownsmen; and the young man, in the most conspicuous place in the church, read the acknowledgment immediately after the prayers; and because he, as might have been expected, did not read it so that all the congregation might distinctly hear it, I ordered him to deliver me the paper, and then myself read it in the most audible manner before them all.—pp. 88—90.

‘There was one particular instance, in which a degree of severity on my part was attended with the happiest effects. Two young men, now blessed servants of the Most High God, came into my church in a most disorderly way; and as usual, I fixed my eyes upon them with sternness, indicative of my displeasure. One of them was abashed; but the other, the only one that ever was daring enough to withstand my eye, looked at me again with undaunted, not to say with impious confidence, refusing to be ashamed. I sent for him the next morning, and represented to him the extreme impiety of his conduct, contrasting it with that of those who were less hardened; and warning him *whom* it was that he thus daringly defied; (‘He that despiseth you, despiseth me, and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me:’) and I enjoined him never to come into that church again, unless he came in a very different spirit. To my surprise, I saw him there again the following Sunday; but with a more modest countenance: and from that time he continued to come, till it pleased God to open his eyes and to lead him into the full knowledge of the gospel of Christ; and in a year or two afterwards he became a preacher of that faith which he once despised.’\*—pp. 92, 93.

Although no fair estimate can be formed from the volume before us of the amount of good which resulted from Mr. Simeon’s labours among this class, it is clear from the notices which it contains, that he was made an extensive blessing to it. His church was crowded with young collegians, very many of whom became faithful, and not a few eminent, preachers of the truth. He was far from confining his efforts for their welfare to

\* “As this narrative agrees precisely with the account Mr. S. would often give of the remarkable change, effected under similar circumstances, in two members of his own college; there can be no doubt that the persons here referred to were those two eminently devout men and his attached friends—Richard Godley, and the honoured biographer of Henry Martyn—John Sargent.”

the pulpit. He made their acquaintance, encouraged their visits, took a deep interest in their religious progress, and held regular and frequent meetings with them. 'I have an open day, when all who choose it come to take their tea with me. Every one is at liberty to ask what questions he will, and I give to them the best answer I can. Hence a great variety of subjects come under review—subjects which we could not discuss in the pulpit—and the young men find it a very edifying season. We have neither exposition, as such, nor prayer; but I have an opportunity of saying all that my heart can wish, without the formality of a set ordinance,' p. 641. Of one of these meetings, 'the most interesting and solemn Friday evening meeting,' the writer ever attended, we have 'a graphic and accurate description,' pp. 648—654, from which our space will not allow us to quote. We can easily understand how such assemblies of the pious members of the university should exert a powerful influence in maintaining and maturing their religious principles, though they might not do much, judging from this account, to promote keen and comprehensive thought.\*

But if Mr. Simeon was diligent in preparing ministers for churches, he was no less so in providing churches for ministers. Many of our readers must have heard of 'Simeon's Churches.' They are real, positive, entities. Every godly mind in the Establishment must mourn over the immense obstacles which it presents to an evangelic ministry. They are absolutely appalling. Nor is the prospect of their removal near at hand. These obstacles are found in the system of *church patronage*. It is all very well to speak of the theological accuracy of the Articles of the Church of England, and the inimitable excellencies of its Liturgy; admitting them, which we do not, a matter of far greater meaning and importance is *the faith and character of its pastors*. Let its doctrines be true, how are they to be introduced into its pulpits? To this question, a true churchman can give no answer. He cannot, consistently with his own system, invade the territories of an ungodly minister, nor can he any more consistently prevent the entrance of ungodly ministers into livings by making a purchase of them. This last was

\* Might not leading ministers among dissenters take a leaf out of Mr. Simeon's book? The students of our colleges may not be as dependent on extra-collegiate fostering as were the Cambridge under-graduates, but might not more *pastoral* influence be exerted upon them during their collegiate course, with happy effect? We do not suppose the want of this is owing altogether to the neglect of pastors. Students are in fault sometimes, in not seeking, and perhaps even in avoiding, it. But it is much to be desired that both were brought more together, in a way of cordial and manly fellowship.

what Mr. Simeon did, with noble fidelity to his Christian faith, but with gross inconsistency with the theory of his church. Leaving out his right, as a churchman, to do it, it was a wise thing to do, and he did it wisely. But what a revelation does it afford of the state and working of the 'holy mother church,' which evangelic clergymen are so enamoured with, and of which they often speak as of the perfection of beauty and power, that good men should deem it their duty to purchase livings in order that the gospel may be preached, and that many among the most useful and popular of living ministers should owe their position to the practice? It would be perfectly incomprehensible to us, did we not know the blinding influence of education and habit, especially in things religious and ecclesiastical, how those who sanction, and profit by, the course of Henry Thornton, Simeon, and others, can yet laud in no meek and measured terms the 'venerable establishment' of these lands. They are themselves plain and palpable proofs of its wretched plight. That they only do what others, from a different and worse motive do, does not improve their case. We speak strongly upon this subject, for we have no notion of delicacy where the interests of immortal souls are sacrificed to a system which presents as sheer a mockery, and as foul an abuse, as ever disgraced the names of 'religion' and 'church.' Were we so minded, we could fill an article, and not a short one, with illustrations taken from Simeon's life, of the 'evils' of Church of Englandism, although it is certain that neither was he the man to detect or confess them fully, nor is his editor the man to publish them. Such passages as the following suggest solemn questions, which, it is greatly to be feared, evangelical churchmen are too familiar with to appreciate :—

'In another quarter there has been most cruel persecution. The Bishop of ——— has refused orders to two excellent young men, on account of what he called Calvinism. I should fill sheets of paper if I were to state to you their case.'—p. 427, 428. 'Behold, the rector of the parish has refused to give his consent to the Jews' Chapel being opened in the establishment. . . . Ten thousand chapels may be built and opened by dissenters, 'will ye, nill ye,' but a chapel that was, (I believe,) consecrated, but certainly licensed as a French Refugee Chapel, is not suffered to be filled by an established minister; were it not that I know who reigns, my soul would sink within me.'—p. 440. 'I have been called to dispose of no less than six livings, in all of which I have placed ministers, without reference to any thing but their peculiar fitness for the place they are sent to occupy. *This* is the great reform wanted in our church; and if generally carried into effect by all who have patronage in the church, it would supersede all occasion for any further

reform. (!!) If it did not stop the mouths of dissenters, it would diminish their numbers, and effectually prevent their increase.\*—p. 752.

The editor has not put us into possession of the details of Mr. Simeon's purchases of livings for the gospel's sake, but it is evident enough, that he entered into the business with a spirit of zeal, discernment, and conscientiousness. The *first* is seen in the large sums that he devoted, and obtained, for this purpose. 'The securing of a faithful ministry in influential places would justify any outlay of money that could be expended on it; and if I were able to effect it by any funds of my own, they would be most gladly supplied for the attainment of so great an end.'—p. 780. The *second* appears in his selection of places. These were chosen, as all fields of labour should be, on account of their worth as 'spheres,' having a large population and central importance. The *last* was strikingly manifested in his disregard of all considerations but the 'peculiar fitness' of the persons appointed to the livings, for the scenes of their ministry. The 'high principle' on which he always acted is thus given in his own words:—

'The rules I lay down for myself are these:—

'1st. To consider truly, as before God, who is, all things considered, the fittest for the particular sphere.

'2nd. To inquire carefully, whose removal to a new sphere will be least injurious to any other place; because, if I take a person from a large sphere, which will not be well supplied afterwards, I do an injury, rather than a service, to the church at large.

'3rd. On a supposition, things be equal in these two respects, *but not otherwise*, to prefer the person whose circumstances are most straitened. It is for the *people*, and for the *church of God* that we are to provide, and not for any individual, whatever be his necessities, his virtues, or his attainments.'—p. 382.

We are reluctantly compelled to pass by many things we intended to quote, and many which we intended to say. We suppose, however, that the work (being in but one volume, though a bulky one), will be seen by most of our readers, which diminishes our regret. It is well worth the perusal of all who take an interest in the modern history of the gospel, though in rela-

\* Very little appears in this volume respecting Mr. Simeon's views of, or conduct towards, the dissenters. He speaks as if he greatly dreaded his people being 'drawn away' by them, and rejoiced in his success in keeping all but 'three' from them; but he could appreciate real piety, as in the case of J. J. Gurney, out of the establishment. Judging from his remarks about the Liturgy, pp. 300, 301, and Baptism, pp. 302, 545, Dissenters would not have found him a very formidable opponent.



tion to that its value might have been much increased. It also, as might have been expected, contains pleasant and impartial notices of many individuals not unknown to fame, as the names of Venn, Martyn, H. K. White, Thomason, and Wilberforce, will sufficiently indicate; and of the rise and progress of many movements which constitute the glory of our own day; societies for sending out missionaries, circulating the Bible, and converting the Jews, having enlisted Mr. Simeon's warmest affections and most energetic services. These and other matters we must omit.

The last time Mr. Simeon appeared in the pulpit was on Sunday morning, September 18, 1836, when he preached from 2 Kings, x. 16, 'Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord.' Although in high health and spirits on the Tuesday following, he made the following remarks to a friend:—'Well, though I am talking of putting things by for my journey to Bath next June, the Lord knows that I am thinking, and *longing* to a certain degree, for a *far better journey*, which in a few days I shall take; but I find it difficult to realize the thought that I am so near the eternal world; I cannot imagine what a spirit is, I have no conception of it. But I rejoice in the thought that my coffin is already cut down, and in the town at this very time; of this I have no doubt; and my shroud is also ready; and in a few days I shall join the company of the redeemed above.'—pp. 801, 802. The next day, he went to Ely, to pay his respects to his new bishop, being anxious, as one of the oldest of the clergy, to be among the very first to show him honour. The day was damp and chilly, and he, feeling vigorous, dispensed with his ordinary outer dress.

'The bishop received him with marked kindness and attention; and proposed that they should go together to see the cathedral. Here they lingered too long; the coldness soon began sensibly to affect Mr. Simeon, and was the direct cause of the severe illness, from which he never recovered. The next morning early he was seized with a violent rheumatic attack, and, during the day, became so seriously indisposed as to be unable to leave his room for the evening lecture. The sermon he had intended to preach was upon Luke xi. 1, 'Lord, teach us to pray,'—and this was the last subject he ever prepared for the pulpit.'—p. 803.

He lingered for nearly two months, presenting, in deep abasement and holy joy, one of the most glorious and blessed death-bed scenes it has ever been our privilege to read of. But we must hasten to his end.

'During the last few days of his life, his bodily sufferings were often excruciating, and his strength so impaired that his voice was

scarcely audible. He then observed to his attendant, 'Jesus Christ is my 'all in all' for my *soul*; and now you must be my all for my *body*; I cannot tell you any longer what I want, or ask for anything. I give my body into your charge; you must give me what you think necessary.' Afterwards, when he had revived a little, he remarked, 'It is said, 'O death where is thy sting?' then looking at us, as we stood around his bed, he asked, in his own peculiarly expressive manner, 'Do you see any *sting here*?' We answered, 'No, indeed, it is all taken away.' He then said, 'Does not this *prove* that my principles were not founded on fancies or enthusiasm; but that there is 'a *reality* in them, and *I find them sufficient to support me in death*?'

'On Friday afternoon (Nov. 11), as we were standing by his side, lamenting his long-protracted sufferings, (which, from Wednesday had been at times exceedingly severe), he at length made an effort to lift his hands from the bed (on our assisting him to raise them, he extended them to us; one on each side, he was at this time unable to speak), and then, for the last time, placed them together in the attitude of devout prayer; after this, he stretched them out to us once more, and so took, as it seemed to us, his final leave. His life was now fast ebbing away; he lay partially raised, his head drooping on one side, but supported by pillows, his eyes closed, and his hands stretched out motionless on the bed; nothing could be more solemn and venerable than his whole appearance. As we were now afraid of disturbing him, we refrained from any further observations.'—p. 824.

The respect paid to Mr. Simeon at his funeral was most honourable to his character and course. The shops, in the principal part of the town, closed; the lectures, in almost every college, suspended; the pall borne by the eight senior fellows; the crowded chapel; the young men of the university all in mourning, and deeply affected by their loss; presented a striking contrast to the circumstances of his early ministry. 'Though his beginning was small, his latter end was greatly increased.' 'Them that honour me, I will honour.'

Mr. Simeon was a striking instance, in his own way and sphere, of the immense importance of *individual labour and influence*. We are quite aware that a difference of opinion obtains, and obtains among the members of his own church, and the holders of his own theological views, as to the precise work which he performed in the world, and we are by no means disposed to adopt an indiscriminate estimate of its nature or extent; yet, after all deductions, enough is left to excite the admiration and gratitude of all true Christians. In considering the influence of spiritual instructors and leaders, the number of their converts is but one of the things to be regarded, and not always the most important thing. Some men are ten times as important in themselves, and in their relation to the world, as other men. Conversion itself

may be almost eclipsed in glory by the expansion of mind, and quickening of moral and spiritual affections, which may take place in those already converted. And, without the production of direct and immediate good, it is possible to provide the materials and lay the foundation of a future usefulness to the cause of Christianity, broader, fuller, and more lasting than the most splendid present results of labour. Mr. Simeon was not a great man, and he did not make great men. He was not, in any sense, the founder of a school. He developed no hidden truth or power of the word of life. He opened up no new defence of the gospel. He vindicated not its principles with the might and mastery of lofty genius. The good he did came to light and perfection at once. He rejoiced in the fruits of his labour. We say not this with a view of disparaging strictly spiritual influence, or in forgetfulness of a certain immortality in its products. There can be no doubt that the subject of these remarks was blessed of God to the conversion and confirmation of an immense number of Christians, and Christian ministers, and to the extensive revival of attention and respect to a neglected and despised faith. The church of England is indebted to him above nearly all modern men for its religious vitality and power. It may be that those who are termed 'evangelical' among its clergy are not, in general, the loftiest specimens of intelligent and manly piety; that their faith is often timid and bigotted; that their charity lacks breadth and generosity, and that their preaching is meagre and commonplace; yet are they an important religious element in the established church, and their influence extends to sections that are not forward to own their fellowship. Of this class Simeon, more than any other, must be considered as the 'father.' 'He was the companion and instructor of thirteen or fourteen generations of young students.' He was the means of their conversion; he was their professor of theology; he expounded to them the scriptures; he taught them how to make sermons, and how to preach them, even to their tones of voice; and, beyond them, he diffused the savour of Christ far and wide. All the institutions with which he was connected felt the power of his name. The educated, the rich, the exalted in rank, the high in office, learned in him to honour what, in many cases, they did not understand. What was the secret and source of all this? The only answer is one that should be deeply pondered. 'As the man is, so is his strength.' There was nothing outward or accidental to interpret his success. His position had been filled in vain by others. He had no wonderful abilities, no wonderful attainments, no wonderful eloquence. But his 'heart was right with God.' He honoured God, and God honoured him. Not only was he a Christian, he was an eminent

Christian. It is impossible to read his Life and letters without perceiving that 'the love of Christ constrained him' to service and sacrifice. Says one who knew him well, 'Never did I see such consistency and reality of devotion—such warmth of piety—such zeal and love. Never did I see one who abounded so much in prayer.'—p. 67. 'During the period of his residence at King's, he invariably rose every morning, though it was the winter season, at four o'clock; and, after lighting his fire, he devoted the first four hours of the day to private prayer, and the devotional study of the scriptures.'—p. 67. Thus 'alive unto God,' all his energies were devoted to his work, and a visible and impressive sanctity marked his character. Though naturally somewhat vain and irritable, his infirmities were brought into subjection, and he learned to 'love the valley of humiliation,' and to delight in doing good to his fiercest foes. Faith in God sustained him in adversity, and preserved him from pride and boasting in prosperity. He was always at work, and always found it his reward. If he originated nothing, he taught much. He was not weary in well doing. He lived in his labour. He was married to his church. Seldom has there been an example of more generous self-denial. If any one feature of his character was more prominent than the rest, it was his entire devotedness, irrespective of personal considerations, to the cause he loved. He seemed to value money literally for nothing but its power of doing good. It was a habit with him. 'His whole income in 1780 (the second year of his residence in college), was only £125; and, after gradually increasing for fourteen years, it became in 1793 about £300 per annum. On examining the mode of its disbursement during this period, it seems to have been his plan regularly to dispose of *one third* of his income in charity.'—pp. 17, 18. The same spirit, in part, led him to remain a bachelor all his days; to decline 'all the livings in his college which in succession were offered to his choice;' and to devote the fruits of his labours to private and public works of benevolence. The following extract, from a memorandum in 1816, will illustrate the principles upon which he acted:—

'Last week I returned from Bristol, where I witnessed a thing almost unprecedented in the annals of the world; a whole city combining to fill up, by their united exertions, the void made in all charitable institutions by the loss of one man, Richard Reynolds, a member of the society called quakers. Having myself acted in some measure upon that idea, in relation to my dear and honoured brother, Edward Simeon, I take this opportunity of recording it for the satisfaction of myself and my executors.

'My brother was extremely liberal, and did good to a vast extent.

At his death an exceeding great void would have been made, if I had not determined to accept a part of his property, and to appropriate it to the Lord's service, and the service of the poor. The loss they would have sustained being about £700 or £800 a year, I suffered my brother to leave me £15,000, and have regularly consecrated the interest of it to the Lord, and shall (D. V.) continue to do so to my dying hour. Had I wished for money for my own use, I might have had half his fortune; but I wanted nothing for myself, being determined (as far as such a thing could be at any time said to be determined) to live and die in college, where the income which I previously enjoyed (though moderate in itself) sufficed, not only for all my own wants, but for liberal supplies to the poor also.

'These things are well known at present in our college, (Mr. —, in particular, as a counsel, examined my brother's will, wherein there is proof sufficient of these things); but at a future period they may be forgotten, and persons may wonder that with my income I did not resign my fellowship. The fact is, I have not increased my own expenditure above fifty pounds a year, nor do I consider myself as anything but a steward of my deceased brother for the poor. It is well known that, long previous to his death, I refused what was considered as the best living of our college; and should equally refuse anything that the king himself could offer me, that should necessitate me to give up my present situation, and especially my church. And I write this now, that if, after my decease, it should be asked, 'Why did he not vacate his fellowship?' my executors may have a satisfactory answer at hand.'—pp. 433—435.

This was not a spasmodic effort of charity and zeal. It was of a piece with his whole life. This disinterestedness was uniform. He lived not for himself; he recognized his stewardship, and was faithful to his trust; and thus 'saved himself and those that heard him.'

It would be wrong to omit all notice of Mr. Simeon as an *author*. He did wisely in one respect. He chose one field of authorship, and continued to labour in it to the end. This does not fully express the unity of his toil. He wrote but one work, and enlarged and improved it, until he could regard its stereotyped edition as a reason for a thankful review of life, and a quiet experience of death. Under date May 24, 1833, we have this Memorandum: 'This day God has vouchsafed to me the two richest blessings (next to the enjoyment of himself) that my soul could desire. 1. I have this day received from the Archbishop of Canterbury his permission to dedicate my work to him. 2. I have this day received the last five volumes, and see the work complete—the ship is launched. This last was the only thing for which I wished to live, so to speak, and I now sing my *Nunc dimittis*,' p. 716. Our readers, not perhaps, generally acquainted with this work, will be prepared by these references

to find it both large and important. Its origination and completion were on this wise. After Mr. Simeon had for some time been engaged in giving instruction to a select class of students on the composition of sermons, during which time he had proved the value of Mr. Claude's rules, of whose Essay he had made an abridgement, he thought it desirable in 1796, to publish a new and improved edition of that Essay, adopting Mr. Robinson's translation, and appending one hundred sketches of sermons, to 'simplify the theory, and set it in a practical light.' This was the germ of a work which grew at last to *twenty-one volumes, containing two thousand five hundred and thirty-six sermons*. Mr. Simeon bestowed great labour on this work. It was according to his heart. He delighted in preaching, and, which is a somewhat different thing, in sermonizing. Few of his sermons, says Bishop Wilson, 'cost him less than twelve hours of study; many, twice that time; and some, several days. He once told the writer that he had recomposed the plan of one sermon nearly thirty times.' Neat in mind as in person, with considerable constructiveness, a good 'plan' afforded him 'a joy' which no 'stranger' to such compositions could 'intermeddle with.' He possessed, likewise, correct notions in general, respecting what a plan should be. That each sermon should have but one subject, that the real sense of each passage discussed should be ascertained and adhered to, and that the spirit, as well as the signification of it, should be duly regarded; these and such like canons he exemplified and insisted on with commendable diligence and zeal. It will surprise none, therefore, to be told that in his twenty-one volumes are many admirable specimens of sermonizing, and that 'all Claude's modes of composition,' and 'the mode of taking a text for a motto, which Claude does not mention,' are presented in living, (we beg pardon) in 'skeleton' forms. At the same time, we must be permitted to express a very qualified approval of the whole system of which Mr. Simeon was so voluminous a patron. Had he confined himself to his original idea, had he contented himself with illustrations of the principal methods of treating texts, the character of his mind and his great experience would have enabled him to give good counsel and example to others; but never, in the history of authorship, has there been so marked an instance of over-doing as in the case of these twenty-one volumes of skeletons. We cannot see how evil, on the largest scale, should not come out of them. That it has come, we know. To say that young clergymen need such assistance, is to pronounce the most severe condemnation on the state of clerical education, or clerical intellect, in the establishment. The mere

knowledge that such a work exists, and is extensively used, cannot fail to diminish the respect and confidence of intelligent hearers, while the use of it is almost sure to retard the progress, and damage the power, of preachers. Help is often the greatest hindrance, and never more than in this matter. He who cannot do far better without the plan of another than with it, must be strangely deficient in the qualities necessary to an able minister of the New Testament. And were it otherwise, the habit of adopting and filling up plans ready to the hand, must, we are convinced, seriously interfere with the real and healthy advance, even in the way of mere sermonizing, of all men fitted to their work. That there are multitudes of ministers who are dependent on such assistance, is beyond all doubt, but we are not careful respecting them. The gospel could very well dispense with their services. Their 'silence' would be more 'expressive' than their speech, and yield a truer 'praise.' These opinions are not new with us. They are not made for the occasion. They have been uttered before, and in reference to similar works to Mr. Simeon's, from the pens of dissenting authors. Our 'wisdom,' if such it be, is 'without partiality.' At the same time, we do not believe that among dissenting ministers there is anything like the extensive use of borrowed plans and sermons which obtains in the established church.\* Our preachers are generally better taught in the gospel, have greater zeal in its diffusion, and our system of collegiate instruction and habit fits them more fully for their work. But wherever this plan obtains, it is a 'delusion, a mockery, and a snare.' It would be wrong, however, to charge on Mr. Simeon the evils which we think inseparable from the system he encouraged. 'I would recommend,' says he, 'no person to use them (the plans) servilely. A mere tyro may study one discourse first, and then write for himself, in his own language, the substance of it. But, after a few months, he will do better to form his own plan first, and then consult what is here written'—p. 7. But what he advised, and what has been the actual and natural result of his work, are two things. It is to be remembered that he had to deal with a

\* "The earth helps the woman." Dissenters often unwittingly support the church, yea, are often admitted to its pulpits! Few have any conception of the extent to which the sermons of nonconformists are preached in the churches of the establishment. We know a parish church, with a large congregation, in which an Irish orator delivered with great glory and much applause the sermons of Messrs. Jay and Parsons. A leading minister among us went one afternoon into the church of a fashionable watering-place and heard himself preach!

peculiar state of things. When he began thus providing for other men's pulpits, preaching was at a low ebb in the establishment. He was naturally seduced by the 'better than nothing' principle, and no doubt also sought, and not in vain, to 'catch with guile.' This, though some excuse for *him*, does not enable *us* to look with greater favour on a system which tends to conceal disease with a false bloom of health; to uphold such as should fall, and cause to stumble such as can better go alone; and, by engendering suspicion among people, and making a lazy, artificial, and insincere ministry, to bring into discredit all truth and teaching.

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ART. V.—*Xenophon's Memorabilia of Socrates. From the Text of Kühner. With Copious Notes, &c.* By D. B. Hickie, LL.D., Head-Master of Archbishop Sandys's Grammar-School, Hawkshead. London, Longman, 1847.

THIS is a new edition of a useful book, the Greek type of which does much credit to the printer, although the lines are too close for our taste. The state of the text was never bad; and after Dindorf's and Kühner's labours upon it, nothing more probably is to be desired. The very ample notes in this volume, most of them verbal, belong to a class of comments which do not win our admiration. They are generally couched in language too generalizing and *quasi*-philosophic to be intelligible by learners, or likely to be read at school; and a very large part of them is superfluous to every kind of student. When the text has been avowedly taken from Kühner, petty remarks on the readings serve for nothing, but to display a sort of learning in the writer, and fill up space. We open at random in p. 181, and our eyes light on the following: 'Συνοσιας. Thus seven Parisian MSS., Ald., Junt., Steph., and Dindorf. The common edd. have *συνοσιας*. Comp. i. 2, 18.' Again, in the same page, sec. 4: 'Ernesti and Schneider omit γὰρ, with one MS.



and Bessario's translation, and remove the stop after *ῥαυαρία*. We have carefully gone through a certain proportion of the notes, which every where show great diligence, are generally correct, and often useful, though their useful parts might have been compressed into a quarter, and sometimes the tenth part of the space. Occasionally it seems to us that Dr. Hickie goes wrong, especially from trusting too much to the guides whom he follows and carefully quotes. We select the two first pages for a few criticisms.

Page 105, book i. sec. i. 'Τίσι ποτε λόγοις, for οἷσσι ποτε λόγοις—*By whatever arguments*. The pronouns of direct interrogation, τίς, ποῖος, πότερος, &c., are often put for those of indirect interrogation, ὅστις, ὁποῖος, ὁπότερος, &c. Comp. Jelf, Gr. Gr. sec. 877, obs. 2. The Latin *tandem* is sometimes used in the same sense as ποτε here. Comp. iii. 14, 2, iv. 2, 6.' [The last remark about *tandem* and ποτε is correct; but for that very reason the rendering 'by *whatever* arguments' is wholly wrong. If he had turned it, 'I have often wondered *by what arguments* the accusers of Socrates *ever* persuaded the people,'—this, though homely English, would have been as close as our idiom admits. The whole note might be well superseded by the following: 'Τί ποτε—what *in the world?* nearly as the Latin *quid tandem?* The interrogation is indirect in τίσι ποτε λόγοις, yet τίς is as good as ὅστις for that use. See Jelf, &c.']

'Τοιάδε τις ἦν,—*Was somewhat in this manner*. Τίς is elegantly added to pronouns to render them indefinite. Here it has the force of the Latin *fere*. Comp. ii. 6, 11; iii. 6, 5. Viger iii. sec. 11, 11. So ὡδέ πως, ii. 1, 21.' [We see nothing *elegant* in the idiom, any more than in the English 'somehow thus.' It is merely homely and expressive. The whole matter is contained in the following:—

τοιάδε ἦν,—it was *such* as this.

τοιάδε τις ἦν,—it was *such a one* as this.

The former is not the less elegant. Dr. Hickie's rendering is a gratuitous deviation from the sense, not likely to aid a learner.]

'Ἀδικεῖ Σωκράτης. The omission of μέν is rare in prose writers. Comp. ii. 2, 8; ii. 6, 22; ii. 8, 5. Hellen. v. 1, 28. It more frequently happens where corresponding clauses are at some distance from each other. Comp. i. 2, 21; iii. 13, 5; Jelf, sec. 767.' [There is *no omission* of μέν here. The sentence 'Ἀδικεῖ δὲ καὶ is an afterthought, as indeed καὶ implies. To insert μέν would change the sense. The whole note is superfluous.]

Page 106, sec. 5. 'ἐδόκει δ' αὖ.—Imperfect for the pluperfect—*And he would have appeared*, &c. So frequently in Latin

authors also. Comp. Cicero Tusc. i. 12, 27.' [To say that the imperfect is here *put* for the pluperfect misleads a learner, as if this were a liberty. On the contrary, the imperfect with *ἄν* is the standard method in the best Greek. Jelf more accurately says, (vol. of SYNTAX, 1842, p. 78), that 'the pluperfect is *put* for the imperfect,' as we see in later authors.]

On the whole, while Dr. Hickie belongs to a school of annotators which understands *book-making* too well, he is a very respectable sample of the school. Boys, moreover, have great skill in omitting and forgetting whatever would perplex them; and a great many notes to which we object as elaborately missing the truth will probably in fact, be very innocuous, because they will not be read. We mean such as the following (p. 110, sec. 2):—

'*Ἄλλ' ἔπαυσε μὲν.* 'Ἄλλὰ refers to the answer of the foregoing question in the negative: *On the contrary he withdrew*, &c. Comp. sec. 27, ii. 6, 21. '*Πάειν*, *avocare*, *abstrahere*, *vel vi vel verbis*,' Sturz. [If *πάειν* deserves any note, it is as follows: '*Πάειν*—*to cause to cease*; *παύεσθαι* (neut.)—*to cease*. Yet in vulgar Attic, *πάειν* is neuter. When active, it may often be well rendered, *to stop*, *to hinder*, *to put an end to*.' The rendering of Sturz, quoted so formally, can have no tendency but to throw dust in a learner's eyes.]

The volume commences with a chronological table, partaking of the fault of the notes, in straining too much after accuracy; which is not so to be gained. For the sake of illustrating the lives of Socrates and Xenophon, it begins from *the arrival of Cecrops I. in Attica*, tells us the year of accession of various Athenian kings, the date of *the foundation of Troy* (!) the birth of Theseus, the year in which *he killed the Minotaur*; the abduction of Helen by Theseus; her later abduction by Paris, &c. Does Mr. Hickie really believe in the Minotaur? And whatever his own opinion of the legendary times, yet when the foremost school of Greek history (of whom Thirlwall and Grote are the English types) look on the personal existence of Theseus as more than questionable, and believe no chronology earlier than the Olympiads to be attainable, is he doing justice to a learner in thus reprinting an old-fashioned dogmatical table, without warning the student that such dates are regarded as rubbish by our first scholars? The table occasionally diverges into narrative, especially in the year 400 B.C., when Socrates was put to death. An error is there made (p. xix.) about the Athenian laws, which, it is said, called on a criminal who had been condemned *to mention the death he preferred*, instead of which Socrates claimed of the jury public honours, &c. This

is a mistake. He had to state *what he believed to be his legal or appropriate punishment*. The accuser gave in also *his valuation*, and the jury had to choose between the two, for they were generally too numerous to compose a verdict themselves. If Socrates had estimated the offence of which he had been convicted (for it was his duty to assume the justness of the first verdict) as deserving some severe fine, the jury would probably have sentenced him to this only. But when he gave as his estimate, that he deserved a seat of honour in the Prytaneium all his life, and there to be maintained at the public expense, &c., and *forced them either to award this or accept the accuser's estimate*, a larger number voted for his death than had voted him guilty. This is the right explanation of Dr. Hickie's facts. Thirlwall however believes that Socrates was finally induced to assess himself in a small fine. The elaborate panegyrics of Xenophon seem to us very onesided. Neither Thirlwall nor Arnold will be likely to allow to Dr. Hickie that Xenophon was 'a liberal and enlightened statesman;' much less will they 'acknowledge his candour and fairness as a historian.'

At the next edition of this book, we would strongly advise the author to prune down all its appendages with a very free hand, and what remains will then have a better chance of being read and appreciated.

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ART. VI.—1. *The First and Second Reports of the Committee of the House of Lords upon the Criminal Law.* 1847.

2. *Report of the Proceedings at the Penitentiary Congress at Frankfort, the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, 1846.* (German and French)

3. *Proceedings of the Penitentiary Congress at Brussels, in September, 1847.*

4. *Debates in the French Chamber of Deputies from the 22nd of April to the 18th of May, 1844, upon a bill for the Reform of Prisons, with notes.* By Monsieur Moreau-Christophe, Inspector-General of the Prisons of France. Paris. 8vo. 1845.

5. *Report of a Committee of the French Chamber of Peers on the Prisons' Bill, 24th April, 1847.*

THERE is great danger in sleeping on important public questions. It was whilst the good man slept, that the tares were sown. The Archbishop of Dublin, and Sir William Molesworth, have brought the abolition of transportation into jeopardy by having slept upon it these ten years past. Mr. Ewart, and his really sincere colleagues, who could have carried the reform of prisons ten years ago, have sadly dosed the time away. The Buxtons and Gurneys have been sound as rocks, or worse, for the same period; and South Africa, New Zealand, the Australias, and West Africa, have paid a bitter price for their sleep. It is a plain consequence of this falling away of the philanthropists, that philanthropy has sunk in public estimation; for unworthy men have, meanwhile, made a market of its good works.

In the matter of criminal law reform, however, Lord Brougham has overshot the mark; and the mischief he has meditated will be staved off by his blunders. It is not to be concealed, that a comparison of the Report of his lordship's committee on criminal law, with the foreign speeches, resolutions, and bills on the same subject, referred to in the heading of this article, suggests the humiliating reflection, that we are sunk from the high station we formerly held as a humane and an enlightened nation. It was once the pride of England, that its common law abhorred torture; that its constitution rejected slavery; and that its colonial conquests carried free institutions where despotism had prevailed for centuries. Her Howards, in earning immortality by unwearied efforts in prison reform, secured universal homage to the country which could produce such men.

In 1847, however, the highest authority of the land proclaims doctrines which exhibit us as a century behind the Americans, the French, the Germans, and half-a-dozen other civilized

nations, in the improvement of penal discipline. The committee of the House of Lords of last session has declared itself the advocate of the transportation of convicts to our colonies; and its chairman, Lord Brougham, from whom better was to have been expected, disregarding the prophetic warning of his predecessor, Bacon, and the demonstrations of his preceptor, Bentham, justified by half a century of frightful experience in New South Wales, has taken the lead in defending the most corrupting mode of criminal justice known to ancient or modern times. It required an exhibition of this kind to illustrate the character of the fallen Whig chancellor. Lord Brougham went into the committee the avowed opponent of a reform opened by ministers in this branch of the criminal law; he managed the committee by a gross resistance to the truth; and the committee so managed, recommends the continuance of transportation on grounds which knowledge of the truth would have shown to be untenable. The time selected for this perversity aggravates the evil. It is the precise moment when the great difficulty of the subject—a better disposal of convicts than by transportation—has reached a satisfactory solution in every civilized country.

The Lords' committee is not quite unaware of the vast improvement effected lately in prison discipline; but its vision is obscured by false prepossessions, and by an unusual amount of ignorance.

An analysis of the authentic accounts of that improvement, which are seen in continental documents, will be the best refutation of their lordships' opinion that criminals cannot be corrected without being sent to the Antipodes, with the awfully impracticable condition, that 'measures shall be taken to remedy the existing disproportion of the sexes in the convict colonies.'

Their lordships profess to have studied the existing state of prison discipline on the Continent. Yet they declare that death and transportation *alone* have salutary terrors for convicts; and especially that no hope exists that any mode of imprisonment can be made available for such end. Again, they reject the consideration of the improved mode of imprisonment because '*no sufficient experience has been had of it.*' More incredible still, the Lords' committee recommends Parkhursts—not *Mettrays*, of which they seem to have no clear idea—'*combined with a moderate use of corporal punishment.*' In other words, they would send invalids to the pure air of Malvern, with a diet of nux vomica or prussic acid. Lord Brougham, too, a member of the Institute, and a landed proprietor of France, is so little acquainted with French prison discipline in 1847, as to talk of it as if confined to Bagnes, and the *d travaux forcés*; or as if French criminal jurists and

philanthropists despaired of relieving society from mischievous released convicts, by a good penitentiary system, and by proper care of the penitents after punishment. So eager, indeed, is Lord Brougham's committee to discover an argument in favour of transportation, that it curiously illustrates 'the danger' to 'which society is exposed in the residence of liberated convicts,' by the example of *Christiana, the capital of Norway*, forgetting that punished convicts are liberated with safety in Belgium, Holland, Denmark, and throughout all Germany.

No doubt, the question, what is to be done with convicts after punishment, is a most difficult one. But it is a question which has been discussed by the great nations of Europe in a statesman-like manner for the last ten years, whilst we have neglected it. Hear what was said in France on the subject in 1844 by eminent men. During several years, the French government had examined the question with a solicitude befitting its importance, and without under-rating the obstacles opposed to its satisfactory settlement. In the course of their debates upon prison reform in 1844, those obstacles assumed a grave character. Among others who supported the government most zealously on the occasion were M. de Tocqueville, and M. Cremieux. To the objections made to the introduction of *reformatory* prisons, that the attempt was hopeless, for the common voice of society loudly rejected the punished from all social occupation, all contact with the pure, these eminent men said :—

'It is an unsound objection to the bill, that it seeks to introduce the principle of reforming convicts into the criminal code of France in the place of the principle of punishment. Criminals must undoubtedly be punished; and the bill provides punishment, and leaves punishment enough. But it does wisely in doing more; it provides for their reform. What! are we ever to despair of reforming our erring fellow-men? Are we to drive them eternally out of the reach of hope; and, by refusing to them the hand of compassion, to compel them for mere existence to fall again into a career of crime? Are we to create for them a legal hell, and mercilessly close for ever its gates upon them? Why, that is to return to pure paganism; when the common Christianity of the civilized world has long reversed that cruel creed! There is no one thing in all the grand designs of those who planned the French revolution, so good as the attempt to implant this Christian principle in the manners of France and in her code of laws. The other day, a precious manuscript of Mirabeau was produced by the minister to this very effect. 'The first effect,' said he, 'of the French revolution was to elevate its code by introducing into it this idea of reforming the criminal, and restoring the fallen man.' Mirabeau called this a great abandonment of the barbarism of the middle ages. Mirabeau was in the right. He call

for a criminal code that should keep the offender in awe; but he would not be pitiless; and he eloquently maintained, that this view of the case was in harmony with the genius of the age.'

This humane and wise principle was further supported by M. de Tocqueville with great force of argument.

The language of M. Cremieux was, perhaps, more remarkable. He is an able lawyer, and a zealous reformer in the chamber; and himself an example of what justice to a long-crushed people, the Jews, can effect. He illustrated the same principle by most interesting facts.

'When the criminal code was regularly formed,' said he, 'in 1810, and it was enacted that a released convict might, by five years' good conduct acquire a right to complete restoration in law, the proposer of the article, M. de Haubersart said, *'This idea of complete restoration may perhaps be a dream. It is hard to give credence to the thought that prisons can possibly be so reformed as to render any man capable of this great boon, and be fit for the duties of life again. But we are bound to pass this benevolent law in the hope that a single individual even shall claim the benefit of it.'* That humane principle has been eminently justified, continued M. Cremieux. In the last ten years, twenty condemned and punished criminals (felons) have gained by their excellent conduct regular judgments of restoration to all their rights as citizens. Thus what the legislator in 1810 admitted to be a mere possibility of penitentiary reform, proves upon trial to be, for ten years together, a sure and considerable improvement in the conduct and social condition of convicts. A particular case has occurred of the greatest interest on this head, close to Paris, and its authority is universally admitted. A convict who had served his time, resided long at Pontoise on the Seine. His character was irreproachable, and every body esteemed him; but he was unwilling to apply for a pardon. Last year, however, an essay from his pen obtained the great prize at the Institute, and as some hesitation occurred on the part of that learned body at granting to one condemned the reward which his talents had earned him, the public voice of his town was raised in his favour, and without difficulty obtained the pardon, which effaced all legal trace of the judgment.' With such cases before us, it is impossible to despair of the good effect of indulgent, but careful laws.'

The French are fast adopting these principles; and the whole science of penitentiary legislation is taking a new and mild character throughout the continent. The resolutions passed last year at the congress at Frankfort, taken together with the topics discussed this year at Brussels, give a favourable idea of the new system, which it is proposed to substitute for the galleys, the bagnes, the ill-regulated gaols, and the proscriptions for released convicts, which Lord Brougham's committee look upon as the present *beau ideal* of penal discipline abroad.

These resolutions are as follows :—

1st. All prisoners committed for trial shall be separated from each other, and from all other prisoners, except when, upon their own application, the committing magistrate may allow some intercourse between them upon the conditions established by law.

2nd. All convicts shall be kept in separate cells with increased or diminished severity, according to the nature of their crimes and sentences ; according to the circumstances and conduct of the individuals ; provided that they may be usefully employed ; that they may walk every day in the open air ; that they may attend divine worship ; that they may receive religious, moral, and literary instruction ; that they may be regularly visited by the minister of their own religious persuasion, by the physician, and by the members of protection and patronage societies ; besides other persons allowed by the regulations.

3rd. The last rule is especially applicable to imprisonments for short terms.

4th. Separate confinement shall also be applied for long terms, but with various increased indulgences every year, so far as is consistent with the principle of separation.

5th. In cases of sickness and weakness of mind, any relaxation of the rule of separation shall be allowed that may appear proper to the governors, even to the extent of admitting associates to the prisoners, provided these associates be not themselves prisoners.

6th. Gaols with separate cells shall be built, with accommodations for access to religious services ; so that the prisoners may see and hear the minister, and the minister see them, without their seeing or hearing each other.

7th. The substitution of separate confinement for imprisonment in common, should be immediately followed by shortening the terms of the sentences.

8th. A thorough reform of the criminal law, the legal provision of a regular inspection of prisons, and the institution of societies of patronage for the protection of convicts after their liberation, should be integral parts of penitentiary reform.

Such was the scheme adopted by the congress of 1846. The congress of 1847, was to follow out this scheme. The subjects for it were :—

1st. The internal management of prisons ; the agents, the inspectors, etc.

2nd. The architecture of prisons upon the separate system ; size of the cells ; ventilation ; heat ; provision of water ; etc.

3rd. Management of patronage for convicts when released.

4th. Asylums and penitentiaries for young criminals ; agricultural colonies.



5th. A criminal law reform, the indispensable consequence of penitentiary reform.

6th. Prevention of crime. Its causes.

The importance of the last head was felt when the subject was proposed in the first congress, by M. Ducpetiaux, the inspector-general of prisons and *benevolent institutions* in Belgium. He would have had the congress declare its deep conviction that preventive justice ought to be made concurrent with the justice of punishment; and that penitentiary reform must necessarily prove abortive, if all good men, with the sincere support of all governments, did not join to dry up the sources of crime by improving the physical, the moral, and the intellectual condition of the poor and laborious classes.

The foregoing important resolutions really form a system of penitentiary discipline; and they were arrived at by eminent men, of whom many are the inspectors and governors of the best prisons in Europe and America. Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8, were adopted either unanimously, or with one or two dissenting voices only. A very large majority carried the fourth.

The main differences of opinion turned on a most interesting subject. Obermaier, the director of prisons in Bavaria, has long conducted them, and especially that of Kaiserslautern, with singular success. He has completely mastered the hearts of the wildest criminals, by appealing directly to the sense of humanity, which he insists is in them all. The chairman of the congress at Frankfort, himself the first criminal jurist of Germany, and in all respects a most accomplished man, professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, president of the chamber of deputies in Baden, said of his system, that it was nothing more than an incorporation of Obermaier himself. It is founded upon the principle of intense Christian charity. It admits separate confinement. It abolishes even 'the moderate use of corporeal punishment,' which Lord Brougham's committee, in 1847, recommends for juvenile offenders. It provides employment and instruction of all kinds. No public exposure, no personal rigour, no prison dress. These few words explain the system of Obermaier of Munich.

The congress, offering a just tribute to his honour, abstained from attempting to adopt his plan of proceedings under an apprehension that agents like himself, to carry it out, were not to be found. Upon this occasion two curious anecdotes were told to illustrate the character of the man, and the effectiveness of his system. The first was that of an assassin, who formed a plot to break out of the prison; and he succeeded in making many of the convicts parties to it. Obermaier heard of what was going on; and at once assembling the whole body in an

open court, he ranged them in a circle, and stepped into the centre. Then, addressing the ringleader, he said, 'I know your designs. I am aware of your intention to kill me. But I have so little fear, that I shall not even punish you. Go on if you will, I shall be prepared for your worst.' The offender confounded, abandoned his scheme, and turned out a well-behaved man. Again, a fire once broke out near the prison; and was on the point of catching the nearest dormitories. There was no hope of help from the town. Obermaier without a moment's hesitation, led out two hundred prisoners beyond the walls, got a supply of water, and cut off the danger in an extraordinary short space of time. He kept by the men himself, and so encouraged them in the work. He had then the satisfaction to bring them back into confinement without a single absentee, although among them there were several under sentence for life.

The congress at Frankfort examined also another plan which has warm partisans. It is that of M. Aubanel of Geneva. It is a combination of the Philadelphian system *for the complete separation of the convicts from each other*; and the Auburn system *for their separation by night, and their association in silence by day*.

The system of the model prison at Pentonville approaches to this character. The convicts are kept strictly *separate* from each other there, night and day. But after eighteen months these convicts are sent to a penal colony.

In all reformed prisons, whatever may be their system in other respects, the convicts work much, learn something, and attend religious services. One institution annexed to the reformed prisons, is almost unknown to the public in England, although something of the sort has long existed in Warwickshire. It is the institution called *Patronage*; which is, societies for attending to criminals *after* their punishment. These societies are extending everywhere on the Continent with advantage. In Nassau, for instance, one such, was founded in 1829; and by the end of 1844, it had, out of four hundred and forty-six convicts released from prison, placed forty-four as labourers; one hundred and one as apprentices; one hundred and thirty as servants; and the one hundred and seventy-six remaining were helped at their homes with tools. Of these, one hundred and forty-three of the servants and labourers have perfectly repaid the pains bestowed on them. The sum of money expended by this society in eighteen years is £1,500., or about £3. a-head for saving a large body of convicts from ruin.

The debates on the penitentiary congresses ought to be translated into English; and it would add to their value as a lesson

to us, if the most important volume of similar debates upon the French bill of 1844 were also translated. The House of Lords has much to learn on the subject; and when in the discussion which may be expected in the new parliament respecting every branch of it, their committee's error about transportation shall be thoroughly refuted, the benefits conferred by the superior science of our neighbours will be returned to them by the exposure of a great mistake in that respect, which is now misleading some among them on that topic.

The inspectors of our prisons, Mr. Crawford and the Rev. Whitworth Russell, took an active part in the proceedings of the penitentiary congress at Frankfort. Mr. Crawford was one of its originators. Mr. Russell was present, and his opinions had considerable weight in its conclusions. Both have since died prematurely, to the deep grief of their friends, and greatly to the public loss. They were eminently qualified for their posts; which being of recent creation, and of no political interest, had few lights, from experience, and fewer helps from either parliament or ministers. These excellent men shared some of the common prejudices against the power of moral means of penitentiary reform, and therefore clung to transportation as indispensable for the relief of society at home, forgetting that even the greatest advantages obtained by the mother country, form no compensation to the colonies for the enormous domestic evils inflicted by the inequality of the sexes, and by the accumulation of convicts in common—evils for which prevention and cure are alike impossible. That subject, however, and the very important reports of the inspectors of prisons, require a distinct consideration. Nor can justice be done to the French system of penitentiary reform, without a specific and extended notice. That system is now assuming a character of completeness well worth our familiar acquaintance.

The French Chamber of Peers has examined the whole subject. The Report of its committee contains an able analysis of all its branches. It strongly negatives the proposal rashly favoured by some French statesmen to introduce *transportation* into their code; and it expatiates upon the advantage of *patronage* for discharged convicts; on which subject it announces the interesting fact, that our government has applied for information to the French government with a view to introduce that institution into England. When, besides all this it is known, that Russia is about to *abolish transportation*, something like enthusiasm in the cause of prison reform may be cherished. Botany Bay must surely follow Siberia.

ART. VII.—*Byways of History, from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century.* By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. 2 vols., 12mo. London : Longman and Co.

THE title of these volumes is well chosen, and is accurately descriptive of their contents. The interest it awakens is fully sustained throughout the narratives given, and no intelligent reader, solicitous to acquaint himself with the less obvious features of past times, will fail to wish that Mrs. Sinnett may be induced to prosecute still further her labours. Her first intention was to furnish the English public with a sketch of the Peasant War of Germany; but in the prosecution of this design she found 'it desirable, if not absolutely necessary, to glance at the previous conditions of the society from which this fearful phenomenon arose.' We are glad that she felt this necessity, and yielded to it, as the first of her two volumes, in which the results of more extensive researches are contained, constitutes a valuable addition to her work. It is really surprising that so little is known, even by intelligent men, of the period of which she treats. Our countrymen are, for the most part, content with meagre and superficial information; the bare outline of events satisfies them; but of the filling up, with its innumerable varieties of men and things, its sunshine and shade, the homes and the hearts of the millions who occupied the more retired stations, and bore the great burden of life, they are absolutely ignorant. The names of monarchs, statesmen, and heroes, are familiar; the prominent facts of their history are known, and the general course of civilization may be dimly traced; but the actual condition of human life at any given period, the precise character it bore, its joys and sorrows, the burdens it endured, and its yearning after other and better things, rarely enter into their consideration, and are, therefore, but very imperfectly apprehended. It must indeed be acknowledged, in extenuation of this state of things, that our historical writers have done but little to supply their countrymen with this information. They have misapprehended greatly their vocation, and have consequently lost much of their power, and failed to accomplish the good that was within their reach. The older chroniclers, who were greatly superior in this respect, have been inaccessible to the many; whilst even to the few of ampler means and more cultivated taste, the antiqueness of their garb has been unfriendly to their popularity. It is impossible to read a page of Froissart without feeling that a skilful hand only is needed to furnish a *history* incomparably superior, even in point of interest, to most of the fictions which have charmed mankind.

The materials are ample, and are ready to hand; but an artist is wanted to combine the picturesque and graphic style of the school of Froissart, with the chaster diction and larger philosophy of modern times. We wait the advent of such a genius, whose productions will do more to alienate our youth from the deleterious fictions which are popular, than the gravest discourses which parental solicitude can utter. We welcome the volumes before us as an approach to this class of publications, and can assure our readers of being well repaid by their perusal.

The first volume contains, in addition to an interesting introduction of twenty pages, twelve chapters, of which the following are the titles:—‘The Castles of Germany, and their Inmates;’ ‘Fist Law;’ ‘Free Cities of Germany;’ ‘The Hansa at Home and Abroad;’ ‘Fathers of the Desert;’ ‘Monks in Early Times;’ ‘The Abbey of Altenberg;’ ‘The Masters of Prussia;’ ‘Prussia in the Old Time;’ ‘The House of Marienberg.’ These titles will, sufficiently for our purpose, explain the character of the volume, from which it would be easy to make large and attractive extracts. We shall confine ourselves, however, to one or two, in order to afford space for a more extended notice of the Peasant War. The education or training of the young knight was an important matter, and the following sketch discloses the source of that profound ignorance which frequently existed in connexion with great military skill and habits of command.

‘The young noble of the middle ages, whether the son of a poor knight or of a prince, was generally taken with his seventh year out of the hands of the women, to commence his education, as all education should commence, by obedience—by serving for seven years as a page in the household of a noble who had received the honour of knighthood. He had to wait upon his master, his lady, and their guests at table, in the chase, and on journeys—and in the intervals of these duties, to acquire the necessary knowledge and practice in knightly exercises. He was placed under the authority of a sort of schoolmaster, who, however, was, in Germany at least, not called a tutor, but a *bubenzuchtmeister*, that is, ‘disciplinarian,’ or whipper-in of the boys; and the pupil went through a pretty severe course of discipline, abundance of kicks and cuffs being in the order of the day. The next step of the candidate for the honours of chivalry was to become a squire, and be permitted to bear arms—a ceremony to which some equivalent exists even among many savage nations, as it did in the forests of ancient Germany. He might now accompany his knight to tournaments and to feuds, have the care of the armour and horses, and the charge of prisoners; but in battle he was to remain behind his lord, and only act on the defensive; to parry strokes aimed at him, to reach him fresh arms, assist him to remount his horse, etc. Besides carrying his banner, and shouting the battle-cry, the squire also performed the office of what in less heroic com-

bats is called '*a bottle-holder*,' in which it appears he had by no means a sinecure. He had, moreover, on many occasions, to lead the war-horse, and to carry the helmet and lance before him on the saddle, and to perform many other services, in the stable, the cellar, and even in the kitchen, which, in royal households, were regarded as distinctions, and became hereditary in certain families.

'At length, after seven years more, came the period for which the young squire, while polishing his knight's armour, had often sighed. The twenty-first year was usually that in which he received knighthood, although particular circumstances often caused it to be delayed. Sometimes poverty prevented his taking on him a dignity attended with considerable expense; sometimes religious enthusiasm induced him to put off receiving his spurs till he had won them in the Holy Land; sometimes, it is to be feared, he lingered for the sake of the flirtations with the ladies of the castle, for which a squire had so many opportunities.

'The attainment of the highest military and political honour required, of course, in those days, the co-operation of the clergy.

'The candidate presented his sword to be consecrated on the altar; the bath and the sponsors made the ceremony resemble that of baptism, and these, as well as the white dress, were emblematic of the purity expected of the new knight, who had also to fast, to pray, and to watch his armour in a church, or over the tomb of a saint. The ceremony of knighthood, in its original form, was indeed almost like the ordination of a priest—it was the reception into a select and holy order. His oath included every duty of morality then known or recognised; to be faithful and just, humane and generous, to protect religion and her ministers, widows and orphans, women 'and all that were desolate and oppressed,' and moreover to chastise the infidels. The new knight was also exhorted to hear mass daily, and to be always ready to peril his life in the defence of any innocent person.

'On some occasions we hear that at the banquet which followed the ceremony, he was placed in a seat of honour; but was not to eat or drink—not to look to the right nor to the left, but to bear himself as modestly as a bride; though he was afterwards allowed the gratification of exhibiting himself in all his glory to the people in the street.'—Vol. i. pp. 37—40.

How far the knights were from fulfilling their vows, may be learned from the following sketch of one of their number, Franz von Sickingen, who was born in 1481, and is first introduced to our notice in the Venetian war. His case was not a solitary one:—

'The next we hear of him is, that he had engaged to fight for the archbishop of Mainz, and bring with him four horsemen and a boy, for a consideration of 150 gulden (£12. 10s.) a month, and their clothes. His biographers point with pride to this humble beginning, contrasting it with the opulence and grandeur to which he afterwards

attained, as citizens who have waxed wealthy will sometimes exhibit with satisfaction the humble tools with which they have laid the foundation of their fortune. There are indeed cases, it may be suspected, even in our day, in which the ways and means of accumulation, though more difficult to follow, would be found to square little better with the eighth commandment than those of worthy Franz, who, moreover, enjoyed all the while the inestimable advantage of a good conscience. The first considerable business transaction in which the knight engaged on his own account was a feud with the imperial free city of Worms, which began in the usual style, with lying in wait in the environs, and pouncing upon goods and passengers; but as the chivalry of the neighbourhood scented rich prey, they came flocking in from all quarters to help him, and he soon had at his disposal a force of no less than six thousand men.

‘As the imperial chamber happened to be sitting at Worms, however, his declaration of feud was regarded as an insult to majesty; and when he refused to desist, and answered saucily, that the chamber, if it did not like it, might move off, the ban was issued against him; and Franciscus von Sickingen and his heirs, and their heirs for ever, declared to have forfeited all estates, honours, and dignities to which they might have any claim, to be condemned to ‘perpetual poverty and hardship, so that their lives should be miserable, and death to them delightful.’ All these hard words seem, nevertheless, to have bounded off from the knight with little damage; and a short time after, he is said, by a notable device, to have got possession of the persons of the honourable magistracy of Worms.

‘The plan was for one of his men to slink into the town at night, and there take an opportunity to commit a theft to which the punishment of the gallows was attached. Whether the man who undertook this pleasant little piece of service was a volunteer, or not, does not appear; but the knight gave him the most solemn assurance, that he would not fail to come to the rescue, even if he should have mounted the ladder. The man set forth accordingly, accomplished his getting into the town, stole in the way of duty two horses, and, as was foreseen, was condemned to be hanged. The gallows was situated outside the town, and on these occasions it was customary for the procession to be escorted to the spot by the burgomaster and the chief magistrates. The exciting little drama had proceeded to the last scene; but when the finisher of the law was about to execute on the criminal the sacred mandates of justice, Franz von Sickingen, with a troop of knights and men-at-arms, broke from the cover of a neighbouring wood, shot the executioner, who of course counted for nothing, and made captive the civic dignitaries and their attendants, and carried them off in triumph. Franz treated his prisoners well, gave them abundance to eat and drink, and even invited the burgomaster and senators to dine at his own table, though he lodged them safely in his tower, and stowed away the ‘commoner sort’ in his turnip-cellar; but he made them pay rich ransoms, so that the feud on the whole turned out very profitable. About the same time his

father-in-law had 'very good luck,' that is to say, made much booty in a feud with the Cologne people, so that the family appeared to be in a thriving way; but when, some time after, the knight also laid his hands, Robin-Hood fashion, upon some goods belonging to the merchants of Frankfort, strange to say, there was such a piece of work in consequence, that the Emperor Max got out of all patience, and exclaimed, that 'if one of these traders only lost a bag of pepper, he disturbed the whole empire about it; but that if his imperial crown were in jeopardy, not a man would stir.'—*ib.* pp. 246—249.

So far were these unknightly feats from being deemed disgraceful, that Franz not only regarded himself, but was actually described by others, 'as a redressor of wrongs, a guardian of innocence, a protector of the defenceless.' His castle was the refuge of many persecuted reformers, and contained a printing press, which was actively employed in disseminating the new opinions that were breaking up the old system of Germany. He was, in truth, a favourable specimen of his class; and throws, consequently, a fearful light on the general condition of social morals.

The English public have hitherto known little of the Peasant War. Our acquaintance with it has been through the medium of hostile allusions, for the most part brief, meagre, and of course condemnatory. We have, in consequence, adopted strong views on the subject, and, as is commonly the case, have sought to make up for deficient knowledge by the haste and intensity of our reprobation. Mrs. Sinnett has rendered an important service by pleading for an arrest of judgment, and the manner in which she has discharged her duty is honourable alike to her integrity and skill. She is by no means blind to the evils which were associated with the servile war of Germany. They are admitted without hesitation, and reprobated in becoming terms. The evils, however, are traced to their proper source, and the few enormities which were perpetrated, are shewn to have been light and almost virtuous, compared with the atrocities practised by knights and noble lords.

History has for the most part been the creature of the aristocracy. Its penmen have been the hirelings of the upper classes, who drew 'the breath of their nostrils' from the smiles of the great, and were consequently unscrupulous in doing their bidding. The records of history are, in truth, little better than a panegyric on the rich and noble. It is true they disclose many crimes—that they open up to us dark and revolting scenes—that they frequently enable us to trace the wretchedness of the many to the selfishness, cruelty, and despotism of the few; but all this is perfectly consistent with the class prejudices under which they were written. In detailing the contest of noble with



noble, and of prince with prince, the most revolting features of human character are disclosed; whilst, in the atrocities practised on the people, there is no visible perception in the writer, of the enormous wrong done to humanity. In the former case, the reputation of the class is not felt to be endangered, inasmuch as the contests described are within itself; and in the latter case, the people are treated as if they had no rights, and were entitled to no sympathy. The wrong done to a single knight or lord, though in punishment of his crimes, fills a province with indignation; whilst thousands of the commonalty are starved or slaughtered without pity or remorse. History, therefore, has ever blackened the character of the people, and exalted that of their oppressors. It has been, in fact, little more than the report of the latter, or of their hireling scribes, and should always be suspected when it undertakes to record an unsuccessful popular movement. Happily, there has been a limit to its wrong-doing. This, however, has been supplied by the necessity of the case, and is only realized now that the popular element has gathered strength, and the moral perceptions of society are become clearer and more correct. We take the facts recorded, and reasoning from them, rather than from the false judgments of the reporter, draw our own conclusion as to the condition of things. We need not say what that conclusion is, nor shall we stay to prove its correctness. Our present business respects the Peasant War, and to that we proceed.

Until lately, this war attracted little attention, though it is, perhaps, 'one of the most remarkable phenomena of the age in which it occurred.'

'It has been common, however,' remarks Mrs. Sinnett, 'in estimating popular insurrections, to look rather at the amount of success which has attended them, than at the motives in which they originated. What was a crime if followed by defeat, becomes a heroism if crowned by victory; and thus, while the effort of the Swiss to throw off the Austrian yoke has been consecrated to all time as a glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, one which, in the beginning at least, was fully as worthy of our sympathy, has been regarded with cold indifference or careless condemnation: one historian\*, in speaking of the Peasant War, says, 'It originated in a hatred to the nobility and clergy;' and then, as if he had reduced the thing to its ultimate elements, and that hatred to nobility and clergy were an original principle of human nature, beyond which our inquiries need not and cannot go, he makes no attempt to proceed further in investigating its cause.'—Vol. ii. pp. 1, 2.

Recent investigations have clearly shewn that this war had its origin in grievous and intolerable oppressions; that in its commencement, the conduct of the peasants was marked by astonish-

\* Kohlrausch, in his 'History of Germany.'

ing moderation; that their demands were perfectly reasonable; and that the violence subsequently practised was provoked by the duplicity and cruelty with which they were treated. The great outbreak was in 1525, but for half a century previously to this, the grinding oppressions to which the German peasants were subject had led to partial revolts; the first of which was headed by Hans Boheim, a shepherd lad, in 1476. A starved and perishing people clamoured for food. 'They declared everywhere that they desired nothing more, and that for this only they were in arms.' These local outbreaks were, however, easily suppressed; and the nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, wreaked a terrible vengeance on their serfs. The history of Hans Boheim illustrates both the oppressions and the superstition of the age. So intense were the sufferings of the peasantry, that they eagerly caught at every prospect of relief, without reflecting on the promises they credited, or the resources which were at their command. The following is our author's account of this reformer:—

'It was in the year 1476, that a shepherd lad of Wurzburg, named Hans Boheim, but commonly known as Hans the drummer, or the piper, for he was in the habit of playing on both instruments at weddings, church festivals, and such occasions, began to meditate on all that he saw and heard, 'to see visions and dream dreams;' and one day—it was about the time of Mid Lent—there appeared to him no less a person than the glorious 'Queen of heaven' herself. The life he had hitherto led now appeared profane and sinful; he burnt his drum in the presence of the people, and began to preach to them to repent of their sins, 'for the kingdom of heaven was at hand,' and he commanded them at the same time to lay aside all costly attire, cords of silk and silver, pointed-toed shoes, and all manner of vanity. The people hearkened to the new prophet, and great numbers came every holiday flocking to Niklashausen to hear him. Soon he enlarged his theme. The blessed virgin, he said, 'had not only commanded him to preach the renunciation of all the pomps and vanities of the world, but likewise to announce the speedy abolition of all existing authorities; there should be no lords spiritual or temporal, neither prince nor pope, neither king nor kaiser; but all should be as brothers; that all taxes and tributes, tithes and dues, should be done away with; and wood, and water, spring and meadow, be free to all men.'

'It was the dream of many weary hearts in that poor down-trodden multitude, and they could not but throb high at such glad tidings. From all the neighbouring villages and hamlets on the Tauber, from the distant Odenwald, and the valleys of the Maine and Neckar, nay, from the banks of the Rhine, from Swabia and Bavaria, came pilgrims of both sexes and all ages. Mechanics ran from their workshops, peasant boys from the plough, maids from the reaping-field with the sickles in their hands, without leave asked, came trooping in to hear the new Evangel.

'They had made no provision for their journey; but those who had,

gave to those who needed, mostly without pay; and all were furnished with food and drink, addressing each other as 'brother and sister.'

'For months together, on all Sundays and holidays, was heard the voice of the holy youth, 'the messenger of our lady,' as he was called, sounding from his pulpit—a tub turned upside down; and as yet, notwithstanding all that he had said and done, in perfect harmony with the parish priest. Two nobles even are named as having been among his hearers,—the knight, Sir Kunz of Thunfeld, and his son. Gifts began to pour in,—rich gifts in money, and jewels, and clothes; and peasant women who had nothing else to give, made offerings of their long hair. Forty thousand worshippers of the virgin were collected around Niklas-hausen: booths and tents were erected to supply them with necessities, though at night they had to lie in the gardens, or on the open fields. The enthusiasm rose ever higher; but the priests now began to discover that they were playing with edged tools, and to hint that Hans Boheim dealt in the black art; that his inspiration was of the devil; and that the said devil it was, and no other, who had appeared to him in the white robes of the blessed virgin, and had prompted this ungodly rebellion against temporal and ecclesiastical authority. But the hearts of men were on fire, and this feeble sprinkling only made them burn the fiercer. They flung themselves on their knees before the holy drummer, saying,—'O man of God! messenger of heaven! be gracious to us, and have pity on us;' and they tore and parted among them fragments of his garments, and he esteemed himself happy who could obtain but a thread of so precious a relic.'—*Ib.* pp. 17—19.

The authorities, at length, became alarmed, and, having seized the prophet, he was doomed to expiate his offence at the stake, whilst his followers were ruthlessly slaughtered by the soldiers of the bishop of Wurzburg. Nearer the close of the fifteenth century, other outbreaks, bearing the same general character and originating from similar causes, occurred. One of these, bearing the title of 'The Clouted Shoon' arose in Alsace, and was distinguished by some peculiar features. A peasant confided the secret, under the seal of confession, to a priest, who immediately communicated it to the imperial government. The Emperor Maximilian ordered the wives and children of the peasants to be driven out of the country, the rebels themselves to be quartered alive, and their leaders to be torn asunder by wild horses.

'Such,' says Mrs. Sinnett, 'were the orders of the generous and chivalrous Maximilian: but fortunately they could not be executed; for the conspiracy had been so extensive that, had the princes and nobles put to death all of their peasants who had taken part in it, their estates would have been depopulated, and they themselves deprived of their most valuable property. A very small number, therefore, really suffered, and many took refuge in Switzerland and in the recesses of the Black Forest.'—*Ib.* p. 36.

A deathlike stillness followed. The people were terrified, but not conquered. They yet cherished hope, and sought to lull suspicion, that they might renew their efforts with better prospect of success. A suitable leader at length appeared :—

‘ Amongst those who escaped by flight the torturing death to which he and his brethren had been destined by the paternal mercies of the imperial ‘ Landsfather,’ was one Joss Fritz, who had been one of the original movers of the league among the peasants, and who to a deep and burning zeal in their cause united indomitable perseverance and patience. Should he fail ten times over, he was ready to come on to the eleventh trial without bating ‘ a jot of heart or hope;’ he had been in many battles, and had had much experience in military affairs, and possessed besides many personal advantages, a striking figure, and a soldier-like carriage, as well as a gift of natural eloquence, where it was necessary great power of dissimulation, and that indescribable air of command, which is sometimes, but not always, the accompaniment of mental superiority ; he knew how to adapt his address most skilfully to the character of whoever he wished to influence, to attack one on the side of material interest, another on that of religion ; to infuse faith and hope into the doubting and irresolute, courage and confidence into the timid. Weeks, months, years, he patiently toiled to bind again the broken threads of conspiracy, and never lost sight of any circumstance that might serve, though ever so little, the cause to which for life or death he hath devoted himself.’—*Ib.* p. 37.

Joss returned to the neighbourhood of Freiburg in 1512; and laboured with indefatigable zeal to reunite the scattered elements of discontent. The people, however, retained so vivid a remembrance of the sufferings formerly endured, as to interpose powerful obstacles to his success. But nothing could damp his zeal. He had resolved on his course, and the energy, perseverance, and skill, with which he pursued it, needed only success to have enrolled his name in the record of illustrious men. A list of articles was drawn up, and ‘ it is remarkable,’ observes Mrs. Sinnett, ‘ that these articles are perfectly free from anything like seditious violence: and the conspirators, it appears, were so anxious concerning the meaning and tendency of some, that Joss had to undertake to defend every one of them out of the Bible, and it was the declared intention of all parties, as soon as the league should be formed to lay their wishes before the emperor; and only in case he refused to sanction them, to apply for aid to the Swiss.’

The instruments with which he had to work were of the lowest order, but, like a skilful general, he made the most of the forces at his command, employing each in the service for which it was best fitted. The following extract affords a signal illustration of this, at the same time that it throws light on the manners of the age.

' Among the friends and allies of the cause which the exertions of these two got together, there was one class so curious and characteristic of the manners of the time as to deserve particular mention. These were the beggars, who were very numerous, and seem to have been recognised as a sort of guild, and to have possessed a patent, or legal right, to exercise their profession in the countries which they traversed. They obeyed certain chiefs or captains elected by themselves, and their appearance is graphically described in the chronicles of the time. One who traded on the capital of a disease in the lower limbs, wore a tattered black tunic, and a black felt hat, and travelled under the sign, that is the special protection, of our Lady of Einsiedeln and Saint Anna, and carried about upon a board images of his two patronesses. Another was a stout jolly-looking young fellow, more than half naked, who used to go along bawling for alms, for the sake of the holy saint Cyriac; he carried on business with an open wound in the right arm, which he would never suffer to be healed. A third had a little girl of seven years old, whom he carried with her feet tied up, as if she had lost the use of them, and he had his hat stuck round with no less than eight images of saints, wore a long red beard, and carried a huge knotted stick with a sharp iron point at the bottom, a hook at the top, and a dagger concealed within it. One was a dwarf, and the proprietor, moreover, of a very frightful eruption on the face. Another carried a knife, and a large stone, by way of penance, as he informed the passers by, for having accidentally killed a woman by throwing a knife at her. Another, called Henry of Strasburg, hawked about spices for sale; and wore a long grey gown and a red cap, with an image of the holy child, and a sword by his side, and several knives and a dagger stuck in his girdle. Most of the fraternity had large wallets, made of ticking, slung before and behind, in which to deposit the contributions of the pious and charitable.

' With the chiefs of this ragged regiment Joss Fritz and his associate Stoffel, of Freiburg, now entered into an alliance; the beggars were to act as spies; to bring information of the watch kept at the gates of cities and in various fortresses; and it was also agreed, on the promise of a reward of two thousand gulden, to assemble the fraternity on a certain day, to the number of not less than two thousand, in the town of Zabern, in Alsace, which they were to assist in seizing upon. They were to act under the orders of members of the league in the town and its suburbs; and as the town was expected to be very full of strangers, on account of the festival of the dedication of a church, there would be the more chance that their mustering in such force would escape notice. Church festivals and fairs frequently offered favourable opportunities for assembling the members of the league without exciting suspicion, and nightly meetings also took place at many solitary inns of which the hosts were friendly to the undertaking, a certain reward being promised for every recruit brought in; but care was taken that the confederacy should be so organised that no man should, if possible, know the names of more than those with whom he would be called upon to act. Joss had a particular sign for those under his immediate command, a small patch of black cloth on a red ground, sewn into the folds of a handkerchief round the neck, and also a particular form of words, slightly altered from those

of the former Rundschuh, for the sake of mutual recognition. On the necessity of these watchwords great stress was laid, by Joss, as well as on the preparation of the standard, which he now set about. It was, however, a dangerous business, for which great caution was necessary.'—*Ib.* pp. 42—45.

It is almost needless to say, that the conspiracy—for such history calls it—was ultimately discovered, and that 'hanging, beheading, and quartering alive, formed, as usual, the final scene of the tragic drama.' Joss Fritz, however, escaped, and was subsequently seen in the Black Forest.

It was on the lovely shores of the Neckar, in the dukedom of Wirtemberg, that the next insurrectionary movement took place. It was entitled the 'Poor Conrad,' and gathered in its course large crowds of adherents. For a time it prospered, but the Diet, having undertaken to decide on the matters in dispute, the people were lulled into false security. The result is thus described :—

'On the following day, they were invited to assemble outside the city of Schorndorf, to hear the decision of the Diet; and between three and four thousand complied with the treacherous invitation, though others fled across the mountains. A paper was produced, and, in order to hear its contents, the unsuspecting peasants drew closely together, when the troops by a sudden movement closed round them, and at a given signal from the duke, who had ridden out armed to the teeth, and even his horse covered with steel, the soldiers fell upon them, made prisoners of above sixteen hundred, and drove them into the town bound and coupled together like dogs. In the course of three days, the whole sixteen hundred had been tried, as it was called, and subjected to various punishments, many to death with torture, and mostly under the personal superintendence of the 'Landsfather.' Lists were published of those who had escaped, and the severest penalties denounced against any who should harbour them—were it father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter. Even a house where they had been known to have received shelter was to be immediately rased to the ground.

'Such was, for the time, the end of 'Poor Conrad;' another wave had broken itself vainly in noise and dashing foam, and the spray was scattered to the winds: but the tide was still rising.'—*Ib.* p. 73.

Amongst 'the true men of the people' at this period, was Thomas Munzer, born in 1498, and educated at Wittenberg, where he took a doctor's degree. The grossest calumnies have been heaped on his memory by protestant as well as by catholic writers; but whatever were his faults—and they were not trifling—his honesty was inflexible, and his earnestness such as latitudinarians deem fanatical. He contemplated the civil as well as the religious freedom of his countrymen, and rendered himself thereby obnoxious to the nobles, as his theology was in

many points distasteful to the Lutherans. His views partook of a mystic character, and approximated somewhat to those of the Fifth Monarchy Men. There was much of truth, however, in his creed, and his character and life deserve attentive study. The following sketch will be read with interest, and may serve to relieve his memory from some reproaches with which it has been unjustly loaded.

‘The more deeply he studied the Scriptures, the more flagrant did the contrast appear between what was and what ought to be. Like the English Puritans, he considered that if Christianity were indeed the very breath of our spiritual life, and the sole foundation on which the whole moral fabric was to be built, it should govern political relations as well as those of private life, and the New Testament give laws to the state as well as to the individual. In this manner only, he thought, could Christianity be realised in the world, and the kingdom of God come upon earth: and when we consider the social condition of Germany at that period, we can surely not wonder that he could not understand how the frightful disparities in the condition of various classes were to be reconciled with the ideas of brotherly love, freedom, and equality in the sight of God, which he found proclaimed in the gospel. If he rushed towards the objects he had in view with perilous impetuosity, forgetting that such changes as he contemplated, even where they were not really impracticable, must proceed slowly and gradually from within, and could not be the mere results of alterations suddenly and violently effected from without, we may recollect, in his excuse, that it was an error into which half Europe fell, when the world was nearly three hundred years older.

‘The fiery ardour natural to the character of Munzer became more and more inflamed by his continual studies of the Old Testament, and of the commands to revenge and extermination written in characters of flame along the pages of Isaiah and Jeremiah, till the revolutionary ideas of Abbot Joachim in him became revolutionary deeds. He was not content with imagining a future state of blessedness; on this earth, on this firm German soil, should the new Jerusalem be built; and accordingly, in Prague, where such an action required no little boldness, he wrote in Latin and German a vehement attack upon the clergy, declaring that they knew nothing of God, of faith, or of Christian virtue and good works, and that abuse and fraud had begun to creep into the church from the time when the people had left off choosing their own preachers. Since then, ‘the doctrine and discipline of the church had no longer harmonized with the voice of God, but had degenerated into unmeaning prattle and fantastic ceremonies, worthy of babes and sucklings.’

‘In many of his writings, Munzer earnestly contends against an anxious clinging to the form without regard to the spirit of Christianity, and especially where it was made to enjoin a blind obedience to the letter under all circumstances. He points to the continual operation of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, to the powers of the human mind itself as

the purest source of truth, through which only the truths of the Bible can be recognised, and to which God reveals himself to-day as he did thousands of years ago. He rejects as irrational and unchristian the doctrine of justification by faith alone, enjoins the seeking for God less without, in books, than within in our own hearts, and declares that there is no other devil than the evil desires and inclinations of man: that the Holy Spirit has been given to every human being, and that the heaven to which man is destined may be sought and found even in this world.\* Munzer might be a fanatic, but was neither a madman or a hypocrite, as he has been represented. As an orator he was greatly inferior to Luther, and far from being able, like him, to clothe every thought instantly with the most striking and appropriate language, he often, it is said, appeared struggling for an expression that he could not find; no winged words stood ready at his command; his style was often hard, laboured, and awkward; but, to the multitude of his hearers, the defects of his composition were more than compensated by the prophetic fire of his delivery, and the intimate knowledge of the Scriptures, which enabled him always to find a text to justify whatever he recommended to be done, or forge thunderbolts at will, to launch against his and the people's enemies, in church and state; for the subject of his discourses was quite as often political as religious.—*Ib.* p. 32—135.

The deepest stain on the cause of the people was inflicted at Weinsperg, where several nobles and knights were slain by a detachment of the peasants, under the command of 'Little Jack.' The deed, however, was reprobated by the general body, and its cruelty was infinitely surpassed by what speedily followed. 'Most frightful,' remarks our author, 'it was, but not more frightful than the torturings and murders which for centuries had terminated every struggle made by the people to throw off their cruel burdens,—than the massacre of thousands of inoffensive persons by George Truchsess, and the other nobles,—than the putting out the eyes of eighty peasants by the Margrave of Anspach, and similar atrocities, of which it would be too much to go through the sickening catalogue.'

One illustration may suffice, and it leaves little to be said of the ferocity of the peasants. One of their leaders having fallen into the hands of the Imperial General, the following revolting scene was enacted.

'He ordered him to be fastened with an iron chain to an apple-tree, in such a manner that he could run round it to a distance of about two feet. He then commanded wood to be brought; and round the tree, about a fathom and a half from it, he had a great circular pile built up; he himself, the noble George Truchsess von Waldburg, the Count Ulrich von Helfenstein, Count Frederick von Furstenberg, the Baron Von

\* "Passages in Munzer's Writings, by Sebastian Franck, Melancthon, and Joh. Mullner."



Hutten, and other of his chivalry, working at it with their own hands. The pile was then kindled; it was night; the bright stars looked down upon the wide battle-field strewn over with the dead—with broken waggons and tents, guns and weapons of every kind, among which, also, lay many of the peasants wounded and mangled, but still living, whose groans and convulsive sobs were heard at intervals, amidst the roar of drunken revelry from the camp of the victors, and the *shouts of laughter* from the nobles, exulting like demons over the sufferings of their victim, as he sprang shrieking from one point to another of the fiery circle within which he was slowly roasting to death (*feinlangsam gebraten*), says the narrative of one who looked on. 'The other prisoners stood by, images of horror, white and cold as stone.'—*ib.* p. 276.

The Peasant War was a failure. The many were not yet prepared to cope with the few. Force, discipline, and wealth were with the latter, and they, therefore, triumphed. Many generations were to pass before the people learned the secret of their power. Incredible sufferings were to be borne, heroic contests to be waged, terrible reverses to be encountered, ere they were fitted to break down oppression by the simple and silent force of truth. In the sixteenth century, the heralds of religious freedom were amongst the most zealous preachers of the prerogative of kings. Even Luther and Melancthon denounced the peasants as guilty of impiety for resisting 'the powers that be.' The world, however, has made progress since then. A new power has been developed before which thrones and armies bow: one simple in its machinery, inexpensive in its maintenance, but most potent in its sway. Brute force is now amongst the least formidable of the elements with which we have to contend. Intellect has asserted its supremacy, and its triumphs are at once peaceful and permanent. In the security which this new order of things confers, we must not forget the men who laboured in less propitious times, and paid the penalty which exasperated power exacts from an unsuccessful popular confederacy. Such are worthy of all honour, and their memory should be sacred in our eyes.

In closing these volumes we give them our hearty commendation. They are full of instruction and interest; are suited for all classes, and will amply repay both the cost of their purchase and the time employed in their perusal.

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**ART. VIII.**—*Nereis Australis, or Algæ of the Southern Ocean : being Figures and Descriptions of Marine Plants, collected on the Shores of the Cape of Good Hope, the extra-tropical Australian Colonies, Tasmania, New Zealand, and the Antarctic Regions.* By William Henry Harvey, M.D. Part I. London : Reeve. 1847.

WE have always peculiar pleasure in meeting Dr. Harvey on scientific ground. He never presents himself to the public without a thorough understanding of his subject where knowledge is in any way attainable; and whenever the accessible sources may have failed to supply complete and unquestionable materials, he fairly lays before us the result of a skilful and exhaustive research, accompanied by such references to the more important distinctions as may be sufficient to place his reader on the best track for progress. We have had occasion, in more than one instance, to express our high sense of the services rendered by this gentleman to the marine botany of our own country: he has now entered on a more remote and difficult range of investigation. In the case of British Algæ, the difficulties were simply such as are intrinsic to the subject. Excepting in a few instances of rare or equivocal production, there was ample material for examination and comparison, while reference might be made, in matters of hesitancy, to friends and fellow-labourers whose collections and whose personal experience were always at his requisition. His present subject carries him wide of all these auxiliaries, into a region of difficult and dangerous access, where opportunities are few, and obstacles of all kinds beset the explorer. Instead of a large assemblage of entire specimens in every stage of growth and reproduction, exhibiting all those variations of form and circumstance which not unfrequently increase, by excess of illustration, the difficulty of touching the exact line of determination, he has, at times, had nothing better for his guidance than fragments, mere rags and tatters, torn by the winds and waves from the inaccessible regions of the far south. Yet under all these disadvantages he has done well, and with excellent discrimination; his descriptions are concise, yet clear; and his conclusions are sustained by just so much of distinct explanation, as may, without over-laying the subject, make its exposition complete.

In one respect we have been somewhat disappointed. We had prepared ourselves for a fair sprinkling of abnormalities; for marine analogues of the vegetable contradictions of the Australian continent. Quite otherwise; excepting a few peculiarities

of no very marked character, the general forms and details are nearly similar to those of our own seas and rocks. No disturbance of old arrangements has been rendered expedient by new discoveries, and the division into three great 'Series' still appears to be sufficient for all practical purposes. Dr. Harvey's brief illustration of this arrangement will be valuable to many of our readers, and may serve as a fair example of his general manner.

'However natural the series, and easily distinguished by the practised eye, it is by no means easy to assign strict limits to them by written characters. The most obvious character is their colour, the *Rhodosperrmæ* comprising all the red, or red-brown, sea-weeds; the *Melanospermæ* all the olive-coloured; and the *Chlorosperrmæ* those of a grass-green. There are exceptional cases, however, a very few of the *Chlorosperrmæ* being of a violet colour, and some of the *Rhodosperrmæ* sometimes assuming a greenish tint. These, though very puzzling to the contriver of systems, are easily mastered by the student, who very soon learns to know by the habit of a plant what its affinities probably are. Of course, when we speak of colour as a guide to the student, the primitive colour of the growing plant is meant, not that which it assumes when dry or in decay; exposure to the air, and bleaching in the sunshine, destroys, in a greater or less degree, the characteristic colour of most, frequently converting the olives, and some reds, to black; and most other reds, through various tints of orange and green, into white. There are, of course, other and more important distinctions to be attended to, derived from differences in the organs of fructification. . . . I merely speak of colour as affording an obvious clue to affinity.'

And yet, though colour may be in itself a somewhat too uncertain and unessential quality to be taken as a ground of primary classification, there are circumstances in the present case which seem to give it a positive connexion with permanently discriminative organs. The singular distinction of the *Rhodosperrmæ*, their double system of fructification, *Fructus duplex, dioicous*,—'a thing without parallel in the vegetable kingdom'—is the most decided instance of this kind. Two sorts of spore-producing fruit, similarly reproductive, have been found, but invariably on separate plants, among nearly all the varieties of this beautiful and widely-ranging group; and it may be fairly assumed, that in the very few instances where it has not yet been detected, a more extended examination of individuals will give a complete confirmation of the fact as the result of an invariable law. Nothing has yet been discovered in the other main divisions of the system that is at once so general and so definite as this, but Dr. Harvey has referred to peculiari-

ties in their fructification which seem likely, if the indications be skilfully followed out, to confirm and extend the principle.

The present publication is the first of four parts, intended to illustrate the marine botany of the great southern ocean. Our preceding observations will have supplied sufficient indication of its general character, and it only remains that we give a brief statement of its contents. The preface is made interesting by a series of valuable directions for the preservation of specimens in various ways, from the light and easy package for mere conveyance, to the more complicated and painstaking preparation for purposes of science. The writer begs, too, in a style of very gentlemanly and disinterested mendicancy, for the contributions of the discriminating collector, to the Herbarium of the Dublin University, which is fortunate enough to have Dr. Harvey for its curator. The regular Prolegomena are not very extensive, and we have already made reference to their more valuable suggestions. It only remains that we advert briefly to the illustrations, twenty-five in number, which, with their definitions and descriptions, form the main portion of the 'First Part.' They are certainly of fair average quality, and supply a sufficient apparatus of magnified details and dissections. We shall, however, confess that we looked for something better. We had in mind the early numbers of the 'Phycologia Britannica,' and we regret to observe that the execution of the present work rather resembles the coarser handling of the later sections of that valuable work.

After all, there is nothing like nature. We have been comparing for critical, and therefore not very good-natured, purposes, some of the representations in the 'Phycologia Britannica' with the admirably-selected specimens in the 'Algæ Danmonienses'—for instance, the *hypnea (gigartina) purpurascens*—and we regret to say that it is difficult to imagine that we are looking at the same object. We make every allowance, but, all concessions made, the difference is immense; and might, we think, have been avoided, without increasing the cost of production.

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ART. IX.—*Paul Gerhardt: an Historical Tale of the Lutherans and Reformed, in Brandenburg, under the Great Elector.* By C. A. Wildenhahn. Translated from the German by Mrs. Stanley Carr. London: Nisbet and Co.; and Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

DAZZLED, like the rest of the world, by the light Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's genius has centred on the person and work of the 'great reformer,' we cannot but gladly testify against those corruptions of his faith which have yielded, and continue to yield so abundant a harvest in the moral degradation of the Lutheran nations. We are, therefore, pleased to receive in this little book an instalment of the antidote which is surely at hand to the prevailing 'Luther-worship;' and a salutary flinging back of the public mind on the ever-recurring truth, that the great doctor of Wittenberg; no more than Paul or Apollos, can with impunity step before the Head of the church.

Difficult as it is to associate a partiality for Rome with the popular reputation of Luther, it is certain that the articles of faith drawn up and signed by him in 1536, and which somewhat later formed the basis of the *Formula Concordiæ*, (the great text-book of his followers), betray an extraordinary leaning towards her errors. Oral confession, priestly absolution, the administration of the Lord's-supper to the dying, and *consubstantiation*, are doctrines which cannot meet with too explicit a disavowal. We suspect they are little known by English readers to be cherished in the heart of the Lutheran church; yet such is the case; and they are seasonably illustrated by a minister of that church in the life and labours of Paul Gerhardt.

Gerhardt, a benign and apostolic spirit, a devoted and energetic pastor, whose heart, overflowing with devout psalmody, yielded to his people many 'songs of Zion,' by which he, 'being dead yet speaketh,' was only in his twelfth year when the breaking out of 'the thirty years' war' introduced him to those principles of religious liberty, for which the amplest exercise was afforded by his subsequent life.

The policy of the great Frederic William, which could devise no better expedient to amalgamate the Lutheran and Reformed divisions of his capital,—his personal countenance being given to the latter,—than that they should meet to argue their differences, had the usual effect of further disuniting, and at last, of wholly estranging the parties. The Elector, who never seems to have questioned his 'right divine to govern wrong,' next fell

upon an ingenious, *peaceable* persecution, 'stripping' all the ministers who refused subscription to a 'pledge,' which bound them to teach and preach only what he should dictate.

In 1654, at the age of forty-four, Paul Gerhardt, united to the pious and lovely daughter of his patron, is found at Berlin, among the stedfast exponents of liberty of conscience and upholders of the *Formula Concordiæ*; and it is the story of his 'good confession' and his holy life, with an intermixture of his devout *Glaubensvoll* hymns, which together make two volumes of mutual interest.

Deacon Lilius, an aged man, the senior 'Probst,' indeed, of the Lutheran church, had just been 'weighed in the balances and found wanting.' The desire of passing his latest days in tranquillity, the fear of want, and the elector, had caused him to 'promise and pledge, under my own handwriting and signature, *to obey and regulate myself by the electoral edicts*, as published and set forth by his serene highness, and never to act intentionally in opposition to them. *And this I promise, without blame, injury, or supposed offence, of any kind whatsoever, and without damage to my professed and confessed pure Lutheran faith and doctrine, in which, by God's grace, I hope to remain stedfast to my last hour.*'

The laity, filled with grief and indignation at this unexpected declension, begin to look with anger and suspicion on those pastors, who have not yet been summoned to the Consistory, among whom is Gerhardt. His hour, however, shortly comes, and he not only refuses subscription, but by his calmness and courage saves a fainting brother from the delinquency. The hymns of Gerhardt are on all lips, and his love in every heart; his deprivation, which of course follows, arouses the town council of Berlin to such vigorous petitions and even remonstrances, as result in the greater personal exasperation of the elector, who commits forthwith to prison the framer of the said petitions, in the person of a Master Jung, whose pretty Dorothea is Gerhardt's god-daughter.

The pious electress, Louise Henrietta, whose praises are not sparingly scattered through the book, obtains of her husband remission of Gerhardt's sentence; but the clemency is communicated in such an enigmatical form, that the good man's conscience is only so much the more burdened, as he plainly sees he is, in consideration of his integrity, to be regarded as committed to the pledge without an open subscription. Hungering and thirsting to minister to the spiritual necessities of his people, he yet determines to abstain 'for conscience sake' from every ministerial work, and on his return, disgraced from the

Consistory, he consoles his sorrowful Maria in the words of one of his hymns :

‘ God’s love must be our staff and stay,  
And then we cannot fall ;  
When heaven itself shall pass away,  
And melts this earthly ball !  
His favour all our journey through  
Is pledged ; that promise, firm and true,  
He never will recall.’

Harassed by the importunities of my lord president, De Schwerin’s spy-secretary, Stolpe, who, on pretence of obtaining her father’s much-desired liberation, would secure her hand, Dorothea Jung betrothes herself to her long-silent and sincere admirer, Ebeling, the music director ; and, having secured this companion, fearlessly presents herself to the president of the Consistory on behalf of her father. After an exposure of his secretary’s baseness, she makes confession of faith in these eloquent words :—

‘ Your excellency blamed my father for being a zealous Lutheran. I, my gracious lord, am wholly ignorant respecting the points of difference between the Lutherans and the reformed ; but if being a zealous Lutheran mean, believing with the whole heart that the sacred scriptures are the word of God ; that the human understanding is bound unservedly to submit itself to this revealed will ; that we, poor sinners, can only become righteous through the atoning death of our Saviour ; and that salvation is the gift of Divine grace for Christ’s sake ; that God’s eternal love and mercy cast out no one, but that all are called to the enjoyment of eternal life who flee for salvation to Christ, who will not reject the vilest who come to him : if being a zealous Lutheran mean, regarding the holy supper, not as a mere commemoration of the Lord’s death, but as a holy sacrament in which the blessing of the whole work of redemption meets, and in which the solemn partaking of the bread and wine, brings our souls into a real communion with Christ ; so that we, as the living members of the One Head, are really made partakers of His body and blood, offered up and shed for the atonement of our sins : and if to be a zealous Lutheran mean to keep steady to this faith ; never to let it go in any tribulation or necessity of this life, but to proclaim and defend it in all places ; and, for the sake of this faith, joyfully to submit to shame and mockery, contempt and persecution, dungeons and chains, or death itself ; then, my lord-president, I, too, am a zealous Lutheran, and thousands upon thousands besides ! ’

Her father’s liberation gained, Dorothea is next found at her harpsichord, singing :—

' She who in God's law takes delight,  
 Who walks in Zion's way,  
 Pearls, nor gold, nor rubies bright,  
 Her priceless worth can pay !'

Ebeling enters unperceived, and takes up the next verses :—

' Her husband with free heart can trust  
 Her love and faithful care ;  
 His home with light and joy is bless'd,  
 Nor want can enter there.

She does him good, but never ill ;  
 Sweetens life's toilsome way ;  
 His partner she in woe or weal,  
 His counsellor and stay.'

' ' Is he not a happy man for whom such a wife is ordained ?' asked Ebeling as he ceased. ' Am not I the highly favoured one, dearest Dorothea ?'

' The noble-minded girl blushed from mingled shame and pleasure—shame, from conscious unworthiness of such high encomium ; pleasure, that love can place virtues in the sunlight, and failings in the shade. Fearing to trust herself with a serious reply, she took refuge in a jest, and answered, ' Pray, Mr. Music-Director, who has buoyed you up with such hopes ? What if I should prove to you now, that all this praise of our future lot has, as far as I am concerned, no true foundation !'

' ' That I defy you to do,' said Ebeling, resolutely.

' ' Well, then, since you challenge me,' cried Dorothea with animation, ' I must needs do it ! In the first place, you think you can rely on my faithfulness. Of course, if you are resolved on doing so, I cannot prevent you, but remember I do not advise to it ! I no doubt committed a very silly act in pressing myself upon you when I could not be sure whether or not you would have me. I rather think, I even told you, too, that I love you with all my heart ; but it by no means follows, that you may safely confide in my fidelity. I can with great truth assure you, that there are several other people whom I love from the bottom of my heart ; so you see my fidelity is rather a brittle reed to lean upon !'

' Ebeling opened his eyes very wide, and looked at his betrothed as if not quite sure whether she was in jest or earnest. At length he asked, in a timid voice :—' And who are these several people ?'

' Dorothea kept her countenance and gravely answered, ' First, there is Paul Frederic Gerhardt, whom I must insist on having by me one hour daily, at the least ; then there is his poor, dear, sick mother, to whom I belong for two hours daily ; next comes a certain Master Jung, who can claim three hours of my time, which makes six out of every twenty-four, which you have to deduct from the conjugal devotedness on which you so confidently reckon !'

' ' Be it so !' said Ebeling, with a relieved heart ; ' to such



lessness I will try to make up my mind! 'Moreover,' continued he smiling, 'I can give tit-for-tat. In fact, I may as well confess to you, that (supposing you do not retract your promise to be my dear little wife,) you must consent to a life of bigamy, for my first and still beloved wife, Lady Harmony, will, I rather think now and then make good her old claims upon me, and there might possibly occur days, in which I should be so entirely occupied with the heavenly bride, as to forget my earthly one!'

'These words, spoken in jest, made a deeper impression on Dorothea than Ebeling expected; her countenance assumed an expression of actual seriousness as she resumed:—

'I have not yet done with the list of those whom I love and revere. There is one other man who has for years possessed my whole heart; for whom I have shed many a silent tear; offered up to God many a secret prayer; for whose welfare and happiness I would willingly make every sacrifice; whose sorrow is my sorrow, and his joy my joy, and shall I tell you why? Because I owe to this man the happiest hours of my life; the knowledge, indeed, of what life really is. His words first breathed a soft vivifying influence on my soul, and his example shed a light upon my path. I am bound to tell you all this, Mr. Ebeling, for unless you can be satisfied with so divided a heart—'

'Ebeling felt himself placed in the most painful embarrassment. The imperturbable gravity, and yet the almost passionate eagerness with which Dorothea made this, to a betrothed lover, anything but agreeable revelation, and his immutable conviction of the spotless purity in heart and life of his affianced bride, brought his thoughts into a state of such inextricable confusion as he could neither master nor conceal. The evident pain he suffered induced Dorothea to check herself, and to conclude her harangue in a tone very like remorse. 'Have you no desire to know this man, Ebeling!'

'After a moment's pause, her lover said: 'I must confess, my dear girl, you gave me a severe pang, for I could not at the instant see clearly to whom you alluded, and my mind was in a chaos; but I feel now certain you speak of Mr. Paul Gerhardt; am I right?'

Gerhardt's decision to refrain from ministerial work is not well received by his parishioners; they come to take him by force; his child is at the point of death:—

'In this hour of deep sorrow, while the bowed-down parents had neither eye nor ear for any external interest, and every thought and feeling was bound up in their dying child, a confused and unusual noise of men's voices, seemingly in no pacific mood, suddenly arose in front of the house. A foreboding of evil thrilled through Gerhardt's bosom, which jarred painfully with the deep-toned anxiety his child's precarious state occasioned. For a moment he hoped that the tumult would pass onward, but he hoped in vain; the turmoil waxed louder and louder, his name resounded from all sides, and loud and hasty steps were heard ascending the stairs.

‘ ‘Alas!’ exclaimed the anxious mother, ‘what can be the matter? Shall not our poor boy be suffered even to die in peace?’

‘Before Gerhardt could reply, his sister-in-law announced that a crowd of citizens requested to speak with him.

‘ ‘Do not let them in!’ cried the nervously-excited wife; these are not friends, but opposers and enemies, who desire your destruction. Woe is me! May not our poor child close his eyes in peace?’

‘ ‘Compose yourself, Maria,’ entreated Gerhardt, ‘and do not at once fear the worst. They are burghers who desire to speak to me, and therefore I cannot refuse them, for I am still their pastor, I am still bound by the solemn vows which engaged me to serve my congregation with body, soul, and all I possess. Go, my dear sister, and conduct the people into the large room, and I will come to them; here, beside my child’s dying bed, they cannot enter.’

‘ ‘And will you forsake me in this hour of extremity?’ asked his wife, with a flood of tears; ‘will you not wait to see your last child die? Can you leave me all alone in my terror and sorrow, to brood over dangers to you, in addition to what I dread for our son?’

‘ ‘Maria,’ returned her husband, solemnly, ‘Why only fear and anguish, and no hope? Are not life and death in God’s hand? Cannot the almighty and all-merciful Father in heaven say to this child, ‘arise?’ And what injury can befall me from my own congregation? Take courage, then, my dearest life. I hear how impatient they are for my coming; and if I am not able to return on the instant, send me word from time to time how it goes with our child. Watch and pray, Maria, that you fall not into temptation.’ So saying, he bent over the little sufferer, kissed the cold, damp forehead, and the breaking eyes, and, scarcely restraining his tears, left the apartment.’

A report had been circulated in the city that the pastor was already carried off to Spandau. Satisfied of his personal liberty, and abashed by his prompt reproof, the multitude is about to disperse, ‘when the hasty tread of men ascending the stairs was heard:’—

‘ ‘There come the elector’s guards to carry off our Gerhardt to Spandau! help, neighbours, help!’ The words operated upon the incensed and irritable spirits present, like a spark thrown into a mass of gun-powder.’

‘ ‘Do not let them up! guard the stairs! down with the first that enters! They that are tired of life may try it!’ resounded from all sides in wild and fierce exclamations; and whilst one party threw themselves upon the upper steps so as effectually to block up the passage, another closed round the alarmed and deeply distressed preacher, upon whose mind this sudden announcement of the approaching soldiery had made a strong and painful impression; and that nothing might be wanting to complete his mental disquietude, in the midst of all the fearful hubbub, the door of an adjoining room was opened, and the hapless mother appeared wringing her hands, and exclaiming in a voice broken by sobs—‘Gerhardt, Gerhardt! wouldst thou see our child before he expires, come instantly!’

'Happily Gerhardt heard her not. Fixed, statue-like in the tumultuous crowd, insensible to the woeful appeal of his wife, and the shouts of the citizens, with clasped hands and bended head, he stood speechless and motionless, as if awaiting that counsel from on high, of which he was so greatly in need.'

The ascending party have by this time turned out to be Master Jung and a party of trusty friends, with whose seasonable help the riot is at last hushed. While the citizens are quitting the hall, the chamber-door re-opens, and Mrs. Gerhardt, 'with a smile of unspeakable happiness,' announces, 'Our boy is saved! At the very moment when we expected to see him breathe his last, he opened his eyes, bright and clear, and asked for you! Oh, come, dear husband, and rejoice with us!' These good tidings overwhelm for the moment Gerhardt's too excited heart:—

'Now, as in a dream, the former cry of his wife resounded in his ears, and in imagination he saw all the death conflict through which his boy had passed. With audible thanksgivings he knelt for a moment in their midst, then rising, said to the lingering citizens, 'Now I know what the Lord wills concerning me! I must myself plead my cause! Friends, pray for me. Early to-morrow morning, so God will, I go to the elector!' Then, slowly turning, he entered the chamber of his wife, who mingled her tears of joy with his; and the citizens withdrew in silence to their homes.'

The loss of daily bread is but confirmed by this 'last attempt,' and Master Jung carries the whole family to his home, which he insists on their sharing. There, after a few months have elapsed, Maria breathes out her soul in one of her husband's lyrics:—

'O God, my joy and crown!  
Leave not my soul alone  
To bear sin's dreadful load;  
But let atoning blood  
Blot it for ever from thy holy sight!

Then, if thy wisdom guide,  
Thy grace my lot provide,  
And all my earthly way  
Thy sovereign will obey,  
Thy dealings must be good, and kind, and right!

All suffering, sin, and grief,  
Will one day find relief;  
When ocean's storms are past,  
And lull'd the howling blast,  
Fairer and sweeter seems the sunny beam!

‘Fulness of joy and peace,  
 Calm which amounts to bliss,  
 Wait me in Eden’s bowers  
 Mid God’s transplanted flowers,  
 And this my morning thought and nightly dream!’

The last tie thus sundered, that bound the now aged Gerhardt to the banks of the Spree, he gladly accepts a pastorate at Lübben in Saxony, near to his native town Gräfenhainichen; where, in his seventieth year (June, 1676), death for him

‘Shut the gate of bitter woe,  
 Open’d up the heavenly way,  
 That his unchained feet might go  
 To the realms of heavenly day!’

There is much in the pages of the pastor Wildenhahn which furnishes matter for instructive comment. The minute detail of the dying communion, and the unflinching confession exacted of the unhappy Lilius in his last moments; the ruin and repentance of the treacherous Stolpe; the ceremonial of Dorothea’s wedding; are, however, too lengthy for our pages. Our readers must pardon us this last demand on their attention:—

‘Commit thy ways, thy sorrows, thy wishes, and thy fears,  
 To Him who with a master’s hand directs the rolling spheres,  
 The stars, the clouds, the tempests, obey his high decree,  
 Shall not his wisdom find a path of safety too for thee?’

Place in the Lord thy confidence if thou would’st have it stand;  
 Build on the Lord, and he will bless the labours of thy hand!  
 To anxious days, and sleepless nights, and unbelieving care,  
 God never yields his benefits, they are the fruits of prayer.

Almighty, gracious Father! by thee and thee alone,  
 What will subserve the good of all thy ransomed ones is known,  
 And what thy wisdom ordereth, since all things thee obey,  
 Thy power will surely bring to pass in thine own time and way.

What though that way may often seem wondrous in our eyes,  
 ’Tis full of peace and blessing, is merciful and wise;  
 And when it is thy pleasure to crown with earthly good,  
 We shall obtain the treasure, though earth and hell withstood.

A child-like faith shall conquer, and lest thy heart should fail,  
 Think on the Christian’s motto, ‘Faint, pursuing still.’  
 See God himself displaying the palm which thou shalt wear  
 When thou in heaven’s court shall sing, His praise who brought thee  
 there.’

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- ART. X.—1. *The 'Patriot,' June 3rd, and September 2nd and 20th.*  
 2. *The 'Manchester Times,' April 9th.*  
 3. *The Leeds Mercury,' June 5th.*  
 4. *The 'Nonconformist,' August 25th, and September 8th.*  
 5. *The 'Manchester Guardian,' August 25th and 28th, and September the 4th.*

IN our last number we abstained from referring to certain proceedings that had taken place in Manchester, in connexion with the educational controversy which has so deeply agitated the dissenting body. We did so designedly, and for reasons which will be appreciated by our readers. We were far from deeming these proceedings trivial, or from viewing them with indifference. On the contrary, we regarded them with deep regret, believing they were adapted to mislead the government, and would be referred to by the opponents of free education, in defence of their doings. Still we were anxious to avoid the suspicion of allowing personal considerations to influence our judgment, and therefore discussed the course of dissenting policy, without referring to what we deemed a mistaken and mischievous procedure. Desirous of guarding ourselves from misconstruction, we abstained from adverting to a false step taken by some of our own number, under circumstances, and at a time, which could not fail to be productive of most pernicious results. Our worst apprehension has been realised. Without charging intentional delusion on any, our conviction is, that the government has been deceived, the public mind been abused, and an appearance of division been given to our proceedings, to a far greater extent, and of a much more weighty character, than the facts of the case justify. For the reasons already adverted to, we should still abstain from all reference to the matter, had it not been for a controversy which has recently appeared in the Manchester papers, and which, on various accounts, we deem it incumbent to notice. This controversy has arisen out of the movement we have adverted to, and is singularly illustrative of the state of opinion in some quarters. We must therefore refer to the movement itself, and in doing so, shall give free utterance to our views, while we scrupulously observe all the courtesies which are due to the gentlemen taking part in it. We have yet to learn that the censure of a public act involves personal asperities, or necessitates the violation of a generous candor.

It is well known to our readers—we need scarcely repeat it—

that the Minutes of Council on Education presented to parliament by her majesty's ministers, were regarded with alarm and unmitigated hostility by an overwhelming majority of the dissenters of this country. The feeling was all but universal amongst the two sections of the congregational body, the society of Friends, and the offshoots of the Wesleyan denomination. The opposition raised was, in consequence, prompt and energetic. Petitions, signed by more than half a million, were presented to the Commons; and when these were found to be unavailing, it was resolved to carry the opposition to the polling-booth, in order that Candidates, if they would not admit the soundness of our views, might at least learn the expediency of respecting our convictions. It is no exaggeration to say that our modern history supplies no parallel to the unanimity and zeal with which this course was resolved on. Men of all shades of opinion, those who were deemed moderate, and such as were reputed ultra, were here perfectly one. There was no shadow of pretence for alleging, as had been done in some former cases, that a section only was concerned, a numerous one, it may be, but still one more noisy and zealous, than potent or wise. The exceptions were so few, as not to call for special notice; and even of these, the most influential went far in agreement with their brethren. Previously to the government plan being divulged, a controversy had arisen respecting the primary question involved, on which, as is well known, Mr. Edward Baines, jun., and Dr. Vaughan, took opposite sides. On the merits of that controversy we are not going to speak. Our judgment is on record, and we see no reason to modify it. What has since occurred, has only impressed us the more deeply with a sense of the mischiefs which have grown out of the extensive division of opinion, which it was supposed to indicate. Our opponents were thereby encouraged to persist in their plan. They appealed to our own men in reply to our arguments. They fought us with weapons borrowed from our own arsenal, and contemned our strength on the supposition that our forces were divided. Even after Dr. Vaughan had denounced the ministerial plan, and was believed to have abandoned all confidence in governmental aid, or indeed desire for it, his authority was invoked by parliamentary orators, and even by cabinet ministers, in vindication of the course pursued by her majesty's advisers. His recent declarations of hostility were unnoticed, whilst his former reasonings and statistics were paraded. The dishonesty of this needs no comment. We have now to do only with the injury inflicted on our cause.

So far as Dr. Vaughan himself was concerned, we have no ground for complaint in this matter. We are desirous of being

distinctly understood on this point. We speak with frankness, and claim to be believed. His mode of conducting the controversy may have been right or wrong. His temper may have been praiseworthy or otherwise. With these points we have now nothing to do. Entertaining the opinions he did, he was fully entitled to state and defend them. We claim liberty of speech for ourselves, and readily yield it, in its largest sense, to him. We find no fault with him therefore, for contesting the views of Mr. Baines, however much we dissent from his conclusions, or regret the consequences of his procedure. As an upright man he was bound to give utterance to what he believed truth. It was his duty, and he was right fearlessly to discharge it. So far, therefore, all is clear, our difference having respect to the opinions advocated, and not to the advocacy itself.

At length, the government plan was propounded, and its first and most obvious apparent effect was, to unite all sections of evangelical dissenters. Every appearance of division was at once removed. Dr. Vaughan and Mr. Baines were instantly agreed. A general conference of the opponents of the measure was convened in London in April last, and both Mr. Baines and Dr. Vaughan attended, as delegates from their respective localities. The latter gentleman was placed, of course, in a delicate and somewhat trying position. The ground he had formerly taken led many to regard his movements with special attention; but the earnestness with which he had expressed himself on various occasions, and the apparent triumph which principle had obtained over all personal considerations, led others—amongst whom we ranked—to regard his course with admiration. We were not slow or reluctant to express this feeling, as our language at the time will shew. ‘Few things,’ we then remarked, ‘have been more gratifying to us than the course pursued by Dr. Vaughan. It does him infinite honor, and deserves to be generously met. There was much to make him pause, but he threw from him with noble frankness all that was little and mean, and avowed without reserve the change which his views had undergone.’\* In common with dissenters generally, we understood his language to indicate an entire mistrust of the government, and a settled conviction that, so long as an established church existed, no equitable system of national education could be hoped for. That we may not be suspected of misrepresenting him, we give his words as reported on various occasions in the public prints of the day, and regret that subsequent occurrences have compelled us to modify our view of his course.

‘My hope has been,’ he said, at the Congregational Conference on Education, ‘that some course might be devised by which the agency of

\* April 1847, p. 509.

the state might be made to act as a wholesome stimulus to voluntary effort in this field of labour. But I now utterly despair of any thing of the sort; and *my conviction is, after the most serious thought I have been able to bring on the subject, that we must as Nonconformists, from henceforth abandon all thought of looking to the State for aid in this work.* It must now be our fixed resolve that all we do in education *shall be done wholly by ourselves*; and in all justice we may insist that what is done in this way by our neighbours should be done after the same manner—done by themselves.

In a lecture at Manchester, he said,

‘The time would certainly seem to have come for us to reach the conclusion, that, as respects this country, *popular education is not a thing for the State to meddle with.*’ He spoke of dissent as ‘a deeply wronged thing,’ which must ‘war with never-slumbering energy against all meddling of the civil authority with religious matters.’ ‘If it did come to this, he would do his part.’

At a large county meeting held in Manchester, in April last, the language used was to the same effect. So unequivocal was it, that we can scarcely admit the possibility of any other construction being put on his words, than that which was universally adopted.

‘They (the dissenters) felt no difference of judgment,’ remarked Dr. Vaughan, ‘as to something greatly extended in the shape of apparatus as the means of education being needed: with regard to that point they were sure they had been wanting in the necessary means to a considerable extent; but with regard to *looking to government for aid in this question, he must confess he had come to the conclusion that it was time for them to have done with that thought.* Nor did he think that they should secure the means of doing the utmost they could by their own exertions, till they had cast away the *last lingering hope of any external aid.*’

So decided were the views then expressed, that he condemned, as by anticipation, the ‘New Minute,’ which Mr. Fletcher and others now eulogize as a concession to religious liberty. Referring to the *Report* required on the religious training of the schools, Dr. Vaughan remarked, in allusion to dissenters:—

‘They could not obtain the aid necessary to pay the schoolmaster’s stipend but as they were prepared to make this report. And if that were not so, and they were left to give simply an education in their schools without inspection, still the fact that they were to be contributors, and mixed up with the payment of religious teaching in other schools with which they could not conscientiously agree, rendered this a system to which they could not be parties. It would be of no avail to treat these matters as of trivial importance; they involved great principles.’

Taking these statements together, we deemed them decisive; and were, therefore, wholly unprepared for the resolutions ad-



vertised in the 'Patriot' of June the 3rd, and least of all for the one moved by Dr. Vaughan. It is true he had published a letter in the 'Morning Chronicle' during the sittings of the Educational Conference, which we deemed most unadvised. But we shrunk from the conclusion to which some were led by that letter, and were therefore taken by surprise when we read the resolutions of the 28th of May. The following is that to which Dr. Vaughan's name is attached. It constitutes the fifth of the series:—

'That, *confiding in her Majesty's government* as willing to adjust their measure in relation to this object on a principle of fairness towards all parties, so as best to subserve our general interest as a free people, we regard it as incumbent on us to state that, in our view, it will be strictly necessary, if a concurrence with government agency on this subject is to be secured from any large number of dissenters, that the sums granted in aid of schools conducted by such parties, should be granted purely in furtherance of the general instructions given in them; that the government, accordingly, should forego all inquiry in regard to the religious knowledge which may be imparted in such institutions; and, furthermore, that to preclude all ground for suspicion as to impartiality in the distribution of the proposed aid, it would be of great importance that the sum voted in Parliament in favour of such schools should be a separate sum, and grounded on the minutes specially relating to schools of this class.'

This resolution was followed by another, in which, among other things, it is affirmed:—

'That in our judgment all parties receiving public money in aid of popular education should *so distinguish between the general and the religious instruction they communicate*, as to leave the former open in all cases to the community at large, in place of so connecting it with the latter as to render it necessary that the children should always receive the peculiar religious teaching of the school along with its general teaching.'

To these statements, the 'Leeds Mercury' of June the 5th refers in terms demonstrative of the hollowness of their basis; and we marvel much at the obliquity which prevents any disinterested man from seeing the force and conclusiveness of its reasoning:—

'If we understand these resolutions aright,' says the editor, 'they imply that dissenters might take the government money, if government would ask no question about the religious teaching: and they recommend those who take the money to separate the general from the religious instruction in their schools. We think these recommendations most dangerous and ensnaring. It is clearly implied that the education in the schools is to be religious, though the religious instruction is recommended to be separated from the secular. Now could a congregation receive government money for schools where the education was religious, and

safely or honestly say that it only received the money for the secular part of the education, and not for the religious? We should call this a wretched evasion. We should think it calculated entirely to break down the Nonconformist principle, and to accustom the people to a dangerous tampering with conscience. What signifies it whether government ask questions about religious teaching or not? What signifies it whether government pretend that their grant is 'purely in furtherance of the general instruction?' If it is notorious to the congregation that in point of fact the education is religious, common sense will tell them that they are receiving government money in aid of religious education.'

On these resolutions it is needless further to comment. Let those who can, reconcile them with the language previously uttered in London and Manchester. We leave it to our readers to make the attempt, and proceed to the more general matters involved.

The resolutions in question, it must be borne in mind, were put forth just prior to the general election. This is an important fact, and will serve to explain their object. We have no desire to impute bad motives. We believe that some of the parties concerned aimed only at an honest record of their views, and would have declined the part they took, had they supposed that any electioneering interest was to be served. Let us, however, look narrowly at the case. Dissenters, generally—we are warranted to use this language—had recorded their want of confidence in her majesty's government, and their determination to make the educational an electoral question. These movements, it is notorious, were regarded with alarm; and from various parts of the country, the supporters of Lord John Russell received significant hints of the dangers which threatened them. It was, therefore, of the utmost importance that a diversion should be effected in our camp—that an appearance, at least, of division should be wrought, and an occasion be furnished, by some trifling modification of the government scheme, to disarrange our plans, and, if possible, disorganize our force. Just so much, the Manchester resolutions were adapted to effect; and we owe it entirely to the integrity and practical good sense of the nonconformist body, that they did not accomplish their end. We shall presently see that Mr. Fletcher assigns them considerable power over the proceedings of the Ministry, and it were folly to deny that they were regarded by the Whig party, generally, as an 'outward and visible sign' of our division and consequent weakness.

But it may be alleged, that the gentlemen who adopted these resolutions were perfectly competent to place their views on record, and are not responsible for any erroneous impression received from them. The former position we admit, the latter we deny. Their right to speak is undoubted, but their non-

responsibility is dependent on the mode in which their resolutions were given to the public. Now in this matter we believe they greatly erred. A fictitious weight was given to their resolutions by the manner in which they were announced. The form adopted led inevitably to the conclusion, that they were expressive of the views of various parties convened by circular or other means, and were, therefore, to be regarded as the deliberate conviction of many assembled minds. We know not who forwarded the resolutions to the newspapers, or who drew up their preamble, and cannot, therefore, have any personal reference in saying, that such preamble is dishonest, false even in letter, but still more false in spirit. We have seldom met with a more flagrant instance of misrepresentation, and that, too, in a case in which the wrong was subservient to the obvious purpose of the resolutions. Let our readers look at the preamble itself, and then mark the facts of the case. They will bear in mind that there were six resolutions, requiring, of course, twelve persons as movers and seconders, with whom the chairman made the thirteenth. The preamble runs thus:—‘POPULAR EDUCATION—At a Meeting of Friends of Popular Education, resident in Manchester and Salford, held at the Rooms of the Law Society, Norfolk-street, on Friday, the 28th inst.; the following resolutions were carried unanimously.’ Now for the explanation. It is given by Mr. George Hadfield in his admirable reply to Messrs. Fletcher and Hunter, which appeared in the ‘Manchester Guardian’ of the 4th of September, and is to the following effect:—

‘Mr. Fletcher now publicly announces that the effect of the resolutions ‘passed 29th (28th) May last, has been to lead the government wisely and considerately, to remove on behalf of dissenters, the religious objection which had previously attached to the ‘Minutes of Council on Education,’ and which Mr. Porter and most other dissenters consider to be a ‘snare.’’ And your other correspondent, Mr. Hunter, with his usual candour of spirit and elegance of diction, asserts, ‘that in consequence of those *resolutions*, or those alleged communications, a supplementary minute was issued, which, if worked out in its integrity destroys much of the stock in trade of the *grievance-mongers* with whom (the then) last week’s meeting originated.’

‘These announcements are astounding. The meeting of 29th [28th] May consisted of *thirteen* gentlemen (my informant said, *perhaps* there might be *two or three* more, but this being doubtful, I beg to leave them out of my consideration), *one* of whom was the chairman of this singular meeting, and he has since (Mr. Poore assured us), disclaimed the principle on which the resolutions were founded, and the remaining *twelve* passed six resolutions, which were moved by *six* of their number, and seconded by the remaining *six*! *Four* of these gentlemen consisted of two tutors, the secretary, and the treasurer of the Lancashire Indepen-

dent College. One of these four, the Rev. Dr. Davidson, has since, like the chairman, changed his opinion, and declared the object of the resolutions to be 'impossible.' The learned doctor, in a published letter of 2nd August, condemns the new minute in the strongest terms, and expresses his disappointment at its purport. \* \* \* \* \*

Mr. Samuel Lucas, the mover of the third resolution, has also publicly announced that 'he would still object to the government scheme,' even if they conceded the point of relief to the dissenters. There remain, therefore, *ten* gentlemen 'to point out' to the government how help *from public money* 'might be made acceptable to the *reasonable part of the dissenting community*' (Mr. Hunter), which being explained, simply means how it might be made acceptable to themselves.

It is perfectly *incredible* that a correct statement of these facts would have influenced her majesty's ministers, on this great question, in the smallest degree. There must have been other representations of some sort from some quarter, besides what appear in the resolutions. No ten gentlemen in the kingdom could have turned the government from its original purpose. Mr. Fletcher says, the resolutions '*did rest on the alone responsibility of the parties themselves.*' He says, they 'simply' state themselves to be *friends of 'popular education resident in Manchester.'* Why does Mr. Fletcher misquote this? The advertisement from which he quotes, begins thus, 'Popular Education.—At a meeting of friends of Popular Education, resident in Manchester and Salford, held at the Rooms of the Law Society, Norfolk-street, on Friday the 28th instant; John Robertson, Esq. in the chair; the following resolutions were carried *unanimously.*' Why, then, has he omitted the reference to Salford? First, because he knows there was no Salford gentleman present, and therefore the original announcement contains a mistake; and, next, because it is ridiculously absurd to suppose that the *thirteen* Manchester gentlemen, at the Law Society Rooms, represented, in any sense whatever, the 'friends of popular education in *Manchester and Salford,*' which towns contain a teeming population of 250,000 inhabitants. The words were calculated to mislead, and I have no doubt they did mislead, however unintentionally, the government.'

We had previously heard a statement to this effect, but could not credit it. It was so opposite to all our notions of what is ingenuous and honorable that we rejected the report as a libel. Alas, for us, that we are come to this! If such dishonesty—we can use no milder term—is practised by Christian men, need we wonder at the falsehoods which are uttered by the daily and weekly press? In the name and on the behalf of truth we say, let us have done with such practices. They are unworthy of our profession, and tend to lower our standard of morals. Even if Salford had been omitted, the words employed would have been adapted to produce a false impression, and ought, therefore, to have been avoided as unworthy of honorable, to say nothing of Christian, men. Nor can we suppose that it was altogether foreign from the intention

of the framers of this preamble to give a fictitious weight to their resolutions. Nothing was easier than to frame the one in exact keeping with the other, but they must have felt that it would be supremely ridiculous to publish them as the resolutions simply of the movers and seconders. With all respect for the gentlemen concerned, every one would have laughed at the egregious vanity of such a procedure, and have turned from it with contempt. We maintain, therefore, that the parties concerned are responsible for the false impression made. If the preamble was adopted by the meeting itself, all who were present must share this responsibility, but if it was drawn up afterwards, and issued without their cognizance, the blame is imputable only to its framers.

Thus stood matters up to the 17th of August, when a meeting of nonconformists was held in Manchester, for the purpose of organizing a Board of Dissenters, on a principle analogous to that of the Protestant Dissenting Deputies of London. The meeting was called by circulars, one of which was addressed to Mr. Samuel Fletcher, a gentleman of high personal repute, but of somewhat equivocal ecclesiastical standing. Mr. Fletcher declined to attend, and sent a letter expressive of his reasons for doing so. Some of his statements surprised us, and we involuntarily asked ourselves where the writer had spent the last five years. We can scarcely imagine a reflecting man, with his eyes open to what has been recently occurring, both at home and in our colonies, coolly affirming, as Mr. Fletcher does, that he rejoiced 'in the conviction that the rights of nonconformists are as secure as the laws of England can make them ;' that he could 'see no evidence of any disposition in the church by law established, to impugn them by usurpations and encroachments,' and that, in his judgment, there never was 'less disposition in the legislature to interfere with any man's opinions, political or ecclesiastical.' Sir James Graham's Factory Bill, the Endowment of Maynooth, the Minutes of Council on Education, the imprisonment of Bidwell, and the desperate efforts made in many of our colonies to rear state-churchism on the overthrow of voluntaryism, immediately recurred to us, and we asked, does Mr. Fletcher deem these things compatible with the security of our rights, or indicative of the tolerant and liberal policy of our rulers? But enough of this. Mr. Fletcher's letter threw down the gauntlet, and it would therefore have been surprising if the procedure of himself and friends, at the Law Society's rooms, on the 28th May, had not been adverted to, and been reprobated. This was accordingly done by several of the speakers ; and, amongst the rest, by Mr. Hadfield, whose position and past services added special weight to his censure.

These animadversions gave rise to three letters from Mr. Thomas Hunter, Mr. Samuel Fletcher, and Mr. Joseph Grave, which were published in the 'Manchester Guardian,' and were replied to by Dr. Massie and Mr. Hadfield. The letters of Mr. Hunter and Mr. Grave call for little remark. They may be despatched with few words, as they contain nothing in the way of argument which calls for reply, and are equally destitute of literary excellence and of a candid spirit. Indeed, we are at some loss to account for their appearance. Their authors must have been marvellously concerned to be seen in print—eager beyond what is common, and for reasons which do not appear in their communications, to be known to the public as the censurers of their more earnest and consistent brethren. Messrs. Griffin and Poore are of course duly sensible of the honour done them by Mr. Hunter, whose perspicacity and sound judgment are strikingly shown in the influence he attributes to the New Minute on Education, which, he assures us, to quote his own elegant phraseology, 'if worked out in its integrity, destroys much of the stock in trade of the grievance-mongers, with whom last week's meeting originated.\*' The affectation which recoils from the turmoil attendant on the vindication of religious liberty, whilst such insinuations are preferred against Christian men, is one of the most sickly and contemptible exhibitions we can witness.

Mr. Grave's letter has both amused and pained us. His

\* Since writing the above, we have seen the 'Manchester Times' of September 11th, which contains a long and admirable letter from the Rev. James Griffin. Of this letter we cannot speak in too high terms, and we regret that it was not before us during the preparation of our article. Had it been so, we should have availed ourselves, to a considerable extent, of its able and conclusive reasonings. The temper of the letter is at once so urbane and self-respectful; its style is so free from acrimony; its sentiments are so healthy, manful, and Christian-like; and its logic is so clear and effective, as to induce an earnest desire that it may have a wide circulation. We say this the more readily as we are entire strangers to Mr. Griffin, and cannot therefore be suspected of the leaning which arises out of private friendship or the fellowship of public labors. Referring to the resolutions of May 28th, Mr. Griffin says, 'In regard to the particular occasion of this letter, the first of my hearing of a design to obtain a new 'minute of council' was from Dr. Vaughan himself, who did me the favour to call upon me to induce me to join in the project. That project alarmed me, as inconsistent with the objections urged by nearly the whole body of dissenters, and not less by Dr. Vaughan himself, against 'the minutes,' as most partially favourable to the church establishment; against the unconstitutional authority of 'the Committee of the Council for Education;' and against the centralizing system of the government. It alarmed me likewise as tending again to divide us among ourselves, and to weaken our independent action as the friends of voluntary education. These views I respectfully urged on the attention of Dr. Vaughan, as those which would compel me to decline co-operation with his movement.'

allusion to the 'three tailors in Tooley-street,' made us smile, while his reference to the past filled us with disgust. Public confessions are seldom honorable to the party who makes them, and Mr. Grave furnishes no exception to the rule. 'That I have myself,' he says, 'been an agitator for the separation of the church from the state, is now matter of sincere regret to me. I said, at that time, that I had a *conscientious* objection to an establishment of religion; but I believe now that *conscience* had nothing to do with the matter, and that I was under the influence of a perverted judgment.' Such is the man who oracularly, and with ominous confusion, pronounces 'the recent appointment of nonconformist deputies *either* foolish or mischievous—foolish, if it have no aim except the obtaining of a separation of the church from the state; and mischievous, if such be its aim, because there can be no doubt that, if the agitators would condescend to define their terms, it would be found that a separation of the church from the state *would involve a flagrant and revolutionary violation of the rights of private property.*' Mr. Hadfield and others must doubtless tremble under the weight of such a censure; but the confession of the penitent may well balance the sentence of the judge. We appeal from the latter to the former, and are perfectly easy. The man who can coolly convict himself, as Mr. Grave does, has no *status* in the court to which Christian men should appeal. We should not have noticed the letters of Messrs. Hunter and Grave, if they had not afforded an instructive illustration of the views and temper of the men, who are now seeking to divide and weaken the nonconformist body. 'Save me from my friends,' must be the exclamation of Dr. Vaughan, on reading the epistles written on his behalf.

The letter of Mr. Samuel Fletcher calls for more extended remark, in offering which we are concerned to bear in mind his personal excellencies, and the various services he has rendered to religious truth. It is on account of our high estimate of these, that we shall notice, at length, some of his statements, in which we regret to observe singular misapprehensions on points of fact, a confusion of ideas destructive of his authority as a guide, and a discreditable ignorance on some of the most important practical questions which now agitate the public mind. The charge preferred against the meeting of the 17th of August, of exhibiting a spirit 'more indicative of the hustings of a contested election, than of a grave assemblage of men intent on promoting wise and Christian objects,' may safely be left to those who have read the report of its proceedings. Such language is perpetually uttered by those who are more concerned for peace than for truth, are more intent on maintaining good

fellowship with the advocates of error, than of vindicating the spirituality of the church and the supremacy of Christ. It was used against Luther, and was repeated in our country against the earlier puritans and nonconformists. It is a sort of stereotyped phraseology ready to the hand of the slothful, the ignorant, or the temporizing, and may be dismissed with a simple contradiction. We are the more surprised at Mr. Fletcher's assertion, that 'the majority of dissenters feel indebted for the consideration he (Dr. Vaughan) has given to the question.' Now Dr. Vaughan may have been right or wrong in the views he has advocated, and in the character of his advocacy, but how any gentleman, with the facts of the case before him, can venture on such an assertion, we are at a loss to imagine. The case is so clear that we did not conceive the possibility of any human being falling into error on the point, and should be glad to know how it has so happened to Mr. Fletcher. The resolutions adopted throughout the kingdom, the large and earnest assembly which met at Crosby Hall, the more than half a million of petitioners who addressed the Commons' House, and the marvellous effects produced at the recent election, would seem to intimate—and to our poor apprehension certainly do intimate—the very reverse. Indeed, there can be no doubt here. Mr. Fletcher has clearly fallen into a gross error, and in doing so, has shown himself to be disqualified for a calm, large, and impartial view of the questions he has undertaken to decide.

We have already by anticipation exposed the fallacy of his attempted vindication of the gentlemen concerned in the getting up of the resolutions of the 28th May. According to his version of the matter, they were marvellously modest. 'They never presumed to consider themselves as representing the nonconformist body. They did not even state themselves to be dissenters, but simply *'friends of popular education, resident in Manchester;'* and under this unassuming title, their proceedings went forth to the public.' All this may be very true, but what then? There may be falsehood in the *spirit* of a document, as well as in the *letter*; and such, we maintain, was the case in the present instance. It was adapted to produce, and actually did produce, an impression, greatly beyond what the facts of the case justify, and it is of no avail, therefore, for Mr. Fletcher to plead the absence of verbal falsehood. The testimony of Mr. Porter of Darwen, in his able letter to the 'Patriot' of the 5th of July, is decisive here, and no attempt, so far as we are informed, has been made to contradict it.

A more important point is the influence of these resolutions on the proceedings of government. Mr. Fletcher maintains, that 'the effect of them has been to lead the government wisely



and considerately to remove, on behalf of dissenters, the religious objection which had previously attached to 'the Minutes of Council on Education:' and Mr. Hunter affirms, that '*in consequence*' of them, 'or those alleged communications, a supplementary minute was issued.' Such is the allegation of the parties accused, on which we venture two remarks. First, If the Supplementary Minute was induced by the resolutions in question, those resolutions must have been regarded by the government, in a very different light from that in which Mr. Porter's letter and Mr. Hadfield's explanation, exhibits them. To suppose that the sentiments of thirteen gentlemen—many of whom, we may say without disrespect, had no special claims to be regarded as expounders of our views,—should modify the procedure of government, is simply ridiculous, and may be dismissed without a word. But secondly, If the resolutions *simply* did not do it, then we ask, was any communication had with government, and if so, what was its character? We are aware of the indirect and semi-official mode frequently adopted on these occasions, and we put our inquiry, therefore, as in a court of honor, from which all evasion and mere fencing is excluded. It will not suffice to tell us, that no communication was held with the Premier, the President of the Council, or the Secretary of the Committee of Council on Education. All this may be, and yet representations may have been conveyed to high quarters, materially affecting our character and views. The silence of Mr. Fletcher, and the equivocal language of Mr. Hunter, on this point, confirm our suspicions, and render an explicit disclosure of the secret history of the transaction absolutely needful.

'The matter' remarks Mr. Hadfield, 'cannot rest here; and I call upon Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Hunter, as men of unblemished honour, to publish all the correspondence and other communications that were had with the government, and which induced the council to grant the new minute, in order 'to meet the extremely refined objections held by congregational dissenters;' and also to state whether it was not part of the scheme to get up the meeting of the 28th of May; whether the resolutions were not submitted to members of the government *previous* to the meeting; whether some *pledge* was not given that such resolutions should be procured, and whether this was made known at the meeting; whether there were admissions that the resolutions had been 'fenced' to meet such and such considerations; whether several of the congregational ministers of Manchester or Salford were not urgently requested to attend the meeting; why all of them were not invited to attend; and (with one exception) whether they (the invited ministers) did not refuse to sacrifice their consistency, and did not protest against the movement. When this information has been obtained, we shall be

enabled to judge how the interests of our denomination have been dealt with by the gentlemen who took upon themselves to represent them in a clandestine treaty with the government of the country.

The gentlemen thus appealed to, have preserved a suspicious silence, and we wait to see whether others will imitate their example. Should they do so, the inference to be drawn cannot be doubtful. We confess to a strong feeling on this point. As dissenters we have been deeply injured on more occasions than one by secret communications with men in authority. A notable instance of this is recorded in the life of Lord Sidmouth, to which we adverted in a recent number of our journal;\* and Dr. Vaughan, and his associates, owe it to their own character, if such communication has taken place, to lay it entire before the public. Should any objection exist to *their* doing so, it will be easy for them to have such papers moved for by some member of the legislature.

The Anti-State Church Association naturally comes in for a share of Mr. Fletcher's reprobation, nor do we complain of this. The society had been referred to by several of the speakers at the meeting which he declined to attend, and he cannot, therefore, be accused of travelling out of the record, in expressing his views respecting it. For his own sake, however, we wish he had been more careful in his statements, and sounder in the opinions he expresses. What does he mean in affirming that, 'the offensive conduct of some of its chief leaders, at the late 'Crosby Hall Conference,' has damaged its popularity?' This is a grave charge, and ought not to be lightly made by a Christian man. As, however, it is conveyed in general terms, we can only in reply, distinctly deny its truth. When the accuser condescends to specify names we shall be better prepared to disprove its correctness. The following sentence is equally opposed to facts, and the insinuation conveyed in the latter part of it, is as unworthy of Mr. Fletcher's character, as it is groundless. It is a pitiful attempt to revive a calumny which the history of three years has effectually exploded. Referring to the Association, Mr. Fletcher says, 'It is making no progress, and is apparently fast sinking into the abyss of 'Chartism.' It needs all our personal respect for the writer, to prevent our turning from such reckless statements with sheer disgust. Surely it is not too much to require of any man, that he should inform himself of the more obvious facts of a case about which he undertakes positively to pronounce. Had Mr. Fletcher done so in the present instance, he would have been preserved from uttering

\* June, 1847, p. 683.

either of the inaccuracies contained in this sentence. So far from the society 'making no progress,' its income is rapidly on the increase, the number of its friends is multiplying on every hand, many of the most able and devout of those who stood aloof from its earlier movements are taking part in its affairs, and the kingdom at large is inviting its labors. Surely Mr. Fletcher would do well, before venturing again into print, to acquaint himself, slightly at least, with the matters about which he writes. But the secret is soon revealed. Mr. Fletcher dislikes the society, and is, therefore, as we apprehend, less scrupulous than he would otherwise be, in drawing its likeness and in predicting its fate. Truth, however, is truth, and falsehood is falsehood, after all, whether the matter discoursed about be palatable or not. Were this simple fact kept steadily in mind, what a guard would be set upon the tongues and pens of many good men! We are verily persuaded that much of the letter on which we are commenting, would, in such case, have been unwritten. But let our readers mark the reasoning by which Mr. Fletcher seeks to justify his dislike of the Anti-State-Church Society.

'I confess,' he says, 'I have no sympathy with the 'Anti-State-Church Society,' considering it an impertinent intermeddling with a question with which, as dissenters, we ought to have nothing to do. If the severance of the church from the state be ever accomplished, the work must be wrought out by its own members, unimpeded by our interference; but whenever it does take place, it will, in my judgment, prove 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to every form of dissent.'

The object of the Anti-State-Church Society is the liberation of religion from State control, and this Mr. Fletcher considers 'an impertinent intermeddling' with a question with which we have nothing to do. We have read his words again and again, in the hope of extracting from them some other meaning, but all our efforts have failed. And is it, then, really so? Is the clear and emphatic assertion of the supremacy of our Lord in his church, and of the sole authority of his inspired word, 'an impertinent intermeddling?' Have we nothing to do with the spirituality of religion, with its freedom from the corrupting influences of an alliance with the state, with its vindication from the suspicions engendered, and the base charges preferred against it, as the tool of statecraft and of priestcraft? We need not reply. The common sense and piety of our readers anticipate us: but let them mark attentively the opinions of those by whom we are assailed. This, however, is not all. Mr. Fletcher is as guiltless of acquaintance with history, as he is ignorant of the present condition and tendency of

the Anti-State-Church Society. 'If,' he tells us, 'the severance of the church from the state be ever accomplished, the work must be wrought out by its own members, unimpeded by our interference.' We have been accustomed to such language and we know its worth. Substantially the same was used by the slaveholders of our colonies, nay, is repeated to this day by the pseudo-christian slaveholders of America. It was the cry which met the reformers in the sixteenth century, and which Parker, Whitgift, Bancroft, and Laud, urged against our fathers. When was it known that the members of a corrupt corporation, and much less the members of a secularized church, reformed themselves without external impulse? Let Mr. Fletcher point to a single case confirmatory of his rule, and we shall think better of his knowledge and of his judgment than we do at present. Not content, however, with having thus far committed himself, he adds, 'whenever it (the severance) does take place, it will, in my judgment, prove 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' to every form of dissent.' We are at some loss to ascertain the import of these words. If they mean that spirituality of mind and enlightened zeal in the Divine service, will be discouraged, they are in singular contrast to what the past history of the church, and the obvious tendencies of moral causes, would lead us to anticipate. If, on the other hand, they import simply that, an established church being annulled, all forms of dissent will cease, they are expressive of a simple truism, and have no relation whatever to the question in dispute. Remove the cause, and its effects will cease. Be it so; but what then? Let temperance universally prevail, and 'a heavy blow and great discouragement' will be given to intoxication; and so with any other form of evil. We suspect that these words were used with no very distinct conception of their meaning, and that their author, in consequence, must now find himself somewhat perplexed to bring them within the range of intelligent apprehension, without subjecting himself to a charge discreditable to his sagacity.

Dr. Vaughan's view of this matter is the very reverse of Mr. Fletcher's, and this was clearly and strongly expressed in his speech of the 6th April. We commend his words to Mr. Fletcher's consideration; and if no other good result from the study, he will, at least, be preserved from repeating the folly on which we have been commenting.

'Instead,' remarked Dr. Vaughan, 'of the severing of the church from the state being an injury, if he were in that church to-morrow he should expect to see a change like life from the dead. Men of the world would

drop away; many of those who had connected themselves with her from low and paltry motives, of which even the tractarians were ashamed,—these would be drifted away; but the sounder ones would be left, and the ecclesiastical body would only be the purer. Dissenters would not make war upon her: their wish was rather to walk by her side—be led by her if she would—instead of the church being, as hitherto, led by them.’

There is yet another matter to which we must advert. Referring to the ‘Reasons’ put forth for the projected organisation, Mr. Fletcher says,—

‘In one of these ‘Reasons,’ there was a futile attempt to exhibit as a grievance the appointment of a bishop for Manchester; but surely the church has a right to appoint as many bishops as it may think needful, without asking leave of the dissenters, when it provides for their maintenance out of its own funds. Just as reasonable would it be for some churchman, more zealous than wise, to raise an agitation in Salford against Dr. Massie, for appointing an additional deacon in his church.’

We wonder much at the fallacy involved in this passage, and more especially that a gentleman in the writer’s position should condescend to use it. It may do well enough, as a piece of mere clap-trap, addressed to an excited auditory, and intended to answer a momentary purpose only; but as a grave statement, designed to influence reflecting men, it is utterly beneath notice:—

‘Surely,’ responds Dr. Massie, (and we should like to know how the case he puts will be met) ‘Mr. Fletcher does not mean to assert so much as his words imply. If my deacons had each £5,000 per annum from national property, paid according to act of parliament; if I and my colleagues thought that some of these deacons were receiving much more, say £20,000, and that others of them did no service for this princely revenue; if it were proposed, in order to popularise the institution, that a commission should be issued by parliament, to inquire, arrange, and complete a new division, and increase of functionaries; if such commission had sat at the national expense, say, £3,600 per annum, and that then a new act of parliament was to be submitted to the legislature, where it must be discussed, it may be modified, or rejected by a vote of the whole senate; if before any such additional functionary could be appointed, the bill must go through committee, be read, debated, reported, and again read and passed by each house of legislature, and afterward signed by the sovereign; and if when brought into operation, its provisions must be under the administration of the public servants of the crown, if by *common law* it followed that such newly-appointed functionary should have courts, officers, prerogatives, surveillance, control, jurisdiction over the property, the taxes, bequests, wills, testaments, and administrations of all classes, socialist, unitarian, sceptic, or whatever sectary, conforming or nonconforming, within the bounds—could any man be honourably or legitimately excluded from his expression of

opinion, and, if he disapproved, from every lawful attempt to prevent the perpetuation of such a system? Mr. Fletcher must look at his parallel again, and try his logic rather than his assumption.'

The loosest conceptions possible are prevalent on what is termed 'church property.' Ecclesiastics, as interested parties, have adopted a set form of speech on the subject, which has been reiterated so often, and so long, as to influence somewhat popular apprehension. All thoughtful men, however, have seen through the matter. Constitutional authorities are substantially agreed; and it is not to the credit of Mr. Fletcher that their opinion is directly the reverse of his. We purpose, ere long, entering at length on the question; and shall, therefore, at present content ourselves with appealing to the conclusive reasoning of Sir James Macintosh. That such a man should, on such a subject, so far outstrip a gentleman reared amidst the institutions and habits of nonconformity, affords melancholy evidence how the amplest opportunities may be lost, through inaptitude, thoughtlessness, or prejudice. The church of England, as by law established, enjoys its revenues under the authority of an act of parliament, or has received them on the conditions, and with the obligations, originally imposed. If the former, for which we contend, then it has admitted the right of the state to deal with such revenues, and cannot now question that right, without impugning its own title. If the latter, then it is guilty of a fraudulent appropriation of such revenues; since nothing is clearer than that the tithes were originally devoted to the support of the poor, and the repair of ecclesiastical edifices, as well as to the maintenance of the clergy. Let either alternative be adopted. On one or the other of the horns of this dilemma, the advocates of Mr. Fletcher's theory must be impaled. We will not, however, be tempted to enter into this question now. Enough has been said to indicate our views, and we defer to a future opportunity their illustration and defence. In the meantime, we say to our dissenting readers, Acquaint yourselves thoroughly with the subject; master its difficulties, whatever labor may be involved. The times require this at your hands, and the coming exigencies of the controversy in which you are engaged render it imperative. As yet, we have been addressing religious men only; but the whole community is now awakening to the theme, and you must be prepared for the thorough and intelligent discussion of its wider and more national aspects.

But Mr. Fletcher is apprehensive of the effect of what he terms 'declamatory meetings,' on 'our strength and efficiency as a body.' 'Godliness and contentment,' he says, 'are not to be produced by the excitement of demi-political associations;'

and then, in semi-poetic language, the application of which we are at a loss to conjecture, he assures us, 'The spirit of nonconformity is not to be roused 'to break a fly upon the wheel,' nor will it ever acknowledge as its guides the leaders of the late meeting.

'The earth hath bubbles, as the water hath,  
And *this* is of them.'

'Common sense,' he adds, 'and the exhortation to 'follow peace with all men, and holiness,' forbid that such proceedings should be sanctioned by the nonconformists of Lancashire.' Were it the object of the writer to point out the special dangers attendant on the course in which dissenters are now engaged, we should join heartily with him, and do our utmost to give effect to his warnings. That there are such dangers we readily admit, and it is the part of wisdom and of Christian integrity to guard against them. But Mr. Fletcher's language is intended to express much more than this. It betrays the partial range of his knowledge, an inconsiderate and one-sided judgment, and a feeble, unreflecting, and mawkish piety. It is the current phraseology of a class which, under the garb of superior sanctity, discountenances all attempts to relieve religion from secular control. It has been commonly directed against the advocates of reform, and is not without influence in certain quarters. Respect for many who utter it, has frequently prevented its exposure, but the interests of truth, a righteous regard to what we deem duty, constrains us to say, that its character is more than doubtful, and that its whole tendency is to shield error from the vigorous and effective assaults of truth. We disallow the claim preferred by those who adopt it. In many cases it is a pure assumption, and to be treated with contempt; while in others, and by far the least numerous class, it betokens simply a defective apprehension of duty, and a consequent neglect of some of the most important departments of Christian service. Dr. Massie has well exposed the historical ignorance which such language discloses, and Mr. Fletcher and his associates would do well attentively to consider the facts to which he so ably refers.

'Mr. Fletcher,' he says, 'has great apprehensions from this political agitation among nonconformists in our day. When will he find nonconformity 'in its *strength*? and who are its ornaments whom he would have us imitate? Will he accept Howe, Owen, Baxter, Flavel, Godwin, Hicks, Mather, Calamy, and Bates?' Trace them into camps, parliaments, courts, politics, resolutions, petitions, addresses. Listen to the *chaplains* of Cromwell; follow Owen as a member of parliament, and hear his colleagues preaching to both houses. Contemplate Cromwell's regiment convening as a church, while they lay at Cambridge, and

inviting Richard Baxter to become their pastor; and read what he afterwards says in regret that he had refused such a call, '*however it had been interpreted.*' Let all who think with Mr. Fletcher, visit the dungeons of Charles—the victims of prelatie power, and 'the martyrs in spirit,' whom episcopal arrogance had made their inmates—and see how political they had been in agitation and declamatory meetings, and in passive resistance to cruel and unjust laws, and a priest-serving magistracy. What made nonconformists political but a political church? But *we* must not be political. 'Common sense, and the exhortation to *follow peace with all men, and holiness*, forbid that such proceedings should be sanctioned by the nonconformists of Lancashire.' So says Mr. Samuel Fletcher!

'So, in effect, said Gamaliel—so *perhaps* thought Gallio; but still the men who turned the world upside down, pursued their commission. Animated by the same spirit were the fathers of English nonconformity; though the 'Lancashire clergy' coveted another destiny, and contended for a sectarian ascendancy. The spirit which obeys God rather than men is not now asleep, even in the county of Lancaster; although some should, with sinister threatenings, prophesy antagonism to the 'internal peace of our churches.'

We refer Mr. Fletcher, however, to another authority, to which, on this question at least, he professes deference. Dr. Vaughan's speech of April 6th, from which we have already quoted, supplies, by anticipation, an answer to all such morbid piety as is prevalent in certain quarters. We have the more pleasure in quoting his language, as it is obviously susceptible of a wider application than was contemplated by the speaker.

'It had been justly observed,' remarked Dr. Vaughan, 'that their position as a religious body was likely to be materially altered in relation to the political parties of the country. Perhaps things had been going on, as regarded religious parties, in a wrong course, and it was high time there should be a breaking up somewhere. It was an important consideration, that nearly all the great social questions which had been occupying us for the last thirty years were nearly settled. First came the slave-question; and then came the reform question—not only with reference to parliament, but our municipal institutions also; and then came that other great question, that in which Manchester stood in the position of a nucleus—free trade. These questions were disposed of. But there was another ready to take the place of them, that great question being, a separate state of existence for things religious. They might be laughed at, at first. It would not be the first time that the assertors of a great principle had been a people to be laughed at. At the beginning, nothing great as regarded the social condition of the world had risen up speedily, and nearly everything of that nature had grown up from small things. And there were shallow heads that always despised the day of small things. But there were those who could trace in the features of the infant the lineaments of the future man. It was a beautiful thought, that the principle of religion



should be the voluntary action of man's soul towards God ; and the more they could separate it from all the coarse trappings which the conventionalisms of this world had thrown about it, and place it in its simple native beauty before the soul of man, the more would men see there was something profane in the coarse touch of this world's power. But they had dull scholars in St. Stephen's to deal with.'

With this authority we close, simply remarking, that 'the strength of nonconformity,' to which Mr. Fletcher refers, does not consist in an exclusive regard to any one branch of duty, but in a proportionate attention being given to all. To neglect the more public, from a professed regard to that which is private, is to involve our whole profession in question, whilst, to overlook the latter, in an eager pursuit of the former, is to bring our motives into doubt, and to deprive our labours of their main-stay, and sanctifying power.

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### Brief Notices.

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*The Jesuits at Cambridge.* By Sir George Stephen. In two volumes. London : Henry Colburn.

THE title of these volumes attracted our attention on their first announcement, and induced an early and attentive perusal of them. There are few things which we more heartily dislike than the indiscriminate condemnation of a class, the charging on a whole community all the follies or the vices which pertain to its several members. There has been too much of this amongst us in reference to popery, and our protestant zeal has, in consequence, frequently shown itself in drawing the darkest pictures which imagination could dictate, of the adherents of the papal church. The title of these volumes awakened the suspicion of something of the kind being met with in them, and we have not been wholly at fault. It is due, however, to the author, to admit, that the Jesuit order has been pre-eminent in an unscrupulous practice of the basest arts which promised to further its ecclesiastical policy. Devoted beyond all others to the interests of the popedom, it has deemed no craft dishonorable, no artifice base or mean, by which its end might be compassed. It has stood ready, at all times, under all circumstances, and by every means, to work out the aggrandizement of the papal

See ; evincing on some occasions, heroic intrepidity, an almost super-human virtue, and descending, on others, to the most tortuous, relentless, and disgraceful policy. History does not furnish a doubt of the *Order* having been so distinguished, and the dark coloring of Sir George Stephen, therefore, fails to repel, as it would do in other cases. Still we question the truthfulness of the impression made by his volumes, and more than doubt the benefit of their publication: 'Circumstances not necessary to detail,' he remarks, 'have made me familiar with the present tone of feeling among the junior classes at Cambridge ;' and it is with a view of correcting this, or, at least, of guarding against the dangers to which such are exposed, that he has employed his leisure in the preparation of these volumes. The work opens with a Cambridge 'frolic,' in which three under-graduates,—Mr. Stanley, Mr. Harrison, and Mr. Lawrence, were the actors, and of which the punishment was to learn fifty lines of Homer, which was subsequently changed, in the case of Stanley, to a translation of the passage into Latin hexameter. The cleverness and tact of Harrison came to the relief of his friend on the occasion, and laid the foundation of an affectionate intimacy between them, on which much of the subsequent interest of the narrative turns. The three young men spend part of their vacation at Glen Cottage, the residence of Harrison's family, where Lawrence is instantly enamoured of Agnes, one of his sisters ; and Stanley, though by a slower process, becomes deeply attached to another, Cecilia. Their introduction to the family brings together the principal *dramatis personæ*, and affords an opportunity, of which the elder Harrison takes advantage, to tamper with their principles and integrity. We shall not attempt to pursue the narrative. Suffice it to say, that the elder Harrison,—the Jesuit of the tale,—is a monster, not a man ; that the other characters are drawn with skill, though some of them—Agnes and Lawrence, particularly—are exaggerations of the probable ; that the plot is ably conducted, and that the disquisitions interspersed, which are frequent and extended, display considerable information, and a vigorous and earnest mind. One thing is obvious throughout the work, and that is the sincerity of the author and the warm interest felt in his theme. He writes like a man who regards his thoughts more than his words, and would rather effect conviction than command praise. The great fault of the work, in our view, is the character of the elder Harrison. Had it been different, equally devoted to the papacy, but showing some semblance of the feelings of humanity, it would have fallen within the limits of probability, and the lesson it is designed to give would have been greatly aided. As it is, we turn from it as an exaggeration of the moral deformities which we are sometimes doomed to witness.

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*Protestant France; or, the Lives of the French Protestants known in history from the beginning of the Reformation to the declaration by the National Assembly of 1789, in favour of the right of religious liberty; with an Historical Survey of Protestantism in France; and a collection of documents.* By M. Haug. Vol. 1. Paris. 8vo. 1846.

THIS book will supply a want felt by all who have studied the more important portions of European and English history, which are connected with the struggles of the French protestants during the last three centuries. The first volume of the work deserves a word of praise, in order to encourage its able author in the completion of his very difficult task. The struggles of a minority, however large (and the French protestants have, from a very early date, been singularly strong), are necessarily the results of individual, rather than of collective effort. Biography, therefore, is more appropriate than history to such a case. There is one portion, especially, of the French protestants, calculated to excite great interest, though hitherto too little has been known of them. These are the leaders of the emigrants who carried the industry and arts of France, some of its literature, and much of its science, far and wide, in the reigns of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. Our Romillys and Masères, our Latouches and Labouchères, show the stuff those emigrants were made of; and every other protestant country could produce their equals from the same stock. The number of those who mastered the difficulties of their new position, and attained distinction in foreign lands, do as much honour to the strength and versatility of the French character, as to the hospitality of their new homes.

Mr. Haug has judiciously introduced his biographies with a convenient and candid summary of the political events in France bearing upon protestantism from the time of Luther to 1789. Although he is justly severe in his reproaches against persecution, he is not blind to the too frequent violences committed by the persecuted against their enemies. An important part of the work is composed of documents from the year 1525. Most of them are indispensable to illustrate the legal position of the individuals whose lives were often in danger from such enactments and regulations. Many of them might perhaps have been dispensed with to make way for matter more peculiarly belonging to the body of the work. If two-fifths of the future volumes are to be composed of documents, the proportion reserved for biography will hardly be enough to admit the proper details, without extending the collection to an inconvenient length.

*Remarks on the Connexion between Religion and the State.* By William Urwick, D.D. pp. 72. Dublin: John Robertson. London: R. Groombridge & Sons.

A VERY clear, temperate, and able discussion, in a series of propositions, of the chosen subject—rendered peculiarly valuable by not being confined to the negative view of the question.

*The Mount of Olives, and other Lectures on Prayer.* By the Rev. James Hamilton. pp. 215. London: Nisbet & Co.

MR. HAMILTON possesses several qualifications of a popular writer. Fervour of spirit, fluency of imagination, and a plentiful supply of words, go further now-a-days than more valuable gifts. We rejoiced in beholding some of the first fruits of his pen, as he broke so fearlessly through the dull formalities of theological style, and we did not wonder that he should excite a large degree of public attention; but his later productions have been marked by the increased indulgence of tastes that he should rather have mortified. If he would make the most for the good of men of his popularity, and would retain it, we suggest that he must exercise his reason more, and his fancy less; remember that refinement is compatible with force, and consider a disposition to smile as among the poorest evidences of effective writing on religious subjects. We should not say this about a man for whom we had no respect, but Mr. Hamilton has a solemn trust in the access he has obtained to a large multitude of readers, and is endowed with abilities to discharge it well.

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## Literary Intelligence.

### *Just Published.*

Christian Privileges; or, a View of the Peculiar Blessings appertaining to the Believer in Christ. By T. Lewis, of Islington.

The Provincial Letters of Pascal; with an 'Essay on Pascal, considered as a Writer and Moralist.' By M. Villemain. Newly translated from the French. With Memoir, Notes and Appendix.

A Condensed History of the General Baptists of the New Connexion. Preceded by Historical Sketches of the early Baptists. By J. H. Wood.

Preachers, Pastors, and Bishops; or, An increased Ministerial Agency needed for the British Wesleyan Church. By Benjamin Love.

Outlines of Geography and Ethnography for Youth. By the Rev. W. Barnes.

Sketches of Scottish Church History; embracing the period from the Reformation to the Revolution. By the Rev. Thomas M'Crie. 2 vols. Fourth Edition.

The Revivals of the Eighteenth Century, particularly at Cambuslang. With three Sermons by the Rev. George Whitefield, taken in Shorthand. Compiled from original Manuscripts and contemporary Publications. By the Rev. D. Macfarlan, D.D.

Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrew's. With an Appendix embracing an Account of the Church of Scotland during the times of Halyburton.

The Christian Treasury. Containing Contributions from Ministers and Members of various Evangelical Denominations. Part VI.

The People's Dictionary. Part XXIV.

The Geographical Progress of Empire and Civilization. By the Rev. T. Price.

Peace (permanent and universal) the Law of Christ.

The Chronological Scripture Atlas. Containing a complete Series of Maps elucidatory of the Sacred History. Illustrating also the principal Epochs in the Ecclesiastical History of Christendom, and the Condition of the Holy Land from the earliest ages to the present day. An elaborate Chart of General History, with a comparative Index and Concordance of all the Scripture occurrences of the Places.

A Discourse of the Qualities and Worth of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D., &c. &c., late principal and primarius Professor of Theology in the New College, Edinburgh. By Wm. Lindsay Alexander, D.D.

The Sunday School. An Essay. In Three Parts. By Louisa Davids.

The Marrow of the Controversy. The Facts and Figures between the Rev. Dr. Reed and the Directors of the London Missionary Society. By Luther and Melancthon.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Conducted by Rev. W. H. Bidwell. July, 1847.

Sacred Geology; or, the Scriptural Account of the World's Creation maintained, and Reasons assigned for questioning that Geological Hypothesis concerning the Sedimentary Formation of Strata, from whence the inference has been drawn that inconceivably long periods of time elapsed between each of these formations and before the Creation of Man, being a Series of Papers originally written for the Church of England Quarterly Review, and now for the first time collected together.

A Voice from the North. By Stafford Reeves.

The Rail; its Origin and Progress. With Illustrative Anecdotes and Engravings. By Peter Progress the Younger.

The Headship of Christ as affected by National Church Establishments. A Lecture delivered in West George Street Chapel on the Evening of the Lord's Day, 2d May, 1847. Being the first of a Series by Ministers of different denominations, undertaken at the request of the Committee of the Glasgow Voluntary Church Association. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

The Macaulay Election (of 1846); or, the Designs of the Ministry. Second Edition, containing comments on the Macaulay rejection (of 1847). By John Robertson.

Freedom of Education. A Letter to the Committee of the British School, Sudbury. By Wm. Macnab.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Vol. II.

The Imperial Dictionary; English, Technological, and Scientific. Adapted to the present state of Literature, Science, and Art. Comprising all words purely English, &c. Divisions I. & II.

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The Rock of Israel; or, a Word or two to the Distrustful.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1847.

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ART. I.—*Prospectus of the Anti-Bribery Society.* London. 1847.

2. *Tracts of the Anti-Bribery Society.* No. I.

3. *Illustrations of the General Election of 1847.*

THE Anti-Bribery Society has been established to agitate for purity of election. Many shrewd observers of the times anticipate for this association a more immediate success than is likely to attend the labours of any other of the agitations of the day, for moral, economical, or political objects. Undoubtedly this is a reform which once effected will be favourable to all others of a truly beneficent kind, just because parliamentary and electoral corruption are the chief obstacles in the representative system itself to the triumphs of truth and right.

The people is the legislature. The law-making functions of king, lords, and commons, are delegated to them by the people. Parliamentary corruption has been the chief means by which oligarchical factions and sinister interests have usurped, and used, and perverted the legislative trust committed to them by the people. By the frauds of the electioneering agents, by bribery, treating, intimidation, and corruption, the vile and debased portion of the electors have been made traitors to the cause of progress and the people. When, therefore, a society is started devoted to the destruction of this system of demoralization, its object accords with the genius of the constitution of every free people. The object of the Anti-Bribery Society is to restore to the people their own share of their own work.

Were the system of evil which this society attacks, destroyed, there would be less necessity for agitation. The superior intelligence of Parliament, and the superior accordance between the people and their representatives would make it unnecessary for earnest and patriotic men to combine, subscribe, write and talk on behalf of noble and indispensable reforms. In so far as it is an agitating society, this is an agitation the success of which by destroying the necessities will tend to prevent the perturbations of agitation.

Of the necessity for seeking the attainment of purity of election by association, we can say nothing better than what is already said in the prospectus before us.

‘It is now a well-established fact, that no real legislation can be done otherwise than by the agitation of societies. In these days, the legislature is not the legislature. The houses of parliament have become offices of registration. All the most important laws are made by the people themselves. A few men make up their minds that a particular wrong shall be redressed, or a specific good deed done, and by combination and agitation, by contributions of money and mind, effect their object. When a member of parliament tries to accomplish any public object by his own labour in the House of Commons, he is coughed down, or the House is counted out. When a journalist takes up a subject, and makes it his hobby, he certainly has what the member has not—the opportunity of stating his case. He can spread his opinion. He can make those who agree with him already, more in earnest. He can combat and refute the objections of those who differ from him. But the impressions and convictions he produces are scattered, and evanescent, and unknown to him. He knows not his disciples, and they do not know him. The man who can merely subscribe money in favour of his opinion is powerless. But form a society; combine the labours of the journalist in the press, of the member in parliament, of orators on platforms, with the money of the subscribers; work with pens and tongues in journals, pulpits, platforms, and a legislative power is created by the combination which is irresistible on the side of right.’

We have heard it said, there is something sacred in the principle of association, and the use of it on unworthy occasions is an evil which ought to be discountenanced and denounced. But association cannot be evoked more beneficently than for the suppression of flagrant immorality. The evils of the electoral system pollute the wellspring of British morality. They poison the issues of life. They gangrene the soul of the state. They infect the blood of the heart.

Never was a society for the establishment of purity of election more needful than now—and never could the success of such an agitation have been likely to be so helpful to other and re-

moter reforms in church and state. The general election of 1847, was a saturnalia of bribery, treating, intimidation, nomination, and corruption. What it may have been in comparison with other general elections is known only to omniscience; we like not the writers who are dogmatic in their assertions respecting the unknown. Every man generalises his own small experience and maintains it is universal, when in fact his testimony is often of as much value as would be the evidence of a fly respecting the comparative size of St. Paul's and St. Peter's.

The following is a very condensed, and according to the opinion of persons practically acquainted with the subject, a very subdued statement of the evils of the representative system which displayed themselves during the general election.

'Various contests have thrown a hideous light upon the nomination abuse. Lord Stanley explained this system in the House of Commons once, when he frankly said, that Whig or Tory acres were just Whig or Tory votes in the counties. Let a map be made of the island according to the estates of the four-and-twenty thousand proprietors who own it, and colour the estates according to the politics of the landlords. You will discover in this way the character of the votes of the tenants. The acres will tell you without asking the men, the tenants, or thinking of them, or acknowledging their existence. They are merely the voting machines of their farms. They are not men—they are tools. The treating and bribery practices make the lowest description of publicans and lawyers powerful in reference to the legislature.

'The Reform Act increased the squeezibility of the legislature; but it has, at the same time, increased the evils of bribery, corruption, and intimidation, which under it have assumed worse shapes than ever they did in the days of the boroughmongers. Before the Reform Act, the corrupt were a small class in the small boroughs, generally well-off men of the corporation, who managed their corruption through an agent, for a fixed price, according to an ancient, hereditary, systematic, and well-known plan. Now, the corrupt are increased to hundreds and thousands. They swill in taverns, they march in processions, and sell their souls, and glory in their shame. The rich man who buys a ten-pound house, in a small borough, just buys a ten-pound vote. The system makes a man—an immortal spirit—the degraded mouth-piece, or voting machine, of a ten-pound house. It is an outrage against man—the image of God—to allow the vote to be a mere political chattel, or fixture of a house—a thing which is puffed, bought, and sold by the auctioneer. Yet it is notorious that, if the proprietor of the ten-pound houses rats, the tenants change their politics, the men all the while being voting utensils. The system tends to exclude from the legislature all the men of ability in the country who are not very rich. Every man whose moral feelings



revolt against the practices of the lowest class of attorneys, who will not spend many hundreds of pounds in bribing and treating, in debauching the electors into soulless drunkards, is deterred from entering the House of Commons. The attorneys, in many large burghs, make sure that scarcely any man shall get in without paying black mail to them. Their traffic in seats is notorious. Cliques do what the boroughmongers did. The House of Commons is thus made a club of rich men by the present system, when it ought to be a workshop for the people.

‘It must never be forgotten that it is the legal expenses which cause and protect the illegal. The man who comes forward professedly to serve his country, gratuitously, is confronted at the first step with a demand for two or three hundred pounds for hustings’ expenses. He is treated as if he sought admission into a fashionable club, and were to receive a great benefit. Some constituencies sell themselves for donations to their charities. Many electors charge candidates with their travelling expenses. Now, we submit that the true theory of the constitution ought to be, that every candidate is seeking not his own, but the public interest. Candidates ought to be taken at their word, and care taken to keep their conduct close to it. The expenses ought to fall upon the persons who are served gratuitously, and not upon the men who serve gratuitously. To devolve registration expenses upon members is a great meanness. A constituency once told their member that he had sold them, and his just retort was, ‘Well, if I have sold you, did I not buy you?’ Corruption among the electors, naturally begets venality and time-serving among the members.’

Mr. W. J. Fox, the new member for Oldham, and a reformer who has rendered great services to the people in regard to free trade, surprises us by declaring that he looks for the cure of these evils to a careful management of the registration system. Good may undoubtedly be done by encouraging the formation of a numerous class of small freeholders. But this does not appear to be the meaning of Mr. Fox. He says:—

‘Great as were the disappointments as to the working of the Reform Bill, gross as were the absurdities and short-comings of that bill, preposterous as is the distinction of freeman and slave, as shown by the line of demarcation drawn by the rent of a man’s house, and his political being rendered contingent upon unthinking materials and the accumulation of bricks and mortar—great as are the difficulties which beset the decisions, and perplexing as are the sentences of the registration courts—many as are the little boroughs which maintain their existence, and exercise that power, against which the whole country so loudly protested a few years since—infinite as is the amount of sinister influences, and direct intimidation of the soul and character—corrupting power of bribery—still, with all these mischiefs, and all

these defects, the people are making progress in their influence upon the government and the legislation of the day, and showing that, like an infant Hercules, they can, while only in their cradle of political being, strangle the enemy which threatens to sting them to death, and prey upon their very heart's blood. Let us, then, not spend our strength in unavailing regrets, but rather let us strive for the possession of our liberties and rights by the means which are already provided for us ; and although the registration court is a low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible thing, yet through this, as through the shed or the workshop, the nation may yet advance till it enters the magnificent temple of liberty and public justice.'

Surely it is very unlike the course which true reformers ought to pursue or to recommend, to advance towards liberty and justice by any channel which is ' low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible.' Now Mr. Fox's description of the registration court is truthful and lifelike. Horne Tooke's reply to those who said the law was open to the people—'so is the London Tavern,'—is equally applicable to those persons who say the people may seek their legislative rights in the registration courts. Is it good advice to tell them they may seek their rights among the quibbles and quiddities of the lawyers? from the contradictions and perplexities of the decisions of the revising barristers? Is it good advice to tell the people to outdo the aristocracy by trickeries and dodges? Is there not infinite demoralization in inciting the people to set up manufactories of paper voters? Can they ever be a match for the aristocracy in a conflict of this description without a frightful amount of moral degradation? Are votes won by demoralization really gains to reform? This questionable advice was received with 'loud cheers.' Who cheered it?—an assembly of paper voters and electioneering agents? What malign influence can have been at work upon him to induce this old and eloquent advocate of democracy in contradiction of his whole previous career to have any other word than one of destruction or reform towards any thing ' low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible?'

In truth it is not difficult to trace the source of these reprehensible sentiments. Now, that the work of the Anti-Corn-Law League is done, there cannot be any objection to stating, sorrowfully, that there is reason to fear their example has tended to increase the corruptions of the representative system. The manufacturers set up manufactories of paper voters. Their men of straw are paper voters on many a registration roll. Eloquent speeches were made on the platform at Covent Garden on the pure proceedings of the League, who required of their candidates the payment of nothing beyond the legal expenses, while,

in private, we are informed, the figure mentioned was from fifteen to eighteen hundred pounds, to be sent to the attornies in name of treating expenses in the small public houses. Rumour does not scruple to say, that some of their well-known agents have been seen paying money for votes within sight of their own placard, proclaiming a reward of a hundred pounds for the detection of a single instance of it. Of two free trade candidates for one seat, their preferences were given to the one who would spend the largest sum. They used the system they found. They practised the iniquities in vogue. They employed all weapons which came to their hands. All this may not be true. The picture may be darkly coloured. An enemy may have whispered some of the rumours afloat. But we do fear that, in the pursuit of their end, the agents of the League were not always scrupulous about the means they employed. To whatever extent this was the case, they inflicted an injury on the cause of good government, for which no triumph of free-trade can compensate. Their connection with immoral practices was a source of danger to them, which might at any moment have damaged, if not destroyed, them. Love of their cause prevented persons possessed of the necessary evidence from making it known. After all, they owed the major part of their success to the general famine, and the Conservative premier. At all events, the conduct of the Anti-Corn-law League is an additional reason for the establishment of a society devoted to the destruction of electoral corruption.

The man who is satisfied with the Reform Act is not a true reformer. This act professes to give the franchise to a million of people. The first draft of the Reform Bill was drawn up by the late Earl of Durham, in Sudbrook House, near Richmond. His intentions were good. He would have enfranchised the towns in proportion to their intelligence, virtue, and property. He aimed at a final settlement of the representative system on a large, liberal, and popular basis. In his last days he lamented bitterly the insincerity of his colleagues. In conversation with the writer of this paper, Lord Durham said—‘I would have enfranchised the people, but they did not wish it, and they would not let me.’ The political unions wrung the Reform Bill from the aristocracy. But it was the Whigs who prevented the author of it from making it a reality. The ten-pound voter in boroughs enfranchised by this act finds a difficulty in apprehending the fact, that on the whole the evils of the representative system are greater than they were. Grateful for his vote, he forgets the parliamentary insignificance of all the voters in the large boroughs, compared with the voters in the small

boroughs. A comparison of Marylebone and Tavistock under the Reform Act, will explain the rejection of the draft bill proposed by Lord Durham to his colleagues. There are three hundred electors in Tavistock; and were every ten-pound house to enrol a voter there would be thirty thousand in Marylebone. Yet these boroughs are equal in the House of Commons, and both return two members. For every pound of assessed taxes paid by Tavistock, the borough of Marylebone pays about £270., yet both are equal in the representative system, and both boroughs return two members. For every inhabitant of Tavistock there are nearly five hundred inhabitants of Marylebone, yet both places return two members. Tavistock is a small borough entirely under the influence of the Bedford family. Marylebone is a great metropolitan borough, in which many thousands of men of independent means, or independent professions, reside, and amenable to no influences except those of truth and justice as recommended to their reason by the press. However, the small borough of electoral serfs is equal to the great borough of free minds in Parliament. In the presence of the Reform Act every inhabitant of Tavistock is worth five hundred inhabitants of Marylebone. A hundred electors of Marylebone are only equal to one elector of Tavistock. But we shall be told, the principle of the Reform Act is a principle of property. According to this statement it would appear, that every ten-pound house in Tavistock was worth a hundred in the metropolis, and a single pound of assessed taxes paid by a dependent of the Russells, worth three hundred pounds paid by the gentry of Marylebone. A principle of property forsooth!—the real principle is property in consciences. It was to maintain property in the souls of men, that the Grey cabinet mutilated the bill of the Earl of Durham.

The borough of Tavistock has always returned a couple of nominees of the Bedford family. The motives for giving it equal power with places like Marylebone, Finsbury, Southwark, the Tower Hamlets, Manchester, Liverpool, Nottingham, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, are transparent. However we have them frankly and audaciously avowed by the premier Russell, under his own hand and seal. An elector of Tavistock wrote to him, complaining of family nomination. Lord John Russell replies, saying, he had suggested Colonel Fox, and they had elected him. 'But after that single election, I shall not consider you, or any other person, bound to attend to my wishes respecting a second member for Tavistock. I hope there may always be a member of our family deserving of the confidence of the electors; and that unless he deserves it he will not ask it. Your faithful

servant, J. RUSSELL.' He hopes there will always be a deserving member of his family for the seat. Now, on what is this family pretension based? On a prophetic knowledge that the minds of the three hundred electors of Tavistock will always be in their conscientious views in accordance with the opinions of the Russells?

But we disdain to pursue our attack on a system against an individual, however justly amenable to censure for his share of its iniquities. There is little difficulty in finding out why a member of an aristocratic family confidently anticipates the future connexion of members of his family with a town. Let us pay a visit to Petersfield, a small borough, which is of as much parliamentary importance as Aberdeen, though the latter consists of two boroughs, and seventy thousand inhabitants. Petersfield is about the same size as Tavistock, consisting of about three hundred ten-pound houses, and five thousand inhabitants. A Tory, and not a Whig, owns most of the houses, and therefore Petersfield returns one member, instead of two members. Our proposition is, that in the small boroughs the property principle means property in the souls of men. Of the three hundred ten-pound houses in the borough of Petersfield, Sir William Jolliffe owns about ninety, a number sufficient to secure his return, and therefore he is the member for Petersfield. Not the largest proprietor in the borough, he is the lucky owner of the largest number of ten-pound electors. He is not the representative of any body of men, he represents his own houses. He is the honourable member for—ninety houses. As he is a Tory the houses are Tory. Were he to rat, the houses, seized with a fit of tergiversation, would change their politics, betray their party, and become Whigs. Such a fancy as a tenant voting against his landlord, is never dreamt of. To turn a gentleman's property against his politics, the tenant argues would be unfair, and only stops abashed when asked if a man was made only to become the pen for a ten-pound house. On his side, the landlord is shocked at the supposition of his tenants voting for him unpaid. Labouring men are not to do his work for nothing. He pays them for making him a member, as he pays them for ploughing his fields, or making his carts. In the small English boroughs the registration is regularly paid for by the Whig proprietors, on the one side, and the Tory proprietors, on the other side. They register their voting machines gratuitously.

Now mark the reform. By the old way the electors of these petty boroughs were the corporation and freemen, a small body of proprietors of a seat in parliament, which they sold by their own agent, on their own terms, to the purchaser they liked best.

According to the new way, their numbers may be extended to a few hundreds, but their characters are entirely changed. The proprietors of a seat disappear—in their stead we have the voting machines of houses. There are more who sell the seat in their votes. The corrupt dealers in the seat are also more corruptly and more basely mercenary, because they dare not choose, either their own agent, their own buyer, or their own terms. They sell the seat, and themselves with it. They are doubly bought and sold. The occupier has not a choice even in selling himself. Such is the certainty of the identity of the house and the vote, that we know a case in which a Tory made a difference of fifteen hundred pounds in his price of some houses, when he found he was dealing with a Whig, although the Whig had offered a price for the sake of the votes on which the rental of the houses would have yielded only two per cent. interest for his money. When the influence of houses is not sufficient to corrupt the electors, and drink and bribery fail, means are taken to handcuff them severely by lending them money on notes of hand and bills of sale; and seven day leases, and the terrors of writs, distress warrants, executions, and ejections, are all used in degrading the tenants into voting utensils. Talk with a tradesman or farmer upon politics in the villages or small towns, and in every syllable your ear, and in every look your eye will be offended by the sight and sound of a slave. He looks at your coat, and trembles lest you should report him to his landlord or his customers. At first he tells you he is a Tory, and next that he is a friend of the ballot. Ask how the next election will go, and he will tell you an estate of houses has passed from one party to another, and the election is decided by the change. When the election comes, you will find the prediction fulfilled. A single room in Sudbury would have contained all the persons tainted with bribery before the Reform Act. In 1841, being temporarily free from their hereditary master, hundreds of them marched in troops with flags and music, and polled for candidates they had seen at the hustings for the first time. On receiving tickets, certifying how they had voted, they marched in open day to a hotel, where the hands of persons unseen gave them, through a hole, for each ticket, the handful of gold for which they had sold themselves, their souls, and their country.

Sometimes the automata have a choice. In these cases the value of a conscience may be seen to a pound. Generally radicals, to a man, and hating both the parties to whom they prostitute themselves, occasionally one of this corrupt class finds his way to the committee-room of a Radical candidate. He says—

'The Whigs pay fifteen, and the Tories twenty pounds, but as I think you best for the nation, I will vote for you for ten.' The value of this conscience is five pounds. This is the price set upon it by him who knows it best. In places like Hertford and St. Alban's, there are voters who make up their rents with bribes. Skilful, from practice, in bribery, these wretches contrive to get paid for a promise to each of the candidates; for promises to break their promises all round, and the vote, in the end, goes to the party who gives the best and the largest bribe. No slander more fatal to a candidate in some constituencies can be spread, than that he has no money. Rumours circulate among the electors of heavy boxes of gold which have arrived at the inns of the candidates from the Carlton and the Reform clubs. Some candidates have the effrontery to proclaim even from the hustings—'They say I have no money, but I say a few thousands shall not keep me out of Parliament.' There is in Norwich an elector whose price is two hundred pounds; under this sum the virtuous man will not vote. He has received his price often enough to have been able to build a house with his bribes.

The evils we have been faintly indicating were all in full action in the last general election. The proceedings in west Gloucestershire throw a hideous light upon the nomination abuse. Absolute submission to the will of the patron is the condition of the existence of the nominee. 'I would have voted for the repeal of the corn-laws,' says Mr. Grantley Berkeley, 'but the castle would not let me.' In a speech delivered in celebration of his return, this gentleman draws the following picture of the agencies set to work against him by his patron and brother, the Earl Fitzhardinge.

'West Gloucestershire and the 'Berkeley feud' are too well known to all readers of the newspapers, to require one word of introduction to the Hon. Grantley Berkeley's statement at the public dinner, given to him two weeks ago, at Gloucester. We can only give the substance of his speech, which exposes the enormities of the hideous nomination system. Mr. Berkeley says:—'We have seen everything that could prove bribery and corruption. I have traced bill after bill. A friend of mine, a 'Jolly Forester,' came suddenly round a corner, and saw one of the Fitzhardinge agents in the act of putting half-crowns into the hands of a man who had promised his vote to me; the Forester had no time to speak, so he knocked down the man who was paying the money, and said, 'I beg your pardon; I did not mean it, if you are not bribing that man.' Look at a place which I will not name, because I do not want to put a stigma upon any place in our county; but there was a place where, by my canvass and the

'Blue' canvass, I had a majority of from two hundred to four hundred—I think four hundred: in two days, when the lord-lieutenant came down, that was reduced to a minority of nine against me. We have had compliments to the ladies, sovereigns put into the tea instead of sugar, and into the wash-tub instead of soap, and cabbages bought at any price (cries of '£10, £15'), and we have had one man coming to the poll and plumping for me, and saying, 'Here are fifteen sovereigns I have received to vote against you.' We have many instances of interference by the lord-lieutenant with the suffrage. Then, look at the riots. I know all his lordship's gamekeepers; and I happened to be staying at Lower Stone. Choppell, the head-keeper, was running about to hire special constables to keep the peace with bludgeons. To gain the show of hands it cost the lord-lieutenant £800, and he lost it by twenty to one. I saw tenants and old servants driven to the polling-booths as if they were the shambles or the slaughter-house; and many a half-suppressed curse did I hear from the lips of many an old man as he passed up to the place of the murder of his conscience in the vote he was about to give—a curse muttered upon the man who sent him there to vote against me. Old servants and old tenants in tears were seen at the hustings. I trust that we may never see the like again; and to prevent its ever disgusting the political world again, we must in a body interfere with the domination of the peers.'

But no case of nomination can surpass that of the Wick boroughs. The Duke of Sutherland is the proprietor of most of the county of Sutherland. His father and himself have swallowed up nearly all the small proprietors. In this county there is nothing to prevent his returning his black footman, except public opinion. The electors are all his tenants. The man he sends down is elected, as a matter of course. But, just because the thing is a matter of course, it is a subject of very little remark. In the Wick boroughs, the duke nominates his own factor, Mr. James Loch, and he is always elected without opposition. When this person was nominated last time, the newspapers say only a single hand was held up for him in the crowd. But he was returned, of course, by the brutal power of the property of the duke, of whom he is the nominee. There was the duke for him, and there was one hand for him!

A recent trial throws light upon the treating practices. One Brown, of New Basford, a victualler, kept open house at the election, in 1842, for the Conservative interest. One Sanders, an attorney, engaged him to do so again, at an election which was to take place in 1843. The lawyer gave the publican an l. o. u. for thirty pounds. No bills were to be reckoned, for fear the candidate should be a second time unseated for treating. However, the items of the bill appeared in court, because the



attorney refused to pay the I. O. U., on the plea that it was dated on a Sunday, and was for a corrupt consideration. The items were—two hundred and sixty gallons of ale, £20; cigars and tobacco, £2. 5s.; refreshments, £7. 15s.; total, £30.

This proceeding embodies beautifully the representative system in social life. Three hundred and two glasses of gin, and two hundred and eighty-five glasses of brandy-and-water were charged by this publican on another occasion. What a crew is revealed by such a case! The attorney trying to *do* the publican by dating his I. O. U. on a Sunday. The publican selling his drink reckless, though every drop of it was full of demoralization. And then the electors,—the free-born Englishmen, the enfranchised of the constitution, glorying in the shame of their political sponging. Lastly, we have the honourable or the right honourable gentleman, who from such hands receives 'the highest honour an Englishman can receive from his countrymen.' At Kilmarnock, the late Alexander Johnstone corrupted the constituency by bribery and treating; and his bill on the occasion of his successful election in one inn, is said to have amounted to £600.

Of downright bribery, there was plenty in the last general election. To begin with the premier and London city. Whether with or without the cognizance of the author of an act against bribery last session, it is confidently asserted, that to bribery he owes his seat. A weekly whig paper boasted, prior to the election, that the city was safe to the Liberals, because the Longshore-men had been secured on the right side. The story goes, that they were made sure of by an electioneering agent, who boasts of having sold them to all parties, ever since the Reform Act. They are divided into gangs, and every gang has a captain. The votes are bought through the captains. Those who appear to know perfectly, state specifically that this agent secured the seat for the Liberal party by securing all the captains except two, who voted with their followers for the Conservatives. We have been personally assured by a gentleman, actively engaged in the election, that, a little before four o'clock on the polling day, an elector received seventeen pounds, and four tons of coals, for voting for one of the candidates.

But the metropolis was not alone in its bribery. The 'North British Mail' has repeatedly accused Lord Melgund, the eldest son of the Earl of Minto, of gaining his seat for Greenock by bribery. The 'Cork Southern Reporter' says, Mr. Sheil bought his seat for Dungarvon for £5,000, or £33. 6s. 8d. per vote. At Stafford, according to the 'Manchester Guardian, one party openly blazoned their practices on a banner, displaying the significant motto, 'Free Trade in Gold.' Those who

voted for one of the candidates, were paid at a butcher's shop; and another candidate erected a temporary shed for the purpose of paying the electors as they voted. During the election, corruption was the dominant spirit of the town. The base voters regarded the honest voters as fools. Crime seems a fine thing at such times. Mr. Urquhart, the well-known accuser of Lord Palmerston, has been elected. The following is a copy of a printed ticket, issued on the occasion by this denouncer of the foreign secretary for selling himself to Russia:—

‘ STAFFORD ELECTION.

‘ Mr. Urquhart returns thanks to ———, No. —, on the register ———, for a p—— vote.’

The tools by whose means the evil work of electoral corruption is effected, are the electioneering agents. They are the great perpetrators of the iniquities which enrich them, while they debase the nation. They are dealers in the seat. They traffic in the rights of the people. The sole question addressed to candidates ought to be the demand of the people, ‘What good do you mean to do for us, sir?’ But, instead of this, when a man wishes to become a member, the attorneys confront him with the question, ‘What is your figure for us, sir?’ They meet him upon the high road to parliament, and, with the insolence of foot-pads, cry, ‘Stand, and deliver—down with the ready.’

Of the characters of the electioneering agents it is necessary to speak, because, though universally known to be the lowest class of attorneys, scarcely any body has an adequate feeling and sense of their scoundrelism. ‘At an election time,’ said an intelligent and respectable elector, ‘men call upon you whom, at another time, you would not allow to enter your door.’ These are the electioneering agents. When an attorney is too degraded to have the least chance of respectable business, found out to be too sharp even for the sharpest, he naturally falls into the electioneering business. Respectable attorneys reject this species of employment as an insult. Doubtless, exceptional cases occur of respectable men undertaking this sort of business, but they are rare. A conversation between a disappointed candidate and an electioneering agent, which we find in the ‘North British Mail,’ will give us a glimpse into the proceedings of these gentlemen when all is fair and above board:

‘Of course, we have the authority of one of them for publishing their brief, but significant, conversation:—

‘*Electioneering Agent.*—I am very glad I have met you. If you want to get into parliament, I have two seats which can be had cheap.

*Disappointed Candidate.*—No, I don't. I have neither the health nor the wealth for it.

*Electioneering Agent.*—Do you know any one who wants a seat, with both health and money?

*Disappointed Candidate.*—Yes, I do; I know several, but they do not want to pay much for them.

*Electioneering Agent.*—That is what we find. There is a great want of candidates. But my seats are cheap. We will guarantee the return of any man for £3,000 down; and £500 is all we ask if the candidate risks it, and there is no return.

*Disappointed Candidate.*—You see, there is nothing to fight about, either for party or opinion, just now. As for the honour, that is nothing to those who know who some men are, who are in parliament; and it is a great bore when a man has no object to gain by it.

*Electioneering Agent.*—Well, but perhaps you will mention the seats to some of your friends who wish them.

*Disappointed Candidate.*—Well, perhaps I will.

*Electioneering Agent.*—We shall deal handsomely by you if you do; say a hundred guineas for each candidate.

*Disappointed Candidate.*—Thank you.'

A more common arrangement between the agent and the candidate, is an agreement by the candidate to pay a certain sum for the voters, per head. This is reckoned the best way. The candidate thus fancies he can transfer all the guilt of all the iniquities upon some one else, and quite away from himself. These modes are in such general repute,—to name a certain sum per head, or so much if the return is certain, and so much less if it is a risk,—that wary candidates refuse to stand without clear and unmistakeable agreements on black and white, which in these ways clearly define their liabilities.

The electioneering agents often effect their ends by means of a society or club. They form the society of two or three of themselves, a few tradesmen whose affairs are in their hands, and a few respectable but weak men whom they can easily manage. The power of the society is in the hands of the lawyers. The electioneering agents are as much borough-mongers as ever were the personages partially abolished by the Reform Act; and unquestionably they are boroughmongers of a worse description. The Conservative or Reform club, or Association, of the borough is both the screen and the means of their traffic. In the meetings of these societies there is, ostensibly, a great deal of discussion of the sentiments, and opinions, and eligibility of candidates. The uninitiated members are amused before they are sold. But there are always two subjects inquired into respecting every candidate. His sentiments are the show subject, but the sum he will spend upon the attorneys is the secret point upon which his acceptance turns. Woe be to the candidate who refuses to spend a sixpence ille-

gally. No matter how unanimous the vote of the association may have been in his favour. Every engine of deception, calumny, and fraud, will do their worst against him. The candidate who buys the agents will buy the seat, and while he retains them by satisfying their rapacity, will enjoy his position snugly and comfortably. Occasionally a rich candidate is squeamish enough as the agents deem it, honourable enough as the public will regard it, to say he does not care for spending a few thousands, but he will not disgrace himself by entering the House of Commons through the dirty path of bribery, treating, and corruption. His agents will sometimes contrive to humour him. He will have to spend his thousands of pounds all the same. He will be assured all is pure, only the items for flags and ribbons, and procession men will astonish him. But on other occasions the agents will resort to corruption, sometimes without the knowledge, and at other times in defiance of the prohibition of their principal. A gentleman stood for a district of boroughs a few years ago at the invitation of a large number of most influential electors. He stood on the ground of purity of election. His declarations on this head had been so unequivocal, that the discovery of corrupt practices by his agents might have ruined his reputation. But in the heat of the election a very wealthy supporter said to his chief agent,—‘If a couple of thousands will carry Mr. —’s election, you may draw upon me for the amount.’ This gentleman would have been disgusted at the thought of carrying the election by treating in the small public houses. However, this expenditure was precisely what the agent wanted, and he defiantly avowed his intention to his principal of spending the money corruptly.

‘The electioneering agents,’ remarks the ‘Weekly Times,’ ‘do their business in many ways. Some of them who are tolerably respectable name a specific sum—say, from £2,000 to £5,000, if the election is certain; and from £500 to £1,500 if it is a risk. This sort of transaction is held to be all fair and above board. But candidates often greatly prefer an agreement to pay a certain sum per head for every voter. According to both methods, the candidate fancies he escapes all moral responsibility for the corrupt practices, because he is presumed to be entirely ignorant of them. When a rich candidate is to be mulcted, he is charged commissions for everybody. He has to pay a commission for every introduction he receives. The person who finds him out has a commission. The gentleman who induces him to stand gets a handsome *present*. The gentleman who introduces him to the borough or county must be paid a commission. In short, on a thousand pretences, he is plucked. All these things are matters of course. An eminent tradesman, of the west end of London, tells the following anecdote :—He was asked by a friend if he knew a suitable candidate for a seat? On reflection, he thought he knew ‘the

very man.' Unfortunately for himself, this very man had some experience of electioneering tricks. After ascertaining all preliminaries about suitable principles and views, the gentleman asked how much money he would be expected to spend? The reply was—that it had been customary, hitherto, for the candidate to pay a third, and the constituency two-thirds, of the legal and proper expenses; but if he chose he might be returned purely and for nothing. 'But, surely,' said the gentleman to the tradesman, 'you will expect a commission for the recommendation.' 'I have never thought of such a thing, and have not the least wish or expectation of such a thing, but I will take as much commission as you like.' 'But if you will have nothing,' continued the other, 'the gentleman who introduces me to the constituency, your friend, will expect something.' 'He bid me offer to return you entirely free of expense.' The offer was too good. All could not be right. A panic of suspicion was roused by proceedings so irregular, and unusual, and disinterested; and the gentleman lost being returned to parliament purely by rejecting the negotiation in a fit of terror lest he should be ruined by sharpers.'

The Registration Court is the great scene for the electioneering agent. It is his manufactory of paper votes. This species of imposture is an iniquity of such absurdity and folly, that its existence might well be deemed incredible. The Tory agent is paid by the Tory party, member, or candidate, to fabricate fictitious votes on his side. As a counterpoise to this wickedness, the Whig agent fabricates a corresponding number of false votes on behalf of the Whig party, member, or candidate. Of course the result is pretty much the same in the end. All that has happened is that the agents have been paid for fraud and forgery. The *bonâ fide* electors are cheated out of their rights by this bit of attorneyism. Public morals are outraged. The electioneering agents have profited by involving both parties in profitless scoundrelism.

Of this Danaïdes iniquity Peebleshire has furnished a memorable illustration, which is destined, we are glad to see, to come under the notice of Parliament. In this case the Tories have done in Peebleshire what the Whigs have done in Midlothian. The iniquitous set off is county for county. Perhaps, it would be difficult to conceive a more strange congeries of frauds than the creation of fictitious votes involves. Lies cluster together verminously.

Despite the disgust which the exposure excites, we must, in discharge of our duty, describe as clearly and as briefly as possible, this system of electoral frauds. Probably few of our readers have forgotten the only distinction which attaches to the name of Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, M.P. for Peebleshire, and the contempt in which the name is written by the whole press, as if

the contempt were an universal ink. At a time when tergiversation was common, his was a distinguished case of a member obtaining office under Sir Robert Peel, for violating every principle he had been elected to represent. However, he was triumphantly re-elected at the time, and at the last general election was re-elected again by a large majority, notwithstanding his apparent violation of his principles, and betrayal of his constituency. But it appears the member for Peebleshire was unjustly charged with treachery to his constituents, for he really represented only his own paper voters. He had betrayed his constituents not by changing his principles for office, but by swamping them in a morass of electoral fraud. Long before he sold his principles, he had filched the electoral power from his constituents. He had every right to do what he liked for office. Not the honourable representative of the electors of Peebleshire, but the dishonourable representative of the fictitious votes upon the estates of himself, his relatives, and his party, the spectacle at which the country raised a yell of execration when he became a lord of the treasury, was only a thing which ought to have been expected as naturally as the plant from the seed, or the fruit from the tree.

The sheriff of Peebleshire has struck sixty-nine of his voters off from the register of the county, and there are twenty or thirty more said to be equally deserving a similar fate. According to the decision of the sheriff, the party claiming a vote for a Scotch county must be owner of property of the value of ten pounds; and he must occupy it himself or be in receipt of its profits. It is doubtful whether there is any right to a county vote where there has been no infeofment. Now, in the case of the paper voters, there was no infeofment; there was no money paid, but a simple bill granted; the dispositions and titles of the property are not handed to the private party or his agent, but to a political agent as part of a general system. The life-renters did not draw the rents, but the money is handed over by the one agent to the other, and then handed back again. Just before the general election of 1837, a general entry was made in the books of all the life-renters, by which it was made to appear that all the whole principal sums with interest, were paid off. But these were sham payments. The Conservative party advanced the money for the purpose of preserving the paper votes until the time for challenging the election in 1837 was expired, when the money was restored to them. These collusive payments show the collusive character of the transactions throughout. In March, 1838, the life-renters granted back leases to the granters of their life-rents, restoring the property as completely

as if they had never had any thing to do with it. No accounts are rendered to the life-renters—no money is paid during nine years. ‘Now the question is,’ as Sheriff Napier puts it, ‘can it be said that a party who never personally gets his disposition—who never draws a penny from the property—who gives back by a back lease every thing deposited to him—who goes through no form of possession or of passing money—can it be said that that party is in possession in truth or reality, or in the popular interpretation of the term? Is there anything but possession in paper and receipts on paper, in the same way that this title is merely on paper, never lying in his own possession but in possession of a political agent?’ In some cases payments were made after the objections were lodged, but they have been treated as if never made. Nominal life-rents were exchanged by proprietors in different counties. They have been expunged. It would be easy to expose each special collusion, fraud, or falsehood, in these electoral crimes, and show how many deceptions and perjuries became necessary to protect these noxious vermin of the representative system. But the public will hear enough about these doings of shame by and bye from Mr. Gibson Carmichael and the Anti-Bribery Society.

A subject which must inevitably occupy much of the consideration of the friends of purity of election, will be, how to deal with the electioneering agents, the class to whom parliamentary corruption is daily bread. Of this class we find a strong denunciation in the ‘Times.’ The anecdote occurs in a most interesting sketch of the late Mr. Walter:—

‘From the autumn of 1837 till the winter of 1839, he laid aside all desire to serve his country in the House of Commons; but his labours out of Parliament on behalf of those who have no resource but the poor’s-rates, having been continued with his usual ability and perseverance, began, at length, to manifest symptoms of that success which, sooner or later, never failed to crown every one of his undertakings. In 1839 his hopes for the poor revived, and his indignation at their sufferings had experienced no abatement; he was therefore once more induced to listen to the invitations of an electoral body. When Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey ceased to be member for Southwark, Mr. Walter and Mr. Benjamin Wood became, in January, 1840, candidates for the representation of that borough. Mr. Walter, of course, stood upon his old principles, and would probably have been returned, had he not intrusted the business of the election too confidently to one of that class of agents who in almost every borough force their assistance upon the acceptance of a wealthy candidate. It is believed that a biographical dictionary of that order of electioneering agents would afford as many examples of cunning and audacious frauds as any edition of the ‘Newgate Calendar;’ at all events, in Southwark, Mr. Walter was defeated.’

This character of this class doubtless embodies the experience of Mr. Walter who had a great deal to do with them. It is accordant with the information of the staff of the 'Times,' whose acquaintance with the real political life of the day is vast, varied, and accurate.

The electioneering agents are most powerful in reference to candidates distinguished for services rendered to the people. They are always the slaves of great parties or interests, and they can almost always exclude from Parliament an independent candidate who stands solely upon the ground of his services to the public. Precisely the best men are the men against whom their influence is worst. What the people want is an increase of the intelligence in the legislature, and their influence goes to cause money to be preferred to mind for every seat. The crying necessity of the empire is an addition or rather the admission to the House of Commons of men of legislative purpose, but the electioneering agents can always keep them out. To the men of mind and purpose, they are natural enemies, having had the experience of veterans in their hostility to intelligence and independence. If it is worth the while of any body, any party, or any interest to keep a man out, the electioneering agents will always do the job for a consideration. The men whom it is worth the while of their enemies to keep out, are precisely the men whom it is the interest of the people to bring into Parliament. They will never scruple about the means. Slanders, forgeries, insults, treacheries, bribes, trickeries, infamies—the frauds of the 'Newgate Calendar' concentrated, will be directed against him, if the electioneering agents are only amply paid. The starting of candidates to divide his supporters, and the fabrication of false reports respecting the numbers of the supporters of the different candidates, are matters of course, and they will justify every fraud, every deception, every treachery, and rampant miscreancy of every kind by the pandemonian maxims which they have themselves brought into vogue—'do, or you will be done brown,' 'every man has his price,' 'the life of man is the life of a pike in a pond,' and 'every thing is fair at an election time.'

The late Mr. Walter of the 'Times' was a man to whom the House of Commons ought to have been of the easiest access. More than any other man of his age he breathed the spirit of humanity towards the poor into the new generation. Fitness, talent, services, reputation, influence, he possessed in a great degree,—he had what some make a *sine qua non*, wealth, and he possessed eminently what ought to be indispensable, benevolent purpose; but the electioneering agents caused him



to be rejected conspicuously and frequently by a number of popular constituencies. Well do we remember the laughter at his rejected addresses. He was described as a perturbed spirit, who could find no rest in the electoral universe—a phantom skipper doomed to scour the ocean in vain for ever without finding a ship to take him to his haven. His lot has been that of every independent man who has sought admission to the House of Commons—every man of specific legislative purpose not backed by a powerful body of organized agitators. Mr. Walter said, ‘I wish to enter Parliament to ameliorate the Poor Law;’ he was repeatedly beaten. Mr. Alexander Dunlop said—‘I wish to be elected to oppose the endowment of the Irish priesthood;’ and the corrupt electoral agencies rejected him in his native town by means of Lord Melgund, the eldest son of the *impromptu* ambassador to Rome. Mr. Miall has stood twice as the champion of the separation of Church and State; and powerful though his principles are, and rapid as their growth is in the public mind, and though backed by organizations which are daily gaining strength, in proportion to the fear of him as a man of purpose, has been the opposition to him by the criminal agents of the electoral system.

The electioneering agent is the soul of electoral iniquity. He is the guilty trafficker in the rights of the electors. It is his business and delight to keep within his power the needy and base electors whom he boasts of having sold to all parties. He is the fabricator of the false accounts of the constituency which lure the candidate to his ruin. The electioneering agent is generally a person of great cunning, information, and shrewdness, the natural element of whose soul is dirt. He gives his I. O. U. to the publican, who opens his house. Hundreds of ‘brandies,’ and ‘gins,’ and gallons of ale, keep the voters together, whom he sells to the candidate who will pay him highest. This gives him his hold upon the candidate. It is the electioneering agent who compels men of the highest fitness and the most beneficent purpose to expend energies in approaching the door of Parliament, which would have sufficed to render lasting benefits to the people. The electioneering agent and his ally, the political publican, are systematic and habitual teachers and trainers in crime. Towards the candidate his aspect is extortion and fraud. Towards the man of independence, intelligence, and purpose, his relations are ruthless hostility, or criminal betrayal. In reference to the honest electors, he is the thief who steals their privileges. With respect to the needy electors, he is the foul genius of demoralization. It is the electioneering agent who wields over the needy elector the

terrors of seven day leases, of distress-warrants, executions, and ejectments. It is the electioneering agent who collects the rents of the ten-pound houses, whose tenants are degraded into voting machines. He is the author of the thousand verminous frauds and perjuries which have created and protected the noxious spawn of fictitious votes. Drunkenness destroys for him. Law entraps for him. Gold, in his service, sparkles with a demon spell in the eyes of the poor elector, until the soul of the man is sold to the evil one. Betraying the candidate into ruinous expenses, or making him the victim of fraud, calumny, or treachery; seducing the consciences of the electors, and destroying truth, right, and patriotism, by his infernal activity, the electioneering agent is authentically proved by his moral atmosphere, his deeds, and his tendencies, to be the demon of the electoral system, the arch-fiend of the British constitution.

The labours of the Anti-Bribery Society will be beneficent and successful, if they do nothing more than record the corruptions of the electoral system. The mere name will be a successful protest against the evil. In such a cause the mere attempt is a success.

‘The House of Commons is made a club of rich men by the present system, when it ought to be a workshop for the people.’  
 ‘The expenses ought to fall upon the persons who are served gratuitously, and not upon the men who serve gratuitously.’  
 ‘The qualification ought to be, that a man has some beneficent ideas in his head, which he wishes to embody in the laws for the good of the people.’ These truths are the basis of the agitation. To quote the prospectus before us:

‘There is no solid principle on which we can rest short of the one embodied in the pledge of the Anti-Bribery Society—election solely on the ground of fitness. The inadequacy of the intelligence in Parliament to the wants of the empire yearly costs the people a great waste of money, the destruction of many lives, and the continuance of vast social, moral, and spiritual evils. There must be a total suppression of the system which makes election an expense to candidates. No man ought to have to pay a single sixpence for a seat. The qualification ought not to be that a man is willing to spend a few thousands upon a parliamentary speculation of being re-paid by place, by family promotions, or by downright jobs. The qualification ought to be that a man has some beneficent ideas in his head, which he wishes to embody in the laws for the good of the people. Without this qualification no man has a right to a seat. The question ought to be, not has this man 300*l.* a-year, or will he spend thousands in bribing and treating, but has God made this man a lawgiver by the moral and mental gifts with which his soul is endowed? Is there good for the people in this man?

'The Anti-Bribery Society originated in a suggestion recently thrown out in a series of articles embodying these views, in a periodical publication, by John Robertson, Esq., late editor of the *London and Westminster Review*. The society has been formed to unite men of all political opinions (carefully excluding the discussion of all party questions) by subscription to the following declaration :—

'We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves hereby to use all constitutional and legal means for the suppression of the system which makes election to the House of Commons an expense to candidates; and never to desist from our efforts until the sole qualification shall be fitness to represent the views and feelings of the constituencies.'

Nothing good is done now-a-days without the agitation of societies. Lord Brougham has made eloquent speeches, and Lord John Russell has passed much lauded bills against bribery and corruption, and the evils have been as rampant as ever. In this great moral movement, association is necessary to success. The political unions carried the Reform Bill. The Anti-Slavery Society abolished slavery in the West Indies. The Penny Postage Association obtained penny postage. The Anti-Corn-Law League won free trade. The Health of Towns' Association will establish sanatory reform. The Anti-State-Church Association is diffusing the principles of religious equality. On all subjects, in the long run, the people is the legislature. To them, with a well-grounded hope of a speedy and a great success, we commend the objects of the Anti-Bribery Society.

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ART. II.—*The Christian State : or the First Principles of National Religion.* By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. London : Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. 1847.

‘A GREAT book,’ says an ancient authority, ‘is a great nuisance.’ And if we were to form our estimate of the volume before us by this rule, we should be in danger of thinking rather hardly of it ; for there are no less than six hundred and sixty-nine octavo pages within its portly dimensions. We will not allow ourselves to criticise it, however, on the dimension principle. We acknowledge the high, the almost paramount importance of the subject on which it is written. We look upon its appearance as one among many evidences that the question of ecclesiastical establishments is the question of the age ; and we deem the decision of this question so vitally momentous to the highest interests of our country and of the world, that we thank every man who contributes in any way to the discussion of it. To any man who would discuss it luminously and convincingly, we would gladly allow the prerogative of expanding his thoughts, not only over seven hundred pages of letter-press, but over a thousand.

The work on our table, however, possesses more interest than belongs merely to the subject of it. The author is a very estimable young clergyman of the church of England, already favourably known as a man of piety and zeal, and as a writer of considerable power and promise. He belongs to what, for distinction sake, we may call the evangelical party, as opposed to the high-church party, in the establishment, and may be held probably to speak their views, as well as his own ; an inference confirmed, we think, by the near family relation in which he stands to the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, rector of Watton, and the patronage bestowed by this eminent minister of Christ on the book written by his son-in-law. We have, therefore, before us what we believe we may call a novelty, and certainly an interesting novelty, in the state-church controversy, the manifesto of the evangelical party, and an implicit statement of the grounds on which *they* uphold the secular establishment of Christianity. That the truly pious and catholic-spirited members of the church of England could not agree with the principles which have been put forth on this subject by high-church writers, has been evident from the nature of the case ; and accordingly we have the pleasure of finding them distinctly disavowed by Mr. Birks. He speaks of what, he says, ‘may be popularly termed,

the high-church theory of religious establishments' in the following manner :—

'It starts from the maxim, that the church of Christ is a visible institution, ordained by Christ himself, and to continue visible and distinct to the end of time. It assumes, further, that its essence consists in the Divine authority of its rulers, derived to them by their unbroken, or almost unbroken, succession of ministerial commission from the apostles themselves. It is further assumed that the conjoint authority of a Christian king, and of the rulers of the clergy within the land, is supreme and absolute over the Christian people ; so that those who disown it, under whatever pretext, are entirely cut off from the visible church. They may still partake of Divine grace, but by a special and supernatural mercy, beyond the revealed covenant of the gospel ; and hence the State cannot show any countenance to such communities, without a direct treachery against the claims of the church, and a sinful violation of the ordinance of Christ.'—p. 521.

After a somewhat lengthened and effective argument, he closes his remarks as follows :—

'This great error, which would define the visible church by a mere external succession and legal uniformity, even when united with real faith, must inevitably blight and paralyze the spiritual senses. It compels those who embrace it to one of two alternatives. They must either shut their eyes to the clearest marks of Divine grace, and of the blessing of Christ, in those whom they resign to uncovenanted mercy as outcasts from the visible church ; or else they must maintain that our Lord, in fixing the boundaries of that church, attaches far less importance to faith, sound doctrine, real holiness, and a pure conscience, than to an implicit deference to the most doubtful commands of some particular set of rulers ; and this, too, when many others, placed outwardly in the same office, are known to have abused their power to enforce the worst superstition. The former alternative is deeply injurious to the Spirit of God, whose work it vilifies or denies ; and the other is no less dishonourable to our Lord himself, since it makes him contradict, in the institution of the church, the main doctrines and precepts of the gospel.'—pp. 529, 530.

We cite these remarks with great satisfaction, and readily allow ourselves to indulge the agreeable hope that they express the sentiments of pious churchmen at large.

The high-church theory of religious establishments, however, being thus thrown overboard, it is obvious to ask what remains, and to inquire after the arguments by which those who reject the defences constructed by their predecessors, with no small amount of talent and labour, attempt to vindicate the common position. On this point we have to acknowledge that our author is perfectly candid and explicit, and we shall endeavour

to avail ourselves with equal candour and explicitness of the lights which his volume supplies.

That we may do the fullest and most manifest justice to his argument, we will quote entire the series of propositions which the author lays down, and which, he tells us, his work 'is designed to prove.' They are as follows :—

'The maxims on which the obligation of national religion, in its true and scriptural idea, seems to repose, may be stated as follows :

'1. First, all rulers, to whom the gospel has been sent, are bound to embrace it with all their heart, and to submit themselves willingly, with all their official power and greatness, to the authority of the Son of God.

'2. Such rulers, whether magistrates, statesmen, or kings, are bound to rule in the fear of God, to avow openly their allegiance to Christ, and to do all to the glory of his name.

'3. Thirdly, they ought, therefore, to base their laws on the revealed word of God ; to execute them with an open appeal to his authority ; to own themselves, in their public character, his ministers and servants ; and to honour him with open acts of worship, in confession, prayer, and thanksgiving.

'4. Fourthly, their duty, as the ministers of God for good to the people, has a wider range than barely to secure property and life by motives of physical fear. They are bound to promote a wise distribution of wealth, even more than its accumulation, and its virtuous use, more than its selfish possession. They ought, in their whole policy, to honour moral excellence above worldly riches ; to care for the deep wants of the soul more than for those of the body ; and, instead of making worldly abundance their highest aim, to seek, by all means in their power, the true and eternal welfare of their people.

'5. Fifthly, the visible church, in its true idea, is a direct appointment of God, to spread the light of Divine truth in the world, and to bring families, states, and kingdoms, with all their various fields of thought and action, into full captivity to the obedience of Christ.

'6. Hence, wherever that church has a home, Christian rulers are bound to become members of its communion, to protect it from malice and outrage, to sanction and promote its labours of love, in the instruction of the ignorant, and the conversion of unbelievers, and to give it social facilities for its growth and increase in numbers, purity, and holiness.

'7. They are therefore bound, also, in their laws, to recognize its corporate existence, its social worth, and Divine commission ; to encourage, and, when needful, to regulate, the offerings of its members ; to help on its efforts for the instruction of the people, and to honour its ordinances and maxims in the whole constitution of the State.

'8. When the visible church is corrupted with false doctrine, rent with schisms, or debased in purity and moral power, other duties will devolve on Christian rulers. They will then be bound to discern between wholesome truth and pernicious error ; to discountenance the

one, and to promote the other; to resist alike sectarian bigotry and unbelieving indifference; to honour and encourage all parts of the visible church which the Lord himself would receive, in proportion to their religious soundness, and power of social benefit; but to repress grosser evils with varying degrees of severity, as they are more or less pernicious to the state, and more or less openly condemned in the word of God.

'9. Ninthly, these views of the ruler's obligations, while they are confirmed by the testimony of Scripture, in various precepts and examples, are also in full harmony with the true rights of conscience, and the universal maxims of the gospel of Christ.

'10. Lastly, while it is our duty, as patriots and Christians, to aim at this high standard, and to condemn all departures from it as one part of the predicted apostasy of the last days, we are to expect its full attainment only in the promised times of the restitution of all things, when the earth shall be full of the glory of the Lord.'—pp. 16—18.

Now, on the face of this series of propositions, and without entering at present into any minute examination of them, it is evident that the author intentionally confines himself to a treatment of the duty of *Christian* rulers, and that he leaves wholly out of view the duties of rulers at large, or of rulers as such. The reasoning is, All rulers (prop. 1.) are bound to embrace the gospel, and all *such* rulers (prop. 2.)—those, namely, who have embraced the gospel—are bound to rule in the fear of God; and on this everything that follows depends. It is clear, therefore, that the author means to teach nothing beyond the duty of *Christian* rulers. That we do not misinterpret him in this respect, is plain from his words elsewhere. He thus, for example, states his general object in p. 15: 'My object will be to deduce in order, from the first principles of the gospel, those laws of duty which are binding on *Christian rulers* in connexion with the visible church, and the promotion and spread of true religion.' And he opens the first chapter (p. 12) with this statement of the question: 'What are the real duties of the *Christian ruler*, in all questions which involve the interests of religion and the spread of the gospel of Christ among men?' We do not pause—as we might, however—to object to this as a very partial and defective statement of the question as it has been hitherto argued; we content ourselves with bringing out the fact, that our author does not mean to assert anything beyond the duty of *Christian rulers* to legislate for religion.

This limitation of the controversy is worthy of notice. For it is a limitation of the controversy. What has been hitherto asserted boldly and often is, that it is the duty of rulers as such, and consequently of all rulers, to legislate for religion.

Not so Mr. Birks. He inquires after the duties of none but Christian rulers. He acknowledges no obligation on kings to promote any religion but Christianity—nor this, until a king has become a Christian. Until a ruler has embraced the gospel, he is not only not bound to legislate for religion, but he is bound not to do it, since he would be promoting some form of false religion, which could never be right, but must be always wrong. So reasons our author, and we commend his discretion to his fellow-workers in this controversy. All we care to ask is, whether they may all be supposed to agree with him; whether it may now be taken as granted, that the right of rulers, as such, to legislate for religion, after having been contended for during so many centuries, and maintained by so many atrocities, is now at last given up, and will be heard of no more? We should sincerely rejoice in such a consummation, but we are by no means sure of it. At all events, however, it may be expected that the discussion of this point will be henceforth transferred to church of England ground. It will surely, from this time, be a battle between churchmen; and we hope Mr. Birks will not shrink from the championship, if occasion should require his prowess.

Whatever may be the case, however, with rulers in general, our author maintains that Christian rulers, such as have embraced the gospel, are bound to legislate in religious matters; they ought 'to care for the . . wants of the soul, . . and to seek, by all means in their power, the true and eternal welfare of their people.'

Let us look at this cardinal principle carefully, and endeavour to ascertain, first, whether it can be satisfactorily arrived at, and, secondly, whether, if it could be so, it would avail for the advocates of national Christianity.

Our first inquiry is, whether this corner-stone of the evangelical state-church system is firmly laid.

Now we could have understood an argument in which the duty of one class of rulers should have been inferred from the admitted duty of all; and to an advocate who had established the obligation of *all* kings to legislate for religion, we should have been forced to concede the right of *Christian* kings to do so. But this, the reader will clearly perceive, is not the argument of our author. He infers the duty of a Christian ruler to legislate for religion, not from his position as a ruler, but from his character as a Christian. He himself having embraced the gospel, it is *therefore* his duty 'to seek, by all means in his power, the true and eternal welfare of his people.' We object, however, to this inference. We not only do not concur in the connecting link



between the premises and the conclusion, but we have a strong feeling of the fallacy of the entire argument. The foundation of it, laid bare, is, that the duties of civil offices vary according to the varying character of those who hold them. Never was there as the foundation of any argument a proposition more untrue or absurd. It is of the very nature of the offices into which the functions required by the welfare of society are thrown, that their duties should be definite and definitely prescribed. How else, indeed, can any office-holder know what he has to do? And so it is in point of fact, from the summit of society to its base. Begin at the lowest, and go through the various gradations of constable, gaoler, magistrate, and judge; to which of them do we think of saying, 'Your duties vary with your character; they are one thing if you be this, another if you be that?' Do we not say rather, 'Whatever you yourself may be, the duties of the office are these?' It could not indeed be otherwise, without throwing the whole social fabric into confusion. In a properly organized community, all the duties required by its well-being are distributed into some one or another of the instituted departments of government; and the various offices become in this manner so firmly compacted, and so nicely adjusted one to another, that no functionary can go beyond the limits of his own duty without trespassing on the province of another. So to define official duties has been the great struggle of society against arbitrary power; and to constrain the respective functionaries to observe the established limits of their action, is the object of a constant and necessary social jealousy. Can any reason be shown why the office of supreme ruler is to be held exempt from the limitations which attach to the position of all subordinate rulers? His is rather the case in which, beyond all others, there should be a distinct prescription of the duties of the office itself; all of which, and nothing more than which, he that comes to rule, whatever he may be, has to discharge.

It does not invalidate this reasoning to say, that the peculiarity in the character of a given king now under consideration, is his piety. It cannot be shown to be of the nature of piety to enlarge civil offices, or to create new departments of action for state functionaries. A religious change is but one of the many changes to which the character of men is liable, and it has nothing in it to exempt it from the general rule above laid down. The true property of all changes of character, whether for the better or the worse, is to qualify men to execute the duties of office differently, but not to vary those duties themselves. Embracing the gospel would, no doubt, enable a ruler to discharge his functions better than before, but we do not see how it could

give him any new functions. A pious keeper of Newgate has just the same official duties to discharge as if he were without piety; so likewise, a pious occupant of the British throne.

In another passage (pp. 22, 23), our author argues, that a ruler who has embraced Christianity *then comes under obligation* to promote it, 'by all means in his power,' because he has then, for the first time, arrived at religious truth; and that he is to legislate for the diffusion of Christianity as an act of deference to 'the supreme claims of Divine revelation.' Of course, we do not mean to express a doubt whether Christianity is *THE TRUTH*, or whether the claims of Divine revelation to what it really demands are supreme. We believe both these propositions. And this, in strictness, is all that can be said of a pious king. He has arrived at what *he believes* to be the truth. There is no going further than this. If some worthy people are dissatisfied with the phraseology, and insist on it that a Christian prince has arrived at the absolute truth, we rejoin, that all that this amounts to is that *they think so*. If such a prince legislate for Christianity, it cannot be on the ground that Christianity *is* true, but only on this, that *he thinks* it true—it is true to him, or in his opinion; and what he enforces is not the claim of Divine revelation, but the supremacy of his own judgment. This belief that he has arrived at the truth, however, involves no necessary distinction, either between himself and other rulers, or between his present and his former self. He believes he has arrived at the truth: so, perhaps, he did before he became a Christian; and so, perhaps, do many other rulers who are not Christians. This is to maintain a right to legislate for religion on the part of all *conscientious* rulers. Even if we were not to insist upon this, however, and if we were to admit, for the sake of argument, that a Christian ruler may be said to be in possession of absolute truth, it would not follow that he was bound to promote the diffusion of the truth 'by *all* the means in his power.' The depository of the truth would yet have to be consulted as to the nature of the means of which Christianity would warrant the employment; and a too zealous ruler might find himself checked in the use of 'carnal weapons,' by an authority to which he must acknowledge himself bound to defer.

To return from this digression. In the fourth of the series of propositions before us, the author argues that it is the duty of Christian rulers to care for the wants of the soul, because it is their duty to care for those of the body, and that it is their duty to seek the eternal welfare of their people, because it is their duty to promote their temporal welfare. This line of argument, however, will prove too much. To promote the temporal welfare of their people, is, we suppose, if the duty of any ruler,

not the duty of *pious* rulers alone. It is, we presume, and the contents of his book assure us that, in this position, Mr. Birks would agree with us, the duty of *all* rulers. But if the duty of caring for the soul is to be inferred from the duty of caring for the body, then clearly it is the duty of all rulers to take care of the souls of their subjects, a principle which our author sets out with virtually renouncing. The reasoning, indeed, is on the face of it unsound. It infers the duty of pious kings—that is, of one class of kings exclusively—from the nature of the kingly office; whereas it is plain that, if the nature of the kingly office warrant any inferences at all, these must apply equally to all who hold it. The Divine declaration here cited, and afterwards largely dwelt upon by the author, that rulers are ‘the ministers of God for good’ to their people, is admitted on all hands to refer to *rulers as such*, and not exclusively to pious ones. It may be a guide to the duties of rulers at large, but can throw no light on those of Christian rulers in particular.

In page twenty-two, the author seems to intimate that there is a sense in which it may be said to be the duty of *all* rulers to legislate for Christianity, inasmuch as it is their duty to embrace it, and, when they have embraced it, it will be their duty to diffuse it. ‘There is plainly an order and succession in moral duties,’ says he; and so both these are represented as duties of all rulers, only in a certain order. But if this were so, why need the author have set out with inquiring specifically after the duties of Christian rulers? It is in this case the duties of rulers at large that he is in quest of. In truth, however, the fallacy involved in this language is quite transparent. To affirm that two things are a man’s duty in a certain order—that is to say, the second after the first, and not until the first has been performed—is only another way of saying that the second is *not* his duty, while the first is unperformed. Some people for example tell us, that it is the duty of all men to believe the gospel and to be baptised; or to adopt the mode of our author they might say, that baptism is the duty of all men, only in a certain order, that is, after faith—a whimsical and perplexing mode of intimating that baptism is not the duty of any man who has not believed the gospel. To affirm that it is the duty of pious kings to legislate for religion, is surely to affirm that it is theirs only. This, indeed, our author himself admits in the next page, where he uses the following words, ‘There never was, nor can be, a real obligation \* \* \* to propagate truth while it is believed to be falsehood.’

‘But surely,’ our author and those who think with him may exclaim—a little indignant, perhaps, at our seemingly pertinacious

renitency to the efforts made for our conviction—‘but surely, in the felicitous contingency of a sovereign being truly Christian, something good ought to follow. Ought not Christian kings to rule in the fear of God?’

Undoubtedly, Christian kings—may God send many such!—ought to rule in the fear of God. In common with all Christians, ‘whether they eat or drink, or whatsoever they do,’ they should ‘do all to the glory of God.’ Our author seems to imagine that to admit this is to concede the whole question. He has no other conception of a ruler living to the glory of God, than of a ruler ‘seeking *by all means in his power* the eternal welfare of his people.’ We are quite willing that a pious ruler should seek the eternal welfare of his people; but *only by legitimate means*. The question between the author and ourselves relates to the nature of the means to be employed.

It is scarcely to be imagined that the question of means can be left absolutely open, and that a Christian king would be left entirely to his discretion in the selection of them. If Christian rulers are really under obligation to diffuse Christianity ‘by ALL means in their power,’ we do not see how any fault can be found with those who have employed fires and imprisonments, tortures and death. There must clearly be some guiding or restraining element in this matter, besides the mere ‘power’ of the ruler. And there can, of course, be no other guide than Christianity itself, which must be supposed to contain an expression, somewhere or other in its sacred documents, of the will of God in this respect. What the decision of this supreme authority may be it is not for us to anticipate; but while this matter is yet unexamined, it may be held at least possible that the Bible may tie a godly ruler’s hands, rather than set them in motion, and teach that the most effectual manner in which he can show his care for the souls of his people is, *as a ruler*, to let them alone. The argument thus escapes from the series of propositions within which the author intended to confine it, and launches out into the broad inquiry, what duty does the Bible prescribe to the Christian ruler in relation to religion?

Now it is sufficiently singular, that this question is (as we believe) never once mooted or referred to, directly or indirectly, in the inspired volume. There are passages, doubtless, from which may be learned the duty of rulers as such, that is, of all rulers, in relation to religion; but there is none, we think, which teaches the duty of Christian kings exclusively, or which implies that any of the sacred writers ever conceived that godly rulers had any other duties in this respect than ungodly ones. At all events Mr. Birks has produced none, and it is

fair to presume that he would have produced such passages, could they have been found. It may be observed, therefore, that he has proposed to himself a question to which, in the form in which he puts it, the only authority to which reference can be made affords him no answer. 'What are the duties of the *Christian ruler* in questions which involve the interests of religion?' This is his inquiry; but the oracle gives him no response. Such an ill-considered question receives no answer from the Supreme Wisdom.

Indirectly, however, an answer may be obtained. The Scriptures teach the duty in religious matters of all rulers, and by consequence of Christian rulers, but in such manner as to show that the duties of all rulers, whether godly or ungodly, are the same. Hence, therefore, it may be inferred that, whatever the duties of ungodly rulers are, such also are the duties of the godly. Now, respecting ungodly rulers, our author maintains that it is their duty to leave religion alone. 'There never was,' says he, 'nor can be, a real obligation either to diffuse falsehood supposing it to be the truth, or to propagate truth while it is believed to be a falsehood.' Consequently, on his own shewing, and according to the real tenor of Scripture, godly rulers also ought to leave religion alone.

We would not have it inferred from what we have just said, that our author has made no references in his extended argument to the inspired volume. On the contrary, his volume abounds with them far beyond any work of the kind we have ever met with. One might think, from his numerous scriptural citations, that the meddling of pious rulers with religion was the most obvious and largely enforced topic in the Bible. But the force of all these quotations is destroyed by a fatal fallacy. The author is incessantly reasoning to the duty of the *Christian ruler* from passages which relate to the duties of rulers *at large*. To shew more distinctly what we mean, we will give an example, which we take at random, and present as an instance of a general fact. In the chapter on the testimony of the Acts and Epistles, (chap. xi.), we find the following:—

'2. In the apostolic Epistles, there are only a few passages which throw any direct light on our present subject, the true province of Christian rulers. But there are three or four texts which have a more immediate bearing on the special duty of Christian rulers and kings.

'The first of these is the well known passage (Rom. xiii.) where St. Paul treats of the duty of Christians toward the civil ruler, whose office is also briefly defined. 'He is the minister of God for good.' But since the only true good, in the view of sound reason, is that which ministers to the soul's welfare; it seems to follow at once that the ruler is bound, in all his actions, to take public cognizance of

Divine truth, and make the welfare of immortal souls the final aim which regulates the whole course of his public policy.'—pp. 286, 287.

The reader can scarcely have read this extract without perceiving the defect of which we have spoken. 'There are three or four texts,' says the author, 'which have a more immediate bearing on the special duty of Christian rulers and kings;' and he goes on to cite a passage which, by his own admission, defines the office of the civil ruler generally! Why, the words of the apostle teach us nothing whatever of 'the special duty of *Christian* rulers and kings.' They define the ruler's office; and if they do inculcate an interference in religion, they inculcate it as pertaining to the office, and as binding on all who hold it. Thus understood, they would as directly justify the persecutions of Nero as the patronage of Constantine.

As another instance, and one in which the same fault vitiates an extended argument, we refer to pp. 210, *et. seq.*, in which an attempt is made to infer the duty of Christian kings from the nature of civil government, or of the kingly office. In this passage, by a singular piece of logical manipulation (to which we are strongly tempted to apply the term *legerdemain*), the author endeavours to show that the ruler's office comprehends in itself the functions of prophet, priest, and king (we assure the reader we are not joking), and then he argues that this demonstrates the duty of *Christian* kings; never seeming to suspect that if his argument proves any thing, it proves the duty of *all* kings, even of those ungodly ones who, as he himself declares, ought not to meddle with religion.

Further examples might be cited to an extent which would speedily exceed our limits, and exhaust the reader's patience. Let any one who desires it, put to the test our assertion that the scriptural references in the volume throughout are characterised by the prevalence of the fallacy we have indicated. That such an element wholly vitiates the reasoning which it infects, must be obvious to all.

We may now, we think, close the first branch of our inquiry, namely, whether the principle laid down by our author, that it is the duty of pious rulers to legislate for religion, is satisfactorily arrived at; and may proceed to the second, namely, whether, if it were, it would avail for the purpose for which it is adduced. If it would vindicate national establishments of religion in theory, would it also avail for their practical construction and working?

Now to us it appears that the application of the principle adopted by our evangelical brethren, must be a matter of great, if not insuperable difficulty.

In the first place, here is a question of no little delicacy (to

say the least of it) to be decided, before it can be known concerning a given king, either by himself or his people, whether he is to legislate concerning religion, or not. He is not to do so because he is king, but only in case he is a Christian king. How then is this to be ascertained? Whether a man be a king or not, is, generally speaking, sufficiently obvious, both to himself and others; but how is it to be known whether the said king is a Christian, or, in the words of our author, whether he has 'embraced the gospel?' Is his own opinion upon this point to be accepted, and is the power of legislating on religious matters to be grasped, at pleasure, by the men who sit on thrones? If a king's opinion of himself is not to be taken, who are to be his judges? Is he to be tried by a jury of his peers, or by a jury of his subjects? What means are there of securing that his judges shall themselves be pious men, and know how to proceed with their business? Can judges be found who shall have any means of enforcing their judgment? Or can kings be found who would, for a moment, think of submitting to it? We go further, and ask if the question whether a man is or is not a Christian is capable of being decided by any earthly tribunal? Personal religion is, as we take it (and no doubt Mr. Birks agrees with us), a matter of the heart; and its absolute existence can neither be affirmed nor denied, but by Him who knows the heart. A king, like any other man, may indeed profess Christianity, and his profession may be accompanied by more or less of probable evidence; but this is nothing to the point. The doctrine laid down by our author is, not that it is the duty of rulers who *profess* Christianity to legislate for it, but of rulers who *are* Christians, who have 'embraced the gospel.' Consequently, he suspends the duty of legislating for religion, that is, the whole fabric of national Christianity, on a condition which, if it were discoverable, no tribunal can be instituted for determining, and which, if a tribunal were constituted, could never be discovered at all! Certainly the habit of building castles in the air has not yet died out of the world.

If it be said that this is somewhat too sharp, and approaches to unfairness, we ask whether the author will take the opportunity of modifying his position, and whether he will prefer saying that every ruler *professing* Christianity is under obligation to legislate for it? We are not quite sure that he would do so. Upon this supposition, however, we should ask him what there is in such an act of profession (which may be profession merely) to create new civil rights and obligations? To *become* a Christian does imply a momentous change of character, upon which the argument, in the former case, might seem plausibly to rest; but when no change of character is guaranteed,

why should such important consequences follow? What king—what bad king, at least—would not, for the sake of grasping ecclesiastical dominion, *profess* himself a Christian? He might *be* pagan, mahomedan, or infidel, but, by an act of hypocrisy and villany, he would become authorised and bound to legislate for the religion of his subjects!

If our author would not be satisfied with mere profession, but would require the accompaniment of satisfactory evidence of piety, we must ask, satisfactory *to whom*? To whose judgment would a king be likely to submit such a question? Or what guarantee can be given that those to whom its decision might be submitted, would decide it in a manner enlightened, conscientious, or just? The settlement of such a matter would be as arduous as the adjustment of the whole ecclesiastical controversy. That the proceedings incident to it should, in the long run, be conducted with Christian simplicity, is utterly inconceivable. It would give rise to as many intrigues as the election of a pope, and to mischiefs enough to overthrow, in a century, the firmest fabric of national religion that ever existed.

Let us suppose this initial difficulty got over, however, and a Christian king at last discovered, and seated on his throne. Let us imagine that we have before us the first of this hallowed dynasty. He is bound to diffuse Christianity ‘by all means in his power,’ that is, to make and enforce laws for this purpose. He assumes then authority over the religious interests of his people, dominion over conscience. But he is by the supposition the first that has had a right to do this, since he is the first Christian king. If the same thing was done before him, as it probably was, it was a wrong. At this point, therefore, we ask, to whom did authority over the religious interests of the people *then* belong—*then*, when there was no ruler in whom it properly vested? If to none, then all were, or ought to have been, left to themselves as to religious matters. Here then is the creation out of the mere fact of a sinner’s conversion to God—that sinner happening to be a king—of infinitely the most important department and function of human government, and of not only the right, but the duty, of abridging and wresting out of the hands of an entire people, what they may be either enlightened or infatuated enough to deem their most precious and cherished liberties. The first Christian king had better take care lest he lose his head.

But let us go on. The Christian king legislates for religion. He recognises and endows ‘the visible church of Christ’ within his dominions; he founds bishoprics, giving the mitred heads a place among his hereditary counsellors; he gives the tithe of



the land to the hierarchy; he wills church rates; he establishes ecclesiastical courts; and finally *he dies*, and bequeaths his crown and kingly office to another. No, not his kingly office, at least not the whole of it; his successor must not legislate for religion unless he be a Christian. And—again supposing the difficulty of the examination got over—upon inquiry it turns out that his successor is not a Christian; he is a man of the world, and has not embraced the gospel. What is to be done now? Here is what our Yankee friends would call ‘an awkward fix.’ First of all, here is a department of government quite at a stand-still, that namely, which relates to religion. The king, not being a Christian, has no right to touch it, and we will suppose him for this once to eschew the wrong. It is, however, a great affair, a kingdom of itself. Is it to stand? It cannot unless the king will administer it. Is it to fall? The change will be fearful. But, to fall! What! the church-rates, the tithes, the clergy, the bishops, and ———! What a tremendous change! But, no. Let the ungodly ruler perish first! ‘No bishop, no king!’

We need not extend these illustrations. Nothing can be more obvious, we think, than that the principle of suspending the authority to legislate for religion on the personal character of the sovereign, must expose the government to a series of incalculable, intolerable, and destructive revolutions. If there is to be any legislation for religion, the safety and permanence of social institutions require that authority should be vested in the ruler's office, hold it who may. Let us glance, however, at some difficulties of a different kind.

We go on, still supposing the case—alas! too probable—of the accession to the throne of a sovereign who has not ‘embraced the gospel.’ He is to be tried by some tribunal on this point, and if their decision should be according to truth, he is to take his kingdom shorn of the ecclesiastical dominion enjoyed by his predecessor. To what an enormous amount of temptation is he thus exposed! What temptation, on the one hand, to hypocrisy! Here, if ever worldly considerations can make it so, is something worth lying for, the ecclesiastical dominion over an empire. One clever act of deceit, a few minutes of successful disguise, secures this brightest jewel in a monarch's crown. Who, among princes will not have recourse to it? If any, it is he of the tender conscience, in whose hands such a dominion would be the safest; while the herd of bad men would rush through the narrow gate without a scruple, and laugh at the folly which imposed the test. Our author's scheme is a sort of Test and Corporation Act revived and extended. Religion was long made ‘the picklock to a place,’ in

municipal bodies; Mr. Birks is for making it the picklock to a throne, and for letting in royal knaves to a game which has been found too essentially wicked, and too extensively mischievous, for common men to play at.

What a temptation on the other hand to usurpation! A king—an actual king, for all other departments of government are conceded to him, and possessed by him—is about to be deprived of an established department of government because he is not a Christian, that is, a certain sort of religionist. ‘Very pretty,’ quoth he; ‘but who is to take it from me if I choose to keep it? And why should I part with so valuable, so important, so indispensable an element of power? Let any one pluck this feather out of my cap who dares; I will never, with my own hand, extract this gayest of my regal plumes.’ What could ensue in such circumstances, but either a quiet submission to usurped power, or a struggle involving hazards of civil war to repel it?

The condition of the people would be no better than that of the sovereign. Admit that one pious prince had reigned over them, and established national religious institutions; in what condition are they under a successor, who, not having ‘embraced the gospel,’ has no authority in religious matters? The whole ecclesiastical fabric is then without its vital element, the royal authority, and the national Christianity is defunct. If it ever was of any use, how great a calamity has befallen the nation in its decease! If religious anarchy—sometimes so loudly bewailed—be a fearful evil, how inevitably and universally it comes, when, there being, in religion, no king, every man must do that which is right in his own eyes!

In the illustrations of the working of the new system which we have hitherto presented, we have taken the form of government to which it most readily adapts itself, the monarchical; but it is clearly necessary that any available scheme of national religion should be able to accommodate itself to such other forms of government as do or may exist. Take a mixed monarchy, for example, such as that which subsists in our own country, where the legislative power is diffused through somewhere about a thousand gentlemen. If the working of the new principle would be embarrassed in a despotism by the involved necessity of a series of regenerated kings, what must it be in England, where it must require the ‘embracing of the gospel’ by at least a thousand men, always drawn from all ranks and classes in society, and undergoing perpetual change! It is obvious that the representative system must still further aggravate the difficulty, since, under a form of government of this kind, it would be necessary that the electoral bodies should con-

sist of converted men, in order to afford any guarantee, we might say to create any probability, that the elected legislators should be such. Under such a government, indeed, *rulers*, in the sense in which our author uses the term, can scarcely be said to exist, the sovereign and his ministers constituting merely the executive, while the people, by their representatives, make laws for themselves. Under these conditions of the problem, the element called by our author, 'the duty of Christian rulers,' vanishes altogether.

Another embarrassment in the working of the scheme under consideration would arise from the different forms in which Christianity has developed itself among mankind. We do not here enter upon the question, whether some specific ecclesiastical organization is, or is not, by Divine authority prescribed; we merely take the fact, that among Christians, in the sense in which Mr. Birks would use that word, different ecclesiastical constitutions have arisen, and have been strenuously contended for. All that he requires in order to bring a ruler under obligation to legislate for religion is that he has 'embraced the gospel.' No doubt, in this case, he *may be* a friend of national churches, and an episcopalian. He *may*, however, be something else—a Presbyterian perhaps—perhaps a Romanist (for we scarcely suppose our author will deny the *possibility* of salvation to a Romanist)—or, perhaps, even a Congregationalist, or a Baptist. What is to be done in these cases respectively? The law that the ruler is to legislate for Christianity must mean that he is to legislate for Christianity as it is to him, that is, as he thinks it is; consequently the carrying of it out might involve the successive establishment of every form of national Christianity, and, finally, the demolition of all.

From this view of the difficulties attending the practical working of our author's principle, were it now to be brought into operation, we may turn for a moment, to look at existing ecclesiastical establishments in the light which it sheds upon them. What, for example, can Mr. Birks, according to his own maxim, think of the church of England, as it is and always has been? Was Henry VIII., in his sense of the phrase, a 'Christian king?' Had he 'embraced the gospel?' Had the Jameses, the Charleses—had even *all* the Guelphs? Can our author represent the history of the Anglican protestant church as exhibiting less than a frequent recurrence of criminal usurpations of ecclesiastical power? What he may think of its present condition we know not; but we do not recollect that he advocated the suspension of the queen's ecclesiastical authority upon the result of any official examination into the sincerity of her piety. There was a time in England when even the pro-

pounding of such a sentiment might have led him to the scaffold.

It will be sufficiently apparent, from the tenor of our critique, what is our opinion of the volume before us. Generally speaking, it is creditable both to the talents and temper of the author; but it shows little power of consecutive or searching thought. Mr. Birks means well, but he is not the man by whom the great controversy of the age will be terminated. He cannot be said to have advanced it even a single step. He has missed his way, both theoretically and practically, and left the question of national religion just where it was. His book, however, is not without importance. It shows that the numerous, estimable, and influential party in the church of England, in whose name he may be taken to speak, are not satisfied with the position in which the argument was resting, and that they wanted new ground. *Here* evangelical churchmen thought they could stand. We think they will soon find that they cannot stand here. They will again feel that they need a new resting place. This mental ferment is a good sign, and gives promise that the hearts of good men in England will not find repose till the truth is found *somewhere*; *where* it is found, we care not.

There are, of course, in a volume of nearly seven hundred pages, a great many matters on which we have not touched, and, we may add, not a few very tempting ones. We have thought it best, however—to use a phrase which we hope will give no offence—to ‘take the bull by the horns,’ and grapple with the bones and sinews of the author’s system; and on only one point more will we make an observation, before we bring our notice to a close. In his preface, the author states his views of the aspect of the state-church controversy, and his reasons for entering into the field, in the following terms:—

‘On the other hand, there are several reasons which convince me that such a work, apart from the faults in its execution, is desirable and almost necessary, at the present time, for the true interests of our nation and of the church of Christ; and lead to a sanguine hope that even the present attempt, however imperfect and unworthy of the subject, will be honoured with a blessing from above. It is the result of convictions, slowly matured, and which were indeed partly committed to writing, more than ten years ago, at the desire of a much beloved and much honoured friend, whose praise is in all the churches. . . . And now, when his conscience acquits him of undue haste to enter on a field of thought, so much controverted in these days, and when he has sought, however feebly and unworthily, to pledge his hearty adherence to the cause of peace and love among all his fellow Christians who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, he dares no longer withhold his testimony, in these eventful times, to

truths which have been taught him, as he verily believes, by the Holy Spirit, not for his own sake, but for the sake of others; truths not essential, indeed, to the life and vigour of personal holiness, but still vital to the welfare of our nation, and almost indispensable to the real harmony and union of the church of Christ. . . .

'To preserve our nation from such an apostacy, and to heal the divisions of Christ's people, unless I am greatly deceived, the true remedy is one and the same. We must hold up a standard for the just claims of national religion, distinct alike from the assumptions of clerical or ecclesiastical pride, and from the rash and blind zeal which would sever nations from God himself, by severing them from the revealed truths of the gospel, and their public and open allegiance to the messages of His word. The people of Christ must be rescued, if possible, from these two main errors, which pull them wider and wider asunder, till children of the same Father, servants of the same Lord, and heirs of the same kingdom, look on each other with eyes of jealousy and suspicion, if not of open hatred; till war is the normal state of the visible church, and the very effort after peace and unity becomes treachery to a party, a treasonable correspondence with avowed enemies; so that strife and violence, calumny and mutual reviling, go daily round about the walls of the spiritual Zion, and make the church of Christ a proverb and a by-word in the lips of worldly men.

'The present work, then, whatever its actual influence may be, is sincerely designed as a contribution, not only to the cause of our national Christianity, but of the peace and unity of the whole church of Christ. It would grieve the writer deeply, if, either through his own sinful infirmity, or that of others, any contrary effect should arise. His earnest aim has been to avoid all that could irritate or offend; all personal controversy, or mischievous confusion of principles, and their logical or possible consequences, with the motives and impressions of those by whom such principles are entertained. If he has failed to attain his own standard, may the God of all grace pardon the sin, and not suffer it to become a stumbling-block to one single reader, so as to hinder his careful examination of the truths themselves.'—pp. vi.—x.

The importance of this passage will perhaps excuse the length of the quotation. The author refers, in it, to the well known fact that he is a member of the Evangelical Alliance, an institution by means of which, it was hoped—as explicitly stated by Mr. Bickersteth—that the progress of the state-church controversy might, so far as its members were concerned, be arrested; the first book published on that controversy, however, subsequently to the formation of the Alliance, turns out to be by one of its own members, by a clergyman of the church of England, and by the son-in-law of Mr. Bickersteth! We find no fault with this. We fully admit the force of the two pleas which Mr. Birks advances, namely, first, that 'he dared not withhold his testi-

mony, and, secondly, that 'he designed it as a contribution to the peace and unity of the whole church of Christ.' These are noble avowals, and we entirely believe them. Only we say, let other parties be believed when they assert the same things. Let it be held as justifiable for a dissenter to bear his testimony as for a churchman; and, while a book in vindication of national religion is hailed as 'a contribution to peace and unity,' let not a book on behalf of nonconformity be stigmatised as an attempt to tear the church to pieces.

That the author has studied to avoid the verbal asperity by which this controversy has so often been characterised, we sincerely believe; and, on the whole, he has been successful. Not, however, entirely. We were struck by the rather frequent use of the term 'monstrous,' not a very convincing one, we venture to suggest, in a purely argumentative work; but we think he must have quite forgotten himself, when, in discussing the matter with M. Vinet, he suffered himself to write as follows: 'What would this be but *anarchy itself run mad*? Such a maxim, fully adopted, must involve the destruction of all conscience, and turn social order into the *Saturnalia of hell*,' p. 445. This is hardly in the Alliance spirit; we have not, however, written to Sir Culling Eardley on the subject.

ART. III.—1. *Travels in the East*. By Constantine Tischendorff, Editor of the 'Codex Ephræmi Rescriptus,' 'Codex Friderico Augustanus,' etc. Translated from the German by W. E. Shuckard. London: Longmans. 1847. 12mo. pp. 288.

2. *The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described, in an extensive Journey undertaken with Special Reference to the Promotion of Biblical Research, and the Advancement of the Cause of Philanthropy*. By John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., etc. With Maps and Illustrations. Edinburgh: White & Co. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 504, 786.

WHEN the 'Biblical Researches' of Dr. Robinson appeared, we entertained some expectation that there would be a long season of comparative rest for reviewers in respect of travels in Palestine, which for many years previously had come upon them in no stinted measure. Our expectation was founded on the notion that the great and solid worth of that book, would, by contrast, render such superficial performances as had formed the staple of

travels in the Holy Land, so manifestly valueless, as to deter other travellers of the same class from favouring the world with their lucubrations; and that, on the other hand, Dr. Robinson had so completely occupied the ground as to leave little to be done by scholars and critics like himself. We must confess to have been somewhat out in this calculation. The tide of books on Palestine has still flowed on with unabated force. Yet, when we consider that formerly every Englishman who went to the Holy Land felt it his bounden duty to write a book, and that now, although the number of travellers to that country has increased thirty-fold, the proportion of books produced is not materially greater than before; we are not indisposed to conclude, that the considerations we have stated must have had much effect in preventing the books from increasing in the same ratio with the travellers.

We also apprehend that the influence of Robinson's great work is perceivable in the materially improved character of most of the books which have since appeared. If any of our readers possess the means of examining the works which have been produced in the seven years since the Robinsonian era, he will perceive that they are, on the whole, of more sterling value than all that were obtruded on the public in twenty years preceding. We can say this with some confidence, having before us all the books which belong to these two periods.

Of the books produced very recently, the two whose titles are given at the head of this article are the most valuable and interesting. The authors are both men of considerable eminence in different lines—both unusually competent as scholars, and men very capable of seeing and thinking for themselves. Moreover, as it happens, both travelled with distinct objects in view, of which neither of them suffers us to lose sight; and this alone imparts an unusual earnestness to their pursuits, and affords a peculiar interest to their researches.

Tischendorff is well known as the learned editor of the works enumerated in his title, which have given to him a European reputation in biblical literature; and his object in travelling was to seek ancient manuscripts of the sacred books. The present work, however, has little to do with his learned labours, which he has had other opportunities of reporting. He does not, indeed, suffer us to lose sight of his primary object; but the book, as it stands, is a lively, impressive, and very readable account of his travelling observations. He views things with German eyes, and in a German light, which is often enough what Bacon calls a 'dry light;' but the whole has considerable freshness of effect to the English reader, who is not familiar with the distinctive character which the peculiarities of

the German intellect impress even upon their books of travel, and who necessarily regard as original, bold, and striking, whatever is new to their own experience. The book is just what the author intended it to be; for he carefully assures us, that he has 'endeavoured to appear as little learned as possible in these pages.' We certainly think that he has succeeded very well in this endeavour; but it has not been possible for him, if it were even his wish, to divest his pages of those attributes which mark the presence of the thinker and the scholar.

The author of the larger work, Dr. Wilson, is also a man of note, being, as most of our readers know, one of the missionaries in India, most distinguished by his labours, his learning, and his varied attainments. Full of the great objects to which his life has been devoted, their influence is manifested throughout these volumes. The real objects throughout are the same as those which are particularly stated in connection with Egypt.

'To learn something of the present condition of the Jews and Christians of Egypt, and the prospects of evangelical missionary effort directed to their instruction; to mark, in connexion with my observations and inquiries, as far as my limited opportunities would permit, the precise nature of the various influences which have lately been brought to bear on the civil and religious destiny of the country in general; and to indulge, when possible, that natural curiosity,' &c.

The work is, therefore, in its specific objects, the same as that of Jowett's 'Christian Researches,' to which, indeed, it has great resemblance; the narrative of travel and the topographical observations being first given; and the principal observations on the Jews and Christian sects being exhibited in separate papers at the end of the work. There is this difference, however, that when Jowett travelled there were no resident missionaries in any of those countries, and the information sought was felt to be requisite as the basis of future operations, whereas there have now, for many years been missionaries stationed in all 'the lands of the Bible' which Dr. Wilson visited, and who must certainly be more competent than any passing traveller to afford information respecting the sects among whom they have laboured, and whose condition and opinions have been the objects of their constant attention. While, therefore, Jowett's information on these subjects had much freshness to the public, that which Dr. Wilson has to offer, although more copious, contains no large proportion of matter which has not already been given to the world in the various publications and reports of the missionaries, from whose accounts most of the information here given might just as well have been com-



piled in London as in Edinburgh. Indeed, these papers have in substance been thus compiled; and, as they stand, the pith of the information they contain has been previously given to the public by the author in his two long lectures on the 'Eastern Churches,' printed two years ago in the 'Lectures on Foreign Churches.' Although, therefore, a very few of the three hundred and twenty-seven pages of this work, which come under the head of 'General Researches,' would contain all the information which is new to a reader of ordinary diligence, it will be to many a great convenience to have the most recent information on these subjects brought together and digested ready to their hands. We must confess, however, that we would most gladly have spared some of the dissertations, for that memoir on the natural history of Palestine, which the author tells us he had prepared from actual observation, but was obliged to omit for want of room. This, if competently done, is a thing really wanted, and we sincerely trust that it may yet see the light.

It is thus, upon the whole, chiefly with reference to the portion of the work comprising the personal narrative and topographical research, forming about three-fourths of the whole work, that its merits are to be estimated. Apart from the special objects, which impart a Christian interest to his narrative, and from the constant references to scripture which pervade its pages, a distinctive character is impressed upon this portion of the work by the singularly advantageous position of the author. All previous travellers—at least, all who have written anything of importance—have come to the 'lands of the Bible' from the West, and have looked upon the scenery they beheld, and the customs brought under their notice, under impressions which things so new to their experience would naturally excite. This had its advantages, as much which those who are really familiar to the East would deem too ordinary and common-place to be noticed, would strike the attention of a stranger as worthy of record; and, other things being equal, the freshness of his perceptions would be likely to produce the more agreeable and attractive narrative. Still we have had so much of this, have had it so constantly, that even this freshness has become wearisome. We perceive that it is but another name for crudeness—and we begin to sigh for such views as might be taken of Palestine by a man already familiar with the East, and able, in the fulness of his knowledge, to see more deeply into the 'reasons of things,' and to detect differences and trace analogies, which must be wholly beyond the ken of ordinary tourists, who go to Palestine and make a book, and then have done with the East. Now, here we have something of this advantage. Dr. Wilson comes

to 'the lands of the Bible' with a long and ripe experience of the East, its customs and its rites. We hence constantly discover that we are in the hands of no ordinary guide. But we must confess, that the result is less marked than our words might lead the reader to expect. And the reason probably is, that the East, with which Dr. Wilson was previously familiar, is India—a tropical country, whose physical condition, and the customs of whose inhabitants are scarcely less different from those of Palestine than are our own. 'The East' is a vague term, much too loosely applied; and India is much too far east and too far south, for an acquaintance with it, to avail much to the traveller in Palestine. Still, a view from that quarter is a new point of view at least\*—and that is something, as times go; and we must wait for the full realization of the advantage we have indicated, till 'the lands of the Bible' shall be explored and studied by some one well acquainted previously with Western Asia, in general—that is, so much of Asia as lies to the west of the Oxus and the Persian Gulf. The materials for comparison which lie in the regions beyond, cannot under a sober estimate be deemed of much account.

Another advantage possessed by Dr. Wilson seems to be in a knowledge of Arabic—an important but very rare attainment, which even Dr. Robinson did not enjoy, although he has availed himself, with great ability, of the knowledge of that language possessed by his travelling companion, the Rev. Eli Smith. Dr. Wilson seems to have found his Arabic available wherever he went—at Aden, in Egypt, in the desert, in Palestine. We suspect, however, that this matter was not managed without greater difficulty than appears in the book; for the dialectical variations of the Arabic are very considerable; and it is hard to understand how the Arabic used in India could be readily intelligible every where else. There were, however, doubtless, some of the party who could talk with all persons that were met with in the journey; and this imparts that vitality to the narrative which is not to be found when the traveller can only report what he hears through an interpreter.

That no advantage might be wanting, Dr. Wilson provided himself with a collection of books on Palestine, larger than he had found in any of our public libraries. But he appears to have wanted time for the management of this instrument, as his references apply to very few indeed of the whole number of the books which have been produced respecting the Holy Land;

\* We believe that the only previous travellers who have taken Palestine in their way from India to Europe are, the 'Field-officer of Cavalry,' who published a 'Diary of a Tour' in 1823; and the Methodist Missionary, the Rev. R. Spence Hardy, who published 'Notices of the Holy Land' in 1835. Neither work is of much importance.

and, we are bound to add, that of these the titles and the names of the authors are not always given with the care which one who purchases an expensive book is entitled to expect. We scarcely regret that the author has been prevented from making greater use of his library; as Robinson has already pretty well exhausted the topographical literature of the Bible lands—and has, perhaps, indeed, given more of it than the public has even yet found time to digest. In this line, however, some freshness is produced by references to books which have appeared since Robinson wrote.

Taken all in all, 'The Lands of the Bible' is a good and useful book. It may indeed be safely described as the best that has appeared on the subject since Robinson's 'Biblical Researches;' and we are disposed to think, that, next to that (at a long interval, certainly), it is the best in the English language. The comparison is, however, only one of relative value: for, although the author owes some of his inspiration to Robinson, and although there are some features that produce a greater resemblance between these two books, than between any others recently produced, there are great and material differences in plan, in execution, and in object, and in all that relates to topographical research. Robinson's supremacy is not in the slightest degree disturbed. Though less valuable to the student, this book is much more readable, and is likely to prove much more popular than Robinson's, the personal narrative of travel being less overladen with minute topographical investigations.

Having thus introduced our two books to the reader, we shall compare their statements, on a few points of material interest, with each other, that the reader may have the advantage of seeing how far men of different countries and of different habits of study, agree in their views of the same objects.

Respecting the journey of the Israelites to the Red Sea, they differ as to the route, but agree that the starting point was from Heliopolis. We have no inclination to discuss the assigned routes in this place, but it does not appear to us that Dr. Wilson has by any means cleared off the difficulties which lie in the way of the route through Wady Badiya, which is the one he has chosen.

Respecting the point of passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, Tischendorff says little, but agrees with Dr. Robinson and others, in placing it near Suez; whereas Dr. Wilson is decidedly in favour of the lower point of passage, at Ayun Musa. But neither of these positions is supported, or the other assailed, by any new facts or arguments that we are able to discover. There is, however, a decided balance of opinion accumulating in favour of the passage at Ayun Musa, and we make little question that many years will not pass away before the other opinion

will be looked back upon by studious persons, as a strange hallucination of the present age. The whole thing is rotten with rationalism; and it is painful to see how many faithful men have, in the simplicity of their minds, taken up this, not only very untenable, but very dangerous opinion.\*

Dr. Wilson has little to say about the manna, but he justly scouts the idea, that the gummy exudation from the tamarisks, to which that name is now given, had anything to do with the manna which fed the Israelites. Tischendorff does not see all these difficulties. He was on the spot at the time when this product is yielded; and as his account is the most complete which has been furnished, we here introduce it:—

‘Early on the 23rd, we broke up, shortly after the first ray had greeted us, and reached, in about an hour and a half, the Sheikh-valley, with the celebrated manna-tamarisk, or, as it was there called, the darfa tree. The Feiran-valley, indeed, possesses the same tamarisk, and in much greater profusion than in the Sheikh-valley; and the tamarisk plantations there were, as I have before said, completely enveloped in the peculiar odour of the manna; yet was I universally assured that the manna itself is exclusively collected from the tamarisks of the Sheikh-valley. I rejoiced exceedingly that I had arrived at the spot at the commencement of the time at which the formation of the manna takes place; the months of June and July are considered as this period; and I strayed eagerly from branch to branch to discover by my eye what was so apparent to the smell. How rejoiced I was upon shortly finding, upon the branches of one of the largest and tallest shrubs, excrescences hanging like glittering pearls or thick dew drops! I broke off some of the finest, for I felt convinced that I held in my hand manna in the process of its formation. These thickish lumps were clammy, and had the same powerful scent emitted by the shrub. I tasted it, and its flavour, as far as I could find a suitable comparison, greatly resembles honey. On many shrubs I found small excrescences upon the twigs, which resembled at a distance those described; but close to them, I observed that they consisted of a round thick web, similar to what are found upon other shrubs, and which are but the cocoons of insects. The twigs, with the drops of manna, I placed in a tin-box: they are very well preserved: indeed, after several weeks of great heat, the drops appeared melted, and the whitish glitter had assumed a dark brown hue. But at the very instant that I am writing, the twigs brought home by me still retain these brownish masses of manna, still feel clammy, and have also the complete smell they had in the Sheikh-valley.

‘My Bedouins told me that no manna had been collected for three

\* Since this has been in type, we have seen it announced in the last number of Zimmermann's 'Theologisches Literaturblatt,' that Tischendorff has just published a separate work on the subject, with the title—'De Israelitarum per mare rubrum transitu. Cum tabula. Lipsiae, Brockhaus.'

years, but that this year a rich harvest was expected. In the month of July the Bedouins, and also the monks of St. Catharine's monastery, collect it in small leathern bags, chiefly from the ground, whither it drops from the branches on hot days. As it is not produced in very large quantities, it is sold tolerably dear, and chiefly to the pilgrims to Mecca and Mount Sinai. Yet do the Bedouins themselves sometimes indulge in it; they eat it spread upon bread like honey.

Ehrenberg, who was during the summer in the Sheikh-valley, has given the most satisfactory account of the formation of manna. According to him, a small insect, which he calls *coccus manniparus*, punctures the twigs of the tamarisk, and the manna consists of its exuding juices. I, for my part, could discover nothing of this coccus, and only those small webs already alluded to indicated its existence. On the contrary, these tamarisks were surrounded by a large and beautiful bee, which made it difficult to approach them. If Ehrenberg's theory be correct, I believe that the tamarisks of the valley of Feiran possess the same capability of producing manna, and that only the coccus is wanting to enable them to yield it, and which might be, it would seem, easily enough conveyed there. What further confirms Ehrenberg's investigation is, that the medicinal manna of Calabria and Sicily exudes from ash trees during the summer months from the puncture of a cicador.

But what gives this manna of the Sheikh-valley its great interest, is the recollection of the heavenly bread which fed the Israelites in the desert. And whatever may be objected to the comparison of the one with the other, I am, nevertheless, convinced that the present manna of the Sheikh-valley has intimate relation to the biblical manna; for this spot closely agrees with the spot where the Israelites first received manna. The book of Exodus, namely, places it near Rephidin, and Rephidin is nowhere else than between the Sheikh-valley and Sinai. And the biblical description of manna is also surprising (Exod. xvi. 31), 'and its taste was like wafers made with honey;' as well as xvi. 21, 'and when the sun waxed hot, it melted,' perfectly agrees with the present manna; although that produced in Persia from an oriental kind of oak, and the manna which drops in Mesopotamia from the shrub, gavan, more closely agrees with 'white coriander seed' (Exod. xvi. 31). Indeed there are varieties enough of it. The biblical manna fell during the night from heaven, and lay in the morning like dew upon the fields: on the sabbath it did not fall, but on the previous day it fell in double quantity: after a short keeping maggots were produced in it. Besides, it had the property of sustaining a host of two millions for forty years. The statement of its falling has recalled what Aristotle says, that sometimes, on the rising of large stars, honey falls out of the air; a statement which Pliny further elucidates, in saying that this honey falls upon the rising of the Pleiades so thickly that the leaves of the shrubs and the clothes of travellers become quite clammy with it. With this has been compared the account given by the monks at Tor, who, in the morning frequently find traces of honey upon the roof of their monastery. Lastly, Wellstead has recently informed us that a Jewish

rabbi told him, that in the desert of Damascus, at the present day even, a kind of manna falls from the open sky.

'Truly, indeed, the tamarisk manna of Sinai is somewhat lessened in its importance, especially as, in the manna of the Israelites, we must not overlook the miracle. But does not the miracle retain its true character when we conceive the present manna, by the operations of Divine grace, deducible, on every side, from the preceding food of the Israelites? Were it not apparently too far-fetched, I should say that the exhalations rising from the groves of tamarisks, might very readily fall back again to the earth like dew; at least, this idea may be as admissible as that which surmises the present manna to be the enfeebled continuous result of the biblical heavenly bread.'—Tischendorff, pp. 87—89.

The futility of these speculations is almost irritating. It is marvellous that professed believers in not only the perfect truth, but in the inspiration of scripture, cannot ask themselves such plain questions as these: Where grew the trees sufficient to afford daily sustenance of this kind during forty years, and in different places, to three millions of people? And, how was it that the Hebrews had their 'bread from heaven' daily at all times of the year, winter as well as summer, when this gummy exudation is afforded only during two months in the year, June and July? Truly, when we press the consequences, it is not difficult to show that it requires more real credulity to doubt the miracles of scripture, than to believe 'all the legends of the Talmud and the Alcoran.'

Both Tischendorff and Dr. Wilson agree with Robinson that the broad valley, or enclosed plain, er-Rahah, must have been the site of the encampment formed by the Israelites in front of 'the mount of God.' But they both uphold the opinion that the summit, called Jebel Musa, is that to which tradition ascribes the distinction, and in this they differ from Robinson, who produces some weighty reasons that the advanced summit of the same ridge, which bears the name of Safsafah, was that on which the law was delivered, in the presence of the assembled hosts of Israel. Tischendorff adheres quietly to the received opinion, without noticing the other; but Dr. Wilson supports his view by some arguments of considerable weight.

Tischendorff did not visit Petra. Dr. Wilson did, and has given a very interesting account of the place, which it seems may, under proper management, be visited and explored with greater facility than has been usually supposed, and not only without molestation, but with every assistance from the resident Fellahin. The party spent a week at the place, and examined every thing under peculiar advantages. The opinion of Dr. Robinson, and others, that all the celebrated excavations at this place were

tombs, is not supported by Dr. Wilson, who advocates the opinion first indicated by Irby and Mangles, that many of them were residences for the living.

With regard to the much disputed question—the site of Golgotha—Dr. Wilson does not appear to have formed any very decided opinion of his own, and contents himself with stating the condition of the question as *against* the traditional site, chiefly from Robinson, to whose views he is therefore to be regarded as giving his adhesion. We earnestly wish that he had examined the matter more thoroughly, and had contributed something to the settlement of the question; for he admits that Dr. Robinson's conclusions, though they have obtained the acquiescence of multitudes of his readers both in Europe and America, have been assented to but by few of the travellers who have visited Jerusalem, and have favoured the world with the result, since the publication of his most important 'Biblical Researches.'

Among such travellers we must count Tischendorff, who devotes considerable space to the subject, and concludes that the weight of evidence is in favour of the site covered by the church of the holy sepulchre, and that the arguments urged against it are not so unanswerable as they may, at the first view, appear to those who have not closely investigated the subject. We greatly regret that the matter has in this country already become a party question, which greatly lessens the hope of a really thorough and impartial survey of a subject to which considerable interest must always be attached, although we are unable to see in it the commanding importance which, on the one side, and on the other, has been ascribed to it. Had Tischendorff's statement been shorter, we should like to have placed it before our readers; for although we certainly do not feel prepared to assent to all his conclusions, we agree with him that 'the result of a serious investigation must be welcome, even should it oppose our prepossessions; for the truth, or what is most proximate to the truth, is the object of all research.'

We shall now present the reader with a few of the many passages we have marked for extract in these two works, both of which we can cordially recommend our readers to add to their libraries.

Tischendorff visited the Christian monasteries at Cairo, in search of manuscripts. He found nothing, except in the convent of the Sinaïte Greeks, which he visited in company with the dragoman of the Austrian consulate:—

'Upon asking to see the manuscripts, they told me that they possessed none at all, but that I should find many good ones on Mount

Sinai. Their own library contained printed books only, which were entirely at my service. I then requested the cupboard full of books standing opposite to me to be opened. A full half hour may have elapsed before the key could be found, and the operation of opening accomplished. The libraries in these monasteries are mere ornaments. They occupy the place that ladies' what-not's do with us. I took several volumes out, and found nothing but manuscripts. Perfectly astonished at my discovery, I mentioned it to them; but with still greater astonishment they heard me and inspected them. 'Manuscripts! manuscripts!' they reiterated, and seemed to entertain some doubt of it. An ancient manuscript was to them a perfect novelty, for they seemed to be acquainted with such things only by repute; and no sooner had they heard of their richness in manuscripts, than they began to dream of their inestimable value. After examining this bookcase, I inspected another in the chapel of the monastery, which proved to be still more productive.

'I returned again to this monastery, and a study was in the most friendly way provided for me. The results of these studies I shall elsewhere show. But my discoveries in this library were my first joyful proofs of the incorrectness of the dissuasions made at home against my journey, founded upon the supposition that nothing new was to be discovered, after the exploration of so many who had preceded me. A man of widely celebrated name, and whose pursuits were the same as my own, had visited this monastery twenty years ago, and reports thus boldly upon it: 'It contains no manuscripts of any literary interest.'—Tischendorff, p. 30.

But Tischendorff was not yet satisfied. He had heard of a walled-up library in the custody of the Patriarch, and visited that high functionary respecting it, in company with the Austrian consul-general:—

'We rapidly approached the object of our visit. The consul-general told him, that I was a profound Hellenist, although I had never been in Greece. The patriarch then called for a printed Greek book in folio. I think it was a volume of Chrysostomus, and he requested me to read it. I presumed he wished to hear how the un-Grecians pronounce Greek, and I read him a couple of lines according to our Leipsic pronunciation. To my great mortification I did not succeed in this examination; I may fairly record it as a failure. The patriarch, upon this experiment, was of opinion, that I had scarcely yet learnt the alphabet. He intermingled a little mirth in our hasty explanations, but the mishap was not to be repaired. I conversed also in Greek with him; but the least mistake in the Romaic pronunciation, or even a false accent—I had latterly become accustomed to pronounce the Greek according to its quantity—he urged harshly in confirmation of his opinion. It would seem that he had the delicate ear of a Parisian lady. It was now,



indeed, difficult to make him comprehend, that my studies of manuscripts could be of any consequence.

‘My *Codex Ephræmi Syri rescriptus* sounded like a pleasant fable. Upon hearing of it, he retorted with, how could I read manuscript, when I could not even read a printed text?’

‘The consul began to lose his temper, and told him he might wholly rely upon him, and that our great object was only to obtain the privilege of the sight of his concealed library. Upon wishing to know why we so eagerly sought to see it, we informed him, that my object was to inspect the ancient codices of the original text of the New Testament, in order to derive a text from their combination, which might approach as closely as possible to what was written by the apostles. ‘But,’ he added, ‘we have all that we require—we have the evangelists, we have the apostles, what can we desire more?’ The idea of criticism seemed to have struck his ears, for the first time, in his ninety-first year. He became thoughtful and distrustful upon our explanations. At last he availed himself of the circumstance that the library was walled up, and could be entered only at a great outlay; whereupon we mentioned that we were willing to bear all the charges. Nevertheless, he seemed only apparently to concur, and we very speedily withdrew.’—Tischendorff, pp. 31, 32.

After many difficulties, our learned traveller at length found a powerful auxiliary in a German physician:—

‘He made his professional intercourse, as family physician to the procurator of the patriarch, available for my object, and upon him some influence was gained by the representation that, upon my return to Europe, I should make an unfavourable report respecting this unapproachable walled-up patriarchal library. The procurator promised that he would have this library opened for me; but I was not present personally when this took place, and the number of manuscripts that I had the opportunity of examining from it was very small, whereas the remaining contents of the library consisted ostensibly of many thousand printed books. I strongly suspected that I was not ingenuously dealt with, yet those few manuscripts have yielded most welcome results. I occupied a whole day in this investigation in the house of the learned secretary of the procurator.’—Tischendorff, p. 33.

Tischendorff afterwards visited the Coptic monasteries in the Libyan sands, in the same search for manuscripts:—

‘The special locality set apart for the library in the several monasteries, as I have already mentioned, is the tower chamber, which is accessible only by means of the drawbridge. No spot in the monastery could well be safer from the visits of the fraternity than this. Here are seen (I speak of the first monastery) the manuscripts

heaped indiscriminately together. Lying on the ground, or thrown into large baskets, beneath masses of dust, are found innumerable fragments of old, torn, and destroyed manuscripts. I saw nothing Greek; all was either Coptic or Arabic; and in the third monastery I found some Syriac, together with a couple of leaves of Ethiopic. The majority of the MSS. are liturgical, though many are biblical. From the fourth monastery the English have recently acquired an important collection of several hundred MSS. for the British Museum, and this at a very small cost. The other monasteries contain, certainly, nothing of such consequence, yet, much might be found to reward the labour of the search. The monks themselves understand extremely little about the matter. Not one among them, probably, is acquainted with the Coptic, and they merely read mechanically the lessons of their ritual. The Arabic of the older MSS. but few can read. Indeed it is not easy to see what these monks know beyond the ordinary church service. Still their excessive suspicion renders it extremely difficult to induce them to produce their manuscripts, in spite of the extreme penury which surrounds them. Possibly they are controlled by the mandate of their patriarch. For my own part I made a lucky discovery of a multitude of Coptic parchment-sheets of the sixth and seventh centuries, already half destroyed, and completely buried beneath a mass of dust. These were given to me without hesitation; but I paid for the discovery by severe pains in the throat, produced by the dust I had raised in the excessive heat.'—Tischendorff, p. 52.

Such a man as our author would of course examine, with interest, the manuscripts in the library of the monastery of Mount Sinai, which has been so often mentioned by travellers:—

'I was most anxious to see another remarkable MSS. of Sinai; this is a gospel said to have been extant in the palace of the emperor Theodosius. Cyrillus had not seen it, notwithstanding his function of librarian; but another brother, as well as Signor Petro, gave me a precise description of it. Thence, as well as from previous communications made to me about it at Cairo, the MSS. I conceive may be of the eleventh century. But all my exertions, both conciliatory and imperative, were in vain. The explanation ran that the MSS. were in the archiepiscopal chapel, whose comptroller, who had but recently taken office, was not to be found. Upon my return to Cairo, the bishop there assured me that it had been sent a few years before to Constantinople, to the archbishop, for the purpose of being copied. But even in Constantinople I found no trace of it.

This was a genuine instance upon all sides of the *Græca fides*, Pointedly as I taxed the brotherhood with falsehood, they quietly submitted to the accusation. The prior is a native of Crete; St. Paul's notorious character of the Cretes (the Cretes are always liars) he seems to verify in the present day. I now believe that the manuscript for which Lord Prudhoe offered some years ago two hundred and fifty pounds, and which was not accepted only because they

could not agree about the division of the proceeds, has really been sold to the English. As it would be a disgrace to the monastery, they fancy they dare not admit it. But if it be in England, I wish Christian literature joy of the acquisition of the new treasure; for, that it may be speedily communicated to the real Christian church, is a wish towards whose fulfilment erudite men are doubtlessly already labouring.'—Tischendorff, p. 106.

The author inserts an interesting 'Epistle to an illustrious patroness upon my Biblico-critical researches,' which we may recommend to the special attention of *our* readers, although many who take up the book will pass it over. We should be glad to transfer it to our pages, but are compelled reluctantly to content ourselves with this reference to it.

We have given these extracts to illustrate the character of our traveller's researches; and must abstain from the rich abundance of perhaps more pleasant matter, in order to secure room for a few paragraphs from the larger work of Dr. Wilson.

It seems that the resident Fellahin of Petra claim to be descendants of the Israelites. This is certainly a new discovery, and whatever value we attach to the claim, the statement involves some matter of interest.—

'The most interesting of our conferences with the Fellahin of WadiMusa were those which referred to their own position in the human family. Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the Sheikh and some of his dependents whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling: '*Lá nahnu aulád Beni-Isráyén.*' '*No; we are the offspring of the Beni-Israel.*'"

A conversation then followed, which Dr. Wilson gives, together with a list which he obtained of the names in common use among them. He then adds:—

'With this interrogation they expressed a wish to bring the conversation to a close, begging us, at the same time, to inform all English travellers to make payments on account of Wadi Musa, directly to themselves and not to the camel Sheikhs. Simple as was the information we received from them, it is not without the highest interest. As they consider themselves distinct from the Arabs, and have no intermarriage with them, it is extremely probable that they are descended from some of the older races, commingled with one another it may be, who anciently inhabited Idumea. Though in their features and personal appearance, and even dress, as in the ringlets of hair above the ear which some of them wear, they certainly resemble the Jews who are settled in the east, particularly those of Yemen and Bombay; and though they denominate themselves Beni-Israel, they may not belong to the family of Jacob, but of Esau, which, as we learn from Josephus, embraced the Jewish

faith. It is worthy of notice that the first name of a man which they mentioned as current among them was that of Esau; and that Matshabah, one of their female names, seems, by a bold anagram not unusual in the formation of Arabic words from the Hebrew, to resemble Bashemath, the wife of Esau. Aidah too, one of the female names, is like that of Adah, another of Esau's wives. Most of the names including even those which are found in the Old Testament, are common to the Tekahim of Wadi Musa and the Arabs. The number of Old Testament names in proportion to others, however, is greater than I have found in any list so limited as that we obtained from these people. It is curious to see that between 'The Times of Ignorance,' of which all the Arabs speak, and the prevalence of Islam, they interpose the advent to the country of the Beni-Israel; and that they point to the simple excavations of the north west of Petra, as particularly the work of the Beni-Israel,—or, as I have supposed, the Edomites,—properly distinguishing them from the more artistic excavations which they ascribe to the Nasrani or Nazarenes, or indefinitely, 'foreigners.' We were much gratified by learning the facts which I have stated. They increase the regret which we feel that travellers hitherto have made little or no inquiry into the circumstances of this curious people.' — Wilson, pp. 330—332.

Dr. Wilson did not succeed better than his predecessors in getting access to the tomb of the patriarchs—the cave of Macphelah, at Hebron. He therefore gives us the description furnished by Ali Bey, unaware, probably, that this is known to have been a pure fabrication, from the information of Sir Moses Montefiore, who with his lady and Dr. Loewe, was, as a mark of special and extraordinary distinction, admitted into the interior of the mosque containing the tomb, in the year 1838. See the note on Gen. xxiii. 9, in De Sola 'New Translation of the Sacred Scriptures.'

At Nablous (Shechem), Dr. Wilson paid much attention to the Samaritans. He found that they held the doctrine of the resurrection to be proved by Deut. xxxii. 39; and the personality of Satan by Deut. xiii. 13, and xv. 9. He was particularly anxious to ascertain their views respecting the Messiah; and was told by their priest that the 'Messiah' was not one of their terms, but that they did not generally object to its use. They still expect a great instructor and guide, whom they call Hathab, to appear in the world.

There was an interesting adventure at Jacob's Well, thus related:—

'On arriving at Jacob's well, we found the mouth of it, which is in the middle of the ruins of a church, by which it was formerly surmounted, covered with two large stones. These we were unable

ourselves to remove; but a half-dozen sturdy Arabs, from a small hamlet close by, did the needful for us, in expectation, of course, of a due reward. The opening over the well is an orifice in a dome or arch, less than two feet in diameter. Our Samaritan friend was the first to enter. He held by a piece of rope, which we kept in our hands, till, swinging himself across the mouth of the well, properly so called, he found footing on the margin of the excavation, over which the dome extends. Mr. Smith and myself, dispensing with the superfluous parts of our dresses, followed his example; the Jew Mordecai and Dhanjibháí, whom we thought it expedient to leave without, keeping fast hold of the rope, till, with the assistance of Jacob, we got a firm footing beside him. The Arabs entered, one after another, without difficulty. All within was hitherto darkness; but, by the aid of a packet of lucifers, we lighted our candles, and were able to look down the well to a considerable depth. It was now time to disclose our plan of operation to our native attendants. 'Jacob,' said we, 'a friend of ours, an English traveller, and minister, (the Rev. Andrew Bonar, of Collace,) dropped the five books of Moses, and other inspired records, into this well, about three years ago, and if you will descend, and bring them up, we shall give you a handsome *bakshish*.' 'Bakshish!' said the Arabs, kindling at the sound, 'if there is to be a bakshish in the case, we must have it, for we are the lords of the land.' 'Well, down you go,' said we, throwing the rope over their shoulders, 'and you shall have the bakshish.' 'Nay, verily,' said they, you mean to hang us; let Jacob do what he pleases.' Jacob was ready at our command; and when he had tied the rope round his body, below his shoulders, he received our parting instructions. We asked him to call out to us the moment that he might arrive at the surface of the water; and told him, that we should so hold the rope as to prevent him from sinking, if there was any considerable depth of the element. We told him also to pull out one of the candles with which he had stored his breast, and to ignite it when he might get below. As he looked into the fearful pit, on the brink of which he stood, terror took hold of him, and he betook himself to prayer, in the Hebrew tongue. We, of course, gave him no interruption in his solemn exercises, as, in the circumstances of the case, we could but admire the spirit of devotion which he evinced. On a signal given, we let him go. The Arabs held with us the rope, and we took care that he should descend as gently as possible. When our material was nearly exhausted, he called out, 'I have reached the bottom; and it is, at present, scarcely covered with water.' Forthwith he kindled his light; and, that he might have every advantage, we threw him down a quantity of dry sticks, with which he made a blaze, which distinctly showed us the whole of the well, from the top to the bottom. He held the end of the rope at its lower part; and we put a knot upon it at the margin above, that we might have the exact measurement when Jacob might come up. After searching for about five minutes for the Bible, among the mud and stones at the bottom, our kind friend joyfully

called out, 'It is found, it is found, it is found!' We were not slow, it may be supposed, in giving him our congratulations. The prize he carefully put into his breast, and then he declared his readiness, with our aid, to make the ascent. Ready, however, he was not to move. He was evidently much frightened at the journey which lay before him to the light of day; and he was not slow to confess his fears. 'Never mind,' cried Mordecai to him, from the top, on observing his alarm, 'you will get up, by the help of the God of Jacob.' He betook himself again to prayer, in which he continued for a much longer time than before his descent. When we got him in motion, he dangled very uncomfortably in the air, and complained much of the cutting of the rope under his arm-pits. By-and-bye he became silent. We found it no easy matter to get him pulled up, as we had to keep the rope from the edge of the well, lest it should snap asunder. When he came into our hands he was unable to speak; and we laid him down on the margin of the well, that he might collect his breath. '*Where is the bakshish?*' were the first words which he uttered, on regaining his faculty of speech. It was immediately forthcoming, to the extent of about a sovereign, and to his fullest satisfaction. A similar sum we divided among our Arab assistants. The book, from having been so long steeped in the water and mud below, was, with the exception of the boards, reduced to a mass of pulp. In our effort to recover it, we had ascertained the depth of the well, which is exactly seventy-five feet. Its diameter is about nine feet. It is entirely hewn out of the solid rock, and is a work of great labour. It bears marks about it of the greatest antiquity. 'The well is deep,' was the description given of it by the woman of Samaria to our Lord. It still, as now noticed, has the same character, although, to a considerable extent, it is, perhaps, filled with the stones which are thrown into it, to sound it, by travellers and pilgrims.'—Wilson, 2, 54—57.

In this transaction our travellers do not seem altogether free from blame. They might have satisfied their curiosity as to the depth of the well without exposing poor Jacob to a risk they were themselves unwilling to incur. And it was somewhat culpable to send him down without being provided with sufficient means of getting him up again. Travellers fresh from Europe would hardly have managed the business in this way; but those who have been long resident in the East, do inevitably contract some of that comparative disregard of human life and safety which prevails around them.

In concluding our notice of these interesting works, we should state, that the value of Dr. Wilson's is much enhanced by some very excellent maps; and there is a goodly sprinkling of engravings, mostly on wood, several of which represent scenes and objects not already made familiar to the public by engravings.

ART. IV.—*The First Report of the Central Protestant Association of France, 23rd April, 1847.* Paris. 8vo. 1847.

THE signs of steady, if not of rapid religious changes, are increasing in France; and all Europe is interested in the progress of those changes being as much undisturbed by internal convulsion, as they seem likely to be free from foreign intrigue. In times past, the sanguine and sincere members of the struggling Huguenot church were too often sacrificed to the selfish secular policy of foreigners. A recurrence of that evil is not to be apprehended so much as indifference to its prospects; notwithstanding, that a correct view of those prospects must promote the peaceful settlement of some great difficulties.

Not to insist on the internal reforms demanded in the catholic communion by the followers of Abbé Chatel; or on the late abandonment of pure Roman translations by a catholic bishop (of Chartres), there is going on among the *protestants* a complex work of extreme importance in the same direction. The several protestant societies now forming, and in progress, in various parts of the country, aim both at the spiritual and moral improvement of their own body, and at the conversion of the Roman catholics. Their means of attaining these objects are primary schools for the masses; colleges for the more advanced, and the pastors; schools of industry for criminals, and the abandoned; home and foreign missions; new churches; the visitation of hospitals and gaols; the distribution of the scriptures, and of pious books; and the vindication of religious rights by appeals to the legislature, to courts of justice, to the administration, and to the public.

During several years, voluntary societies have been vigorously extending these means of action; and a new one, whose first report stands at the head of this article, was founded in April last.

No materials exist for ascertaining the exact number of protestants in France at any period. Before the great persecutions begun in the reign of Louis XIV., they were stated by some authorities at one-twelfth of the whole population; others have said that they were then two millions in number. The exiles in the seven emigrations which took place between 1666 and 1744, have been fixed by able writers, with much probability, at 600,000 souls. The single emigration immediately consequent on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, has been estimated by an impartial and recent inquirer, at more than 240,000, after a careful examination of original documents. The account of these emigrations, by Cardinal de Bausset, in

his Life of Bossuet, offers a different view of the case ; but in terms which give credibility to the alleged great extension of French protestantism in our day. The cardinal, after endeavouring to show that what he calls the mild treatment of the protestants by Louis XIV., for twenty years before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, *must* have conciliated and speedily converted them all,—although the silencing of pastors, the closing of churches, and the exclusion of protestants from public employments, were parts of that mild treatment,—enlarges upon the fatal abuse of the king's power, and the misdirection of his policy by the minister Louvois.

'It is possible,' he says, 'that this minister sincerely believed his plan would succeed ; and then misled by daily reports of numerous conversions, he thought the protestants would disappear under the influence of missionaries sent to preach among them, and by the effect of liberality to the converted, and by simple discouragement, without personal violence, to the uncomplying. The delusion was kept up by the readiness with which thousands of protestants—nay, whole towns in mass, became catholic. Afterwards an unexpected resistance excited the vindictive feelings of the Marquis de Louvois, who treated the protestants as rebellious subjects, not as men simply exercising religious freedom. Thence arose the cruel dragonnades, and civil war aggravated by religious animosities, and by dangerous alliances with foreign powers.

'All now deplore the calamities of that period ; and all hold that these violences were neither accordant with the character of Louis XIV., nor with the public interests.

'But in the absence of correct statistical notions such as modern science affords, it is very difficult to calculate the amount of the protestant emigration. The figures usually stated can neither be admitted nor rejected with confidence. The *protestant* writers Basnage, La Martiniere, Larrey, and Benoit leave the case in uncertainty by loosely carrying it from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand. The Duke of Burgundy, in a remarkable memoir addressed to Louis XIV, his grandfather, reduces the number to sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, *at most*.'

The Cardinal admits that, even at so low a calculation, the sufferings of the emigrants must have been dreadful. But the numbers of those who remained is proved, he says, to have been large, by the great quantity of lands handed down by protestant ancestors, whose possessions were expressly respected by an article in the decree of revocation.\*

It is these remains of the ancient protestant population, along

\* Histoire de J. B. Bossuet, Eveque de Meaux, Composéé sur les MSS. Originaux. Par M. de Bausset. Versailles, 1814. Tom. 4, p. 73—80.



with many other families, who, without the tie of hereditary estates, have traditions of their ancient faith, that constitutes the great material for the revival of protestantism in France.

There has not yet been time since that faith obtained its constitutional charter, for a fair trial of its intrinsic strength, or for its obtaining a competent provision of pastors to teach its doctrines, and recommend its practice. Although persecution could not destroy pastors of protestantism, their existence has been well called 'mysterious,' and 'illegal,' so that when, in 1789, it was tolerated by law, its necessities, as a church, could not be correctly ascertained. Then came the reign of terror which cast aside all creeds. With the restoration of order, the few pastors who survived, shared the duty of whole provinces among them. Previous to 1802, the protestants had really no recognised hierarchy, nor spiritual government. Nor since the year when Napoleon formally resettled religious affairs, has any thing been done in its favour at all corresponding to its importance, or on equal terms with what the Roman catholic establishment has received.

Such is substantially the description of the past by one of the most zealous advocates of the protestant cause in France, Count Agenor de Gasparin.\* He reasonably anticipates a great change, when the means of protestant action shall be worthy of the protestant character. The success of that cause against tremendous odds, in former days, when the numerical minority of the Huguenots constituted the least of their difficulties, is a ground for confidence in its progress, when the equality enjoined by law shall be fairly worked out in practice. At the revolution, the annual revenue of the Roman catholic church in France was *seven* millions sterling; it is now about *two* millions. The old catholic establishment, of all sorts, male and female, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand souls. It is now under forty thousand. Yet in the sixteenth century, the Huguenots formed two thousand one hundred and fifty distinct churches, without reckoning Alsace and Franche Comté, which were annexed to France by Louis XIV. When, however, the state shall be just to the protestants, and the remaining protestants shall be wise, their faith will, probably, spread with rapidity.

A particular example of the fall and revival of protestantism in France, which offers some circumstances peculiarly interesting to British readers, may be narrated with advantage. It is that of the ancient and modern church of Blois upon the Loire. In the sixteenth century Blois had its protestant

\* *Interêts Generaux de Protestantism en France.* Paris, 8vo., *passim*.

martyr, John Bertrand, condemned in 1552 by the parliament of Paris for heresy, and burned here. But it is recorded that the inhabitants of the two creeds lived, for the most part, peaceably together. Even at the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in 1572, although its horrors were exhibited at Blois, yet refugees from the slaughter at Orleans and Paris found shelter there. Early in the seventeenth century its protestant population amounted to at least seven hundred. Persecution reduced it to one hundred and fifty in 1698; and in 1840 none remained. The names only of some of the old families who had submitted to Romanism, survived; and in one remarkable case, a remote hamlet still preserves the traditions of its fidelity to old convictions, by the *silent* burial of its dead away from the hated ceremonies of the Romish church. To this very day in that hamlet, no prayer is read over the graves of the descendants of the reformers, because from father to son persecution has failed to reconcile them to the creed which their ancestors disapproved, and tradition has preserved to them no other remnant of the new faith but its hostility to the old one.

From 1600 to 1660, the protestant population of Blois was remarkable for its industry and intellectual advancement. The decline of its flourishing manufactures is dated from the period of the persecutions, which, at length, annihilated that population. For instance, in 1670, the corporation of jewellers and watchmakers had thirty-eight *master* members; in 1686, the year after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the number was reduced to seventeen. Now there are only seven in the town, although watches are in universal use; and not one of the seven makes watches. They are all imported. Other trades and manufactures shared the same fate.

The protestant Papins, of whom Denis\* is now restored to deserved celebrity as a natural philosopher, were remarkable for their talents. Their books are still found in old libraries. Dr. Abel Brunyer, who, with the aid of Paul Reneaulme, was, perhaps, the real founder of modern botanical science, is scarcely known to us by name. Nevertheless, the distinguished talents of Brunyer as a naturalist, his high personal and professional character, the great share he had in the foundation of an important *school* of science and art at Blois, together with the

\* Since our article on Denis Papin appeared in July last, his portrait has been found at Marbourg, in Germany, where he was professor of Natural Philosophy from 1688 to 1714. It is a striking countenance—a perfect type of the intellectual puritan of the seventeenth century. A voluminous correspondence of Papin with Leibnitz has also been found at Marbourg. It is to be soon published with Papin's works, which are preserved in the Royal Society and in the British Museum.

religious persecution which attended his otherwise honoured old age, entitle him to more than a passing notice in a record of the struggles of protestantism.

Abel Brunyer was born in 1573, and died in 1665, at the age of ninety-two. His father's family was originally of the Cevennes, from all time the seat of dissent from Romanism; and a member of it settled in Avignon in the fifteenth century. Whilst the old stock became modern protestants, the emigrants in the papal city were zealous catholics; and Abel's father adopting protestantism, lost all connection with them. He married Eve de Trouillet, a zealous protestant of Uzes; and narrowly escaped death at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Abel was left an orphan at the age of fifteen. He preferred the medical profession to engaging himself in the civil war 'with the miserable choice,' as he expresses it himself, 'either of being a rebel to his king, or of cutting the throats of his fellow protestants.' Although he ultimately attained eminence as a physician, he was long prohibited taking the degree of doctor through the disabilities imposed by law upon all who were not Roman catholics. The edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, enabled him to practise the profession for which he had qualified himself by successful studies at Montpellier, and by a residence of three years at foreign universities and hospitals. He was then, through his protestant connections, appointed physician in the household of Henry iv.; and he held the post for more than sixty years, not less universally beloved than honoured by all the princes whom he served.\* The Duke of Orleans employed him as a botanist in directing his gardens in Paris and at Blois; and Louis xiv. granted him a patent of nobility two years before his death, in 1663. He published two editions of his botanical works in his life-time, and Dr. Morison, a Scottish physician established at Blois, and the colleague of Brunyer, made large use of what might be considered a third edition of it for a famous botanical book which appeared in London, in 1669. Notwithstanding his high reputation, Brunyer was among the first to be excluded from public employment, when Louis xiv. undertook the folly of establishing uniformity of religion in France. The son of Brunyer was a distinguished painter; and both of them refusing to abandon protestantism, they lost the favour of the court which they earned by long and faithful services. All the modern writers of the country unite in casting the

\* Scarron thus mentions Brunyer:—

'C'est grand dommage que cet homme,  
Ne croit pas au pape de Rome;  
Car à tout le monde il est cher,  
Quoi qu'en carême mangeant chair.'

severest reproof upon a policy, which thus inflicted mortification and ruin upon the enlightened and the good. Blois had afforded a retreat to our countrymen in the civil wars. Dr. Morison, above mentioned, a graduate of Aberdeen, and professor of botany at Oxford, was one of them; and the names of others are recorded in the last pages of the public register of burials, stopped in 1685 at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which abolished all separate religious services. Some years later, in 1699, Addison resided at Blois, *when all the English were gone*, so that he hoped to learn the French language without interruption.

A dreary interval followed. The Jesuits, who in the early part of the seventeenth century had adopted the improved opinions upon education introduced in modern times first by Luther\* and then better by Lord Bacon, and who had for some time lived well with the Huguenots, especially in the colleges, at length sacrificed science to politics; and used their influence to destroy opposition, and crush liberty. They closed a chequered career by their ignominious expulsion from France. Their fall seemed to be the signal for the revival of protestantism generally; but at Blois no change occurred until after the revolution of 1830. The first attempt to establish a protestant church there failed; but a second made in 1844 has succeeded. An ancient chapel of graceful architecture of the eleventh century—a period of transition from the circular *Romane* to the pointed Gothic—is adopted for the ‘*Temple Protestant*.’ It was in ruins; but the style has been restored, or imitated with great success. The site is singularly beautiful, on a picturesque height, overlooking the fine old castle and walls of Blois. It is retired without being remote; and the pastor’s house with a school is attached with much judgment to the little church. It will contain about two hundred and eighty people, and usually has a congregation of one hundred. Some ten to fifteen are English residents. The others are French with a few military. Of the French, some come to scoff, and some who enter only to indulge mere curiosity, remain to pray. An interest is excited in the country to know more of protestantism; and a habit of comparing it with catholicism is growing up. How much depends on the prudence and ability of the new minister in such a case is obvious; and M. Cadiez, of Blois, is not unaware of the weightiness of his task. Young in his mis-

\* Luther insisted warmly upon the use of the mathematics, and of languages, with music. He advocated the education of women, and the foundation of public libraries filled with the best historians, ancient and modern, in the original tongues; with books of mathematics and mechanical arts, or polite literature and theology.

sion, he appreciates the counsels of experience. To the advice of an English visitor, that he should pursue his work with zeal tempered with affection, he responded earnestly—'Such shall be my standard.' And in a late controversy with no mean Roman catholic opponents, he returned a railing accusation against the 'pagan' Luther, and the 'pagan' Calvin, with a moderation that augurs well for his success. In other times two very different opinions in this respect divided the French protestant church. The fiery counterparts of our more vehement puritans were opposed to the advocates of extreme moderation on the question, how far to submit to grievances. Even then a party headed by the amiable pastor, Amyraud of Saumur, insisted upon the wisdom and propriety of peaceful agitation, which is now to be recommended by incomparably more powerful arguments, since personal danger has entirely ceased, and the means of success are multiplied an hundred fold in strength since reason has assumed her just position in society, and truth is respected, even when her dictates are received with reluctance. The experience of the new church at Blois is already proving the superiority of peaceful appeals over persecution; for progress has been made in neighbouring spots, where formerly this peculiar character of the population is thought to have led them to resist all appeals.

The importance of correct views and principles respecting the condition and claims of protestantism in France, has been lately shewn at Nismes. If, in the sixteenth century, the advocates of feudal rights seized upon religious reform as an instrument of defence against the aggressions of despotism; if, in the seventeenth century, despotism sought to extinguish religious reform for the sake of an impossible religious uniformity; and if, in the eighteenth century, religious reform was abused by infidelity in its hatred of despotism in the State, in our day a more unscrupulous power is abroad in France with prodigious means of influence; and it is resorting with the very same instinct to the bad passions for the sake of its own bad ends. This is *the corrupt power of quasi-representative government*.

At Nismes, after the fall of Napoleon, the catholics and protestants, who are in pretty equal numbers there, were exposed to frightful convulsions in consequence of the exorbitant pretensions of the former. Previously the protestants had been in fault. After many years of difficulty, however, good feeling had grown up between them; and for ten years before 1846, it had prevailed to the great satisfaction of all wise men. The election of that year has revived the worst passions of the worst times. Disgraceful as 1841 was in the annals of electioneering in England, the year 1846 far exceeds its excesses in France

Intimidations and bribes of every kind, the grossest personal excesses; and lastly, religious animosities were resorted to by the agents of the minister so as to bring back to Nismes these worst passions of a former age. The consequence is, that upon every occasion of popular excitement an explosion is to be dreaded. The festival of the revolution of 1830, on the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth of July last was such an occasion; with extreme difficulty, and at the expense of some bloodshed, the authorities prevented a pitched battle between the two parties; and great anxiety is now felt for the public peace on this account. How infinitely important is it to sever religion from such strife, and to realise in a correct sense, the words of the divine Teacher, 'My kingdom is not of this world!'

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ART. V.—*The Sieges of Vienna by the Turks. From the German of Karl August Schimmer and other Sources.* London: John Murray.

THE present condition of the Mohammedan States contrasts strangely with their former magnificence and power. For three centuries they have been on the decline, and Europe, consequently, now finds it difficult to realize the danger with which they once threatened it. Restricted within narrowed boundaries, deprived of several of their most renowned and wealthy provinces, assailed by foreign intrigues, and perpetually suspicious of Russian policy, the sultans of Constantinople maintain their position with difficulty, and are absolutely disqualified for taking part in European politics. It was not, however, always so. Their relation to our political system was once vastly different from what it is now. Inexhaustible in their resources, unequalled in the extent of their territories, bold in counsel and daring in action, at once courageous and enthusiastic, uniting to hereditary valour the fiery bigotry of the Crescent, they looked towards Europe as their prey, and meditated the extension of their empire beyond Vienna and the imperial city. Nor were these projects altogether visionary. Their power was proportioned to their ambition, and threatened in no dubious form both the liberties and the religion of Europe. Few general readers are aware of the actual condition of the Mo-

hammedan and Christian powers at the commencement of the sixteenth century. They possess only a vague and indefinite impression of the events which marked that period, and fail, therefore, to realize the dangers which existed, or to recognize the interposing providence by which they were averted. The rise of the Mohammedan power, its marvellous progress, the height to which it attained, its fierce and deadly contest with western civilization, its rapid decline and present imbecility, are amongst the most memorable events of history. An intimate acquaintance with these facts is on many accounts desirable, and we are, therefore, glad to meet with the volume before us. Written for popular use, it is eminently adapted by its size and style for general circulation. Nothing, in the shape of general history, can well be imagined more deeply interesting. Its narrative is fraught with more than the charm of romance, while the heroic incidents it details, and the individual traits it unfolds, cannot fail to fascinate while they instruct all classes of readers.

The capture of Constantinople, in 1453, was followed by a rapid extension of the Turkish power. Within a short period, Mohammed II. subjected Persia, Greece, and the Morea, most of the islands of the Archipelago, and Trebisonde on the coast of Asia Minor. His death, which occurred in 1481, spared Europe for a time the scourge he meditated; but the inscription which he directed to be made on his tomb, whilst it indicated his own policy, served to stimulate the ambition of his successors. 'I wished to take Rhodes and subdue Italy,' were the ominous words in which, though dead, he continued to speak. His immediate successors Bajazet II., and Selim I., found employment for their victorious arms in other directions; but the son of the latter, 'the greatest of the Ottoman sovereigns,' revived the European designs of their predecessor, and in part accomplished them. 'In acquirements he was far beyond his age and country; in addition to the Turkish language, he was master of Persian and Arabic; he also understood Italian; and in that kind of metrical compositions which are called, in Turkish, *Misen*, the critics of that country pronounced him to exceed all others.' In the first year of his reign Soliman acquired, in Belgrade, the key of the Danube; and in the second, he conquered Rhodes, which Mohammed II. had vainly attempted. The distracted state of Germany, and the treachery of John Zapolya, Count of Zips, greatly aided his success; when he proceeded, soon after the latter event, to invade Hungary. 'The Destruction of Mohacs,' a name given to the disastrous battle of the 20th August, 1526, determined the fate of the kingdom, and established the supremacy of the Turkish

arms. Soliman was prevented, by disturbances in Asia, from immediately following up his success. He returned to his own dominions with two hundred thousand captives, 'soon to reappear in terrible power at the gates of Vienna itself.'

For this purpose he assembled an immense army in 1528; and, on the tenth of the following April, marched out of Constantinople at the head of two hundred thousand men. By the end of June he had passed the Hungarian frontier, and his main body was preceded by an advanced guard of thirty thousand under the command of Michael Oglou, one of the most sanguinary barbarians who had ever trod the soil of Europe. The atrocities practised by this horde surpass description. They knew no mercy, and observed no law, but slaughtered indiscriminately all ages and ranks. It was as though the avenging angel had passed over the land, so fearful was the desolation they wrought. Their example was early followed by the imperialists, who, having captured a body of Turkish light troops in the neighbourhood of Vienna, 'racked or tortured' them, before casting them bound into the Danube. The cruelties of the invaders were pleaded in justification of this policy, but no defence can avail the parties by whom it was practised. It was as unwise as barbarous, and re-acted with terrible force. In the meantime, vigorous preparations were made for the defence of the capital.

'In Vienna the necessary preparations had now been made with almost superhuman exertion, but in such haste and with so little material, that they could only be considered as very inadequate to the emergency. The city itself occupied then the same ground as at present, the defences were old and in great part ruinous, the walls scarcely six feet thick, and the outer palisade so frail and insufficient, that the name *Stadtzaun*, or city hedge, which it bears in the municipal records of the time, was literally as well as figuratively appropriate. The citadel was merely the old building which now exists under the name of Schweizer Hof. All the houses which lay too near the wall were levelled to the ground; where the wall was specially weak or out of repair, a new entrenched line of earthen defence was constructed and well palisaded; within the city itself, from the Stuben to the Kärnthner or Carinthian gate, an entirely new wall, twenty feet high, was constructed with a ditch interior to the old. The bank of the Danube was also entrenched and palisaded, and from the drawbridge to the Salz gate protected with a rampart capable of resisting artillery. As a precaution against fire the shingles with which the houses were generally roofed were throughout the city removed. The pavement of the streets was taken up to deaden the effect of the enemy's shot, and watchposts established to guard against conflagration. Parties were detached to scour the neighbouring country in search of provisions, and to bring in cattle and forage.



Finally, to provide against the possibility of a protracted siege, useless consumers, women, children, old men, and ecclesiastics were, as far as possible, forced to withdraw from the city. Though this latter measure was successful for its special purpose, and prevented any failure of subsistence during the investment of the city, it had the melancholy consequence that many of the fugitives met with massacre or captivity at the hands of the Turkish light troops. In the neighbourhood of Traismauer, for instance, in the very beginning of September, a body of no less than five thousand were unsparingly massacred by the Sackman.—pp. 16, 17.

The main army under command of the Grand Vizier, appeared before the city on the 25th September. Its number is estimated at nearly three hundred thousand, of whom, however, only about one-third was fully armed. The suburbs had previously been destroyed by the Austrians, to prevent a near approach of the Turks; and all the bells of the city, with the exception of that of St. Stephen's, were silenced, in order to guard against false alarms. The lateness of the season rendered it important to the invaders to press the siege with vigour, and no measures were therefore omitted which promised to facilitate their success. The Turks were greatly deficient in artillery, and placed their chief reliance on mining operations, in which they were highly skilled. 'To meet the danger of the enemy's mines, guards were placed in all the cellars near the walls, trenches dug near the fort of the rampart, and drums, with peas strewed on their parchment, or tubs filled with water, placed at the suspected spots, to indicate by their vibration the neighbourhood of the Turkish labourers, and guide thereby the operations of the counter-miners. By these precautions, many of the enemy's galleries were discovered, and either ruined by counter-miners, or penetrated and robbed of their powder.'

Defeated in various assaults, the Sultan, who had now assumed the command, resolved on a yet more vigorous effort to seize his prey. His choicest troops were selected for the purpose, and the struggle was close and deadly. The fate of the city was in the utmost peril, and the tide of invasion was thrown back only by the perfect discipline and super-human courage of its defenders. The following passage sufficiently depicts the imminency of the danger.

'On the 11th, towards 9 A.M., a mine was sprung between the Karnthner and Stuben gates, which made an enormous breach, equivalent to an open gateway in the wall. Heavy bodies of men rushed on to the assault: a second mine was sprung at the Stuben gate, and, according to some accounts, the city was positively entered at this quarter by some of the enemy. This, however, is doubtful; but it is certain that a Turkish standard-bearer had mounted the wall, when

he was struck down by a musquet shot into the ditch. The assault and defence were continued with equal determination for three hours. Twelve hundred bodies were heaped up in the breach, and though new assailants seemed to spring from the earth, their efforts failed before the unshaken courage of the defenders. The conflict ceased at midday. The loss of the garrison was far less than that of the Turks; yet, at a general muster of the armed citizens which took place in the evening, six hundred and twenty-five were missing from the numbers mustered at the beginning of the siege. The wrath of the Sultan was kindled to the highest pitch. He stormed, entreated, promised, and threatened; and on the following day the assault was renewed. Again two mines exploded in the same quarter as before, and again the ruin of the wall was extensive. The Turks were in the breach sooner almost than their approach could be detected, as they thought, but the wall was scarcely down before its ruins were occupied by a company of Spaniards, with their colours flying and courage undepressed. The storm was fierce but short; the repulse was again complete, and depression and exhaustion prevailed in the Turkish ranks. From the towers of the city their officers were seen urging them forward with blows. In several places explosions were observed which did no injury to the walls. Although the attacks were several times repeated, and to a late hour in the evening, as the courage of the defenders rose that of the enemy quailed, and the latter's efforts were more and more easily repelled. The loss of the assailants could not be ascertained, as the Turks, according to their custom, carried off their dead.—p. 35.

Three days afterwards, another assault was attempted; on the failure of which, Soliman abandoned all hopes of taking the city, and issued orders for retreat. The huts, forage, and every combustible article belonging to the Turkish army, were set on fire, into the flames of which an immense number of prisoners, of both sexes, were cast. The younger captives, boys and girls, were dragged along with the retiring columns into perpetual slavery. 'The glare of the conflagration and the shrieks of the sufferers, disturbed, through the night, the rest so dearly earned by the brave defenders of the city, and though their approaching deliverance might be read in the one, it was probably easy to conjecture from the others the horrors by which that deliverance was accompanied.'

The loss of the invaders during the siege has been variously estimated at from eighty to thirty thousand. The truth is, probably, below the latter number, as the storming parties only were greatly exposed. In genuine oriental style, the failure of the expedition was announced at Constantinople as a victory, and the Sultan made a triumphal entry into his capital on the 28th November.

Defeated in this object of his ambition, Soliman was far from

being satiated with blood. In the spring of 1532, he poured down upon Hungary and Styria with a force more numerous than that with which he had threatened Vienna, and several engagements took place by which myriads were immolated, and the land rendered desolate. We pass these over without comment, but must give an episode of the campaign of 1566, which has had few parallels in the history of human endurance and courage. Could anything alleviate the horror of war, it would be the spectacle of such heroism as that of the Count of Zriny.

'The Hungarian campaign of 1566 was distinguished by the famous siege of the small fortress of Szigeth, and the self-immolation of its defender, the Hungarian Leonidas, Nicholas, Count of Zriny. In early life he had distinguished himself at the siege of Vienna; and having pursued a successful career in arms, held under the present emperor the chief command on the right bank of the Danube. Soliman had undertaken the siege of Erlau; and the Pacha of Bosnia was on the march with reinforcements, when he was attacked near Siklos by Zriny, completely defeated, and slain. The Sultan, furious at this disaster, raised the siege of Erlau, and marched with one hundred thousand men upon Zriny, who, with scarcely two thousand five hundred, flung himself into Szigeth, with the resolution never to surrender it; a resolution to which his followers cheerfully bound themselves by an oath. To the utmost exertion of his vast military means of attack, Soliman added not only the seduction of brilliant promises, but the more cogent threat of putting to death the son of Zriny, who had fallen into his hands. All was in vain. The Sultan's letter was used by Zriny as wadding for his own musket; and for seventeen days the town held out against repeated assaults. The enfeebled garrison were then driven to the lower castle, and at last to the upper one. No hope remained of repelling another general assault, for which the Turkish preparations were carried forward with the utmost vigour under the eye of the Sultan, who, however, was not destined to witness their issue. On the 6th of September he was found dead in his tent, having thus closed, at the age of seventy-six, by a tranquil and natural death, a reign of forty-five years, which for activity and variety of military enterprise, for expenditure of human life, and for the diffusion of the miseries of warfare, unmitigated by the conventional usages and inventions of later times, could scarcely find its parallel. His decease afforded no respite to the besieged. The event was kept a rigid secret from the soldiery by the Vizier Ibrahim, who adopted the Oriental precaution of putting to death the physicians in attendance. Zriny did not wait for the final assault. On the 8th September the Turks were pressing forward along a narrow bridge to the castle, when the gate was suddenly flung open, a large mortar, loaded with broken iron was discharged into their ranks, according to their own historians, killing six hundred of them, and close upon its discharge Zriny and his faithful band sallied forth to die. His

resolution was evinced by some characteristic preparations. From four swords he chose a favourite weapon which he had worn in the first campaigns of his youth, and, determined not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he wore no defensive armour. He fastened to his person the keys of the castle and a purse of a hundred ducats, carefully counted and selected, of the coinage of Hungary. 'The man who lays me out,' he said, 'shall not complain that he found nothing upon me. When I am dead, let him who may, take the keys and the ducats. No Turk shall point at me while alive with his finger.' The banner of the empire was borne before him by Laurence Juranitsch. In this guise, followed by his six hundred remaining comrades, he rushed upon the enemy, and by two musket-shots through the body and an arrow in the head obtained the release he sought. With some of his followers the instinct of self-preservation prevailed so far that they retired from the massacre which followed into the castle, where some few were captured alive. It is said also that some were spared in the conflict by the Janissaries, who, admiring their courage, placed their own caps on their heads for the purpose of saving them. Three pachas, seven thousand Janissaries, and the scarcely credible number of twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, are said to have perished before this place.—pp. 61, 62.

The second Turkish invasion occurred towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Austrian court long refused to credit the probability of such an event, and therefore neglected to make preparations for the storm that was gathering. Convinced at length of the reality of the danger, they sought, at the eleventh hour, the friendship of John Sobieski, king of Poland, the most illustrious soldier of his age. A long course of slights had alienated him from the house of Austria, and thrown him into the arms of France. But the fate of Vienna now rested on his aid, and all the arts of diplomacy were employed to win him over. He had married the daughter of a French marquis, to whom he was passionately attached, but whose influence had commonly been detrimental to his peace and interests. She now exercised over him 'the dangerous fascination of a mistress,' and might probably have prevented his accession to the Austrian league, if her animosity against France had not been aroused by the disappointment of an intrigue which she had set on foot at Versailles, for the elevation of her father to a French dukedom. 'That other and sounder considerations had not their influence upon Sobieski's decision, it would be preposterous to suppose. Sincere and earnest to the verge of bigotry in his attachment to the Romish form of Christianity, he could not look with indifference to the probable success of the Turkish arms in Hungary and Austria.' The result was shown in the immediate preparation of a large mili-

tary force, at the head of which the Polish monarch moved towards the Austrian capital. Leopold was no soldier, and the command of the combined armies therefore devolved on Sobieski. Happily for Europe, he was equal to the post. His military reputation inspired confidence, though his forces were greatly inferior to those of the Turks; and all Europe awaited the issue of a struggle, on which their religion and liberties were suspended. In the meantime, the Austrian emperor, Leopold, ingloriously fled from his capital, accompanied by about sixty thousand of the wealthier citizens. The courage of those who remained was, however, of the highest order; and the command of the city was intrusted to Ernest Rudiger, Count Stahremberg, who had signalized himself in the defence of Moravia, in 1681. He lost no time in repairing the neglected fortifications, and in making the best preparation which circumstances permitted for the approaching assault. So grossly remiss had been the Austrian court, that nothing could have saved the city if the Turks had pushed on towards Vienna with the promptitude that was looked for. Their delay gave a few hours' respite to Stahremberg, and when at length they did arrive, they found the brave commander in a condition to repulse them from its walls. The siege formally commenced on the 15th July, 1683, and every means which Turkish science and courage could suggest, were employed to force an entrance.

'The two commanders, Stahremberg and the Vizier, were alike indefatigable in their personal superintendence of their respective operations. The latter was carried every third day in a litter, made shot proof by plates of iron, into the approaches, inspecting the works, punishing the idle, and menacing the timid with his drawn sabre. He had also in the trenches his own peculiar posts sunk deep in the ground, and made bomb proof with planks and sand-bags. His favourite position, however, for general observation and direction was the tower of the church of St. Ulric, from which he overlooked the city, as Stahremberg did the camp from his memorable stone chair in the sculptured spire of St. Stephen'—p. 105.

By the middle of August, disease and scarcity began to prevail in the city; and the worst apprehensions spread amongst the inhabitants. The courage of the commander, however, suffered no abatement, and he was nobly seconded by the officers, and men who composed his garrison. Everything now depended on the speedy arrival of aid. Much time had been necessarily expended in collecting the forces of the empire, and these were yet at a considerable distance, and had numerous obstacles to surmount before they could render any effectual help to the besieged. In the meantime, the condition of affairs

in the city assumed a most serious aspect. The Turks made daily progress in their approaches, the numbers of the garrison were thinned, many of the best officers were slain or wounded, and Stahremberg himself began to fear the issue. It was of the utmost importance that Sobieski should hasten his advance. A day, nay, an hour, might determine the fate of the city, for it trembled in the balance, and no mortal foresight could predict what would be the result of the next assault. It was so completely surrounded as to cut off all egress from the besieged. Several messengers had been intercepted and slain, and the hope of communicating with their friends was in consequence abandoned. The perilous enterprise was, however, undertaken; and the skill and courage with which it was executed, are thus described. The incident is full of romance, and will awaken breathless interest in all classes of readers.

At last George Francis Kolschitzki, a partisan officer whose name deserves honourable record for the importance of his services, and the courage and dexterity with which they were executed, stepped forward. A Pole by birth, and previously an interpreter in the service of the Oriental merchant's company, he had become a citizen of the Leopoldstadt, and had served since the siege began in a free corps. Intimately conversant with the Turkish language and customs, he willingly offered himself for the dangerous office of passing through the very camp of the Turks to convey intelligence to the Imperial army. On the 13th of August, accompanied by a servant of similar qualifications, he was let out through a sallyport in the Rothenthurm, and escorted by an aide-de-camp of the Commandant as far as the palisades. He had scarcely advanced a hundred yards, when he became aware of a considerable body of horse which advanced at a rapid pace towards the place of his exit. Being as yet too near the city to escape suspicion, he hastily turned to the left and concealed himself in the cellar of a ruined house of the suburb near Altlerchenfeld, where he kept close till the tramp of the passing cavalry had died away. He then pursued his course, and, singing a Turkish song, traversed at an idle pace and with an unembarrassed air the streets of Turkish tents. His cheerful mien and his familiar strain took the fancy of an Aga, who invited him into his tent, treated him with coffee, listened to more songs and to his tale of having followed the army as a volunteer, and cautioned him against wandering too far and falling into Christian hands. Kolschitzki thanked him for the advice, passed on in safety through the camp to beyond its verge, and then as unconcernedly made for the Kahlenberg and the Danube. Upon one of its islands he saw a body of people, who, misled by his Turkish attire, fired upon him and his companion. These were some inhabitants of Nussdorf, headed by the bailiff of that place, who had made this island their temporary refuge and home. Kolschitzki explained to them in German the circumstances of his mission, and

entreated them to afford him an immediate passage over the river. This being obtained, he reached without further difficulty the bivouac of the Imperial army, then on its march between Angern and Stillfried. After delivering and receiving dispatches, the adventurous pair set out on their return, and after some hairbreadth escapes from the Turkish sentries, passed the palisades and re-entered the city by the Scottish gate, bearing a letter from the Duke. \* \* \* \* The safe return of the bearer of this dispatch was announced as usual by rockets as night signals, and in the day by a column of smoke from St. Stephen's spire. On the 21st August the daring Kolschitzki was on the point of repeating his adventurous undertaking, when a deserter, who had been recaptured, and was standing under the gallows with the halter adjusted, confessed that he had furnished to the Turks an accurate description of Kolschitzki's person. He was himself deterred by this warning, but his gallant companion, George Michailowich, found means twice to repeat the exploit, with the same safety and success as in the first instance. On his second return he displayed a remarkable presence of mind and vigour of arm. Having all but reached the pallisades, he was joined by a Turkish horseman, who entered into familiar conversation with him. As it was, however, impossible for him to follow further his path towards the city, in such company, by a sudden blow he struck his unwelcome companion's head from his shoulders, and springing on the riderless horse, made his way to the gate. He did not, however, after this success, tempt his fortune again.'—pp. 111—113.

The long looked-for aid at length arrived. On the evening of the 10th September, the guns of the combined army were heard in Vienna, and the effect was electrical. The population crowded to the highest roofs to catch sight of their deliverers; and a messenger from Stahremberg swam the Danube by night, bearing a brief letter to the imperial general, in which was briefly written, 'No time to be lost!—no time, indeed, to be lost!' The communication was answered by a discharge of rockets, and the besieged prepared for a sally in aid of their advancing friends. The decisive battle occurred on the 12th, and, as was customary on such occasions, the offices of religion were employed to stimulate the courage of the military. The following description sets before us the scene that was enacted early in the morning, around the chapel of the Margrave, on the crest of the Leopoldsberg.

. 'On a space kept clear round the chapel, a standard with a white cross on a red ground was unfurled, as if to bid defiance to the blood red flag planted in front of the tent of Kara Mustapha. One shout of acclamation and defiance broke out from the modern crusaders as this emblem of a holy war was displayed, and all again was hushed as the gates of the castle were flung open, and a procession of the princes of the empire and the other leaders of the Christian host

moved forward to the chapel. It was headed by one whose tonsured crown and venerable beard betokened the monastic profession. The soldiers crossed themselves as he passed, and knelt to receive the blessing which he gave them with outstretched hands. This was the famous Capuchin Marco Aviano, friend and confessor to the emperor, whose acknowledged piety and exemplary life had earned for him the general reputation of prophetic inspiration. He had been the inseparable companion of the Christian army in its hours of difficulty and danger, and was now here to assist at the consummation of his prayers for its success. Among the stately warriors who composed his train, three principally attracted the gaze of the curious. The first in rank and station was a man somewhat past the prime of life, strong limbed and of imposing stature, but quick and lively in speech and gesture, his head partly shaved in the fashion of his semi-Eastern country, his hair, eyes, and beard, dark-coloured. His majestic bearing bespoke the soldier king, the scourge and dread of the Moslem, the conqueror of Choczim, John Sobieski. His own attire is said to have been plain, but we gather from his letters that in his retinue he displayed a Slavonic taste for magnificence which strongly contrasted with the economical arrangements of Lorraine, and even of the two electors. Painters, and others studious of accuracy, may be glad to know that on this occasion the colour of his dress was sky blue, and that he rode a bay horse. An attendant bearing a shield, with his arms emblazoned, always preceded him, and his place in battle was marked by another who carried a plume on his lance point, a signal more conspicuous, though less inseparable, than the famous white plume of Henry iv. On his left was his youthful son Prince James, armed with a breastplate and helmet, and, in addition to an ordinary sword, with a short and broad-bladed sabre, a national weapon of former ages; on his right was the illustrious and heroic ancestor of the present reigning house of Austria, Charles of Lorraine. Behind these moved many of the principal members of those sovereign houses of Germany whose names and titles have been already specified. At the side of Louis of Baden walked a youth of slender frame and moderate stature, but with that intelligence in his eye which pierced in after years the cloud of many a doubtful field, and swayed the fortunes of empires. This was the young Eugene of Savoy, who drew his maiden sword in the quarrel in which his brother had lately perished. The service of high mass was performed in the chapel by Aviano, the king assisting at the altar, while the distant thunder of the Turkish batteries formed strange accompaniment to the Christian choir. The princes then received the sacrament, and the religious ceremony was closed by a general benediction of the troops by Aviano. The king then stepped forward and conferred knighthood on his son, with the usual ceremonies, commending to him as an example for his future course the great commander then present, the Duke of Lorraine. He then addressed his troops in their own language to the following effect:—'Warriors and friends: Yonder in the plain are our enemies, in numbers



greater, indeed, than at Choczim, where we trod them under foot. We have to fight them on a foreign soil, but we fight for our own country, and under the walls of Vienna we are defending those of Warsaw and Cracow. We have to save to-day, not a single city, but the whole of Christendom, of which that city of Vienna is the bulwark. The war is a holy one. There is a blessing on our arms, and a crown of glory for him who falls. You fight not for your earthly sovereign, but for the King of kings. His power has led you unopposed up the difficult access to these heights, and has thus placed half the victory in your hands. The infidels see you now above their heads: and with hopes blasted and courage depressed, are creeping among valleys destined for their graves. I have but one command to give,—follow me. The time is come for the young to win their spurs.' Military music and the shouts of thousands greeted this pertinent harangue, and as it closed, five cannon shots gave the signal for the general advance.'—pp. 137—139.

We need not continue the narrative. Vienna was saved by the military genius of Sobieski, and the ingratitude and baseness of Austria were shown in the return he experienced. These are matters of notoriety, and we must leave our readers to trace them in the page of general history. In the meantime, we strongly recommend the perusal of this small volume, to all who are desirous of informing themselves respecting some of the most memorable events which the history of Europe details. We have read it with deep interest, and not without instruction. While rejoicing in the main result, we deplore the brutalizing tendency of the scenes through which it has led us, and hope the time will yet come, when men shall see the folly and wickedness of the wholesale murders in which they have hitherto gloried.

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ART. VI.—*A Plan for the Establishment of a General System of Secular Education in the County of Lancashire.* London: Simpkin and Marshall.

To combat for truth is more congenial to a generous mind than to triumph in victory ; and the consciousness of maintaining the right is a richer reward than the highest literary honors. Yet 'no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the *vantage* ground of truth ; a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene ; and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and tempests, in the vale below : so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride.' It is not as literary *athlete* that we contend in the educational arena. We have no secular interests to maintain, or partisan ends to compass. We count not on the mighty phalanx as our associates, or on great captains as our leaders. Yet, if our success be as sure as our cause is honorable, we shall welcome all the hazard, and give the praise to Him to whom it is due.

A few preliminary observations demand attention of the Christian, as well as the statesman ; and we bespeak for them meet audience. Any attempt to distinguish *secular* from religious, or *sectarian* from catholic, necessarily involves a peculiarity in opinion, tantamount to a creed in religion. To enforce, or sustain by taxation, such discrimination, is, virtually, to clothe the magistrate with power to settle matters of conscience. To employ, or exclude from employment, men who blink the question, or who scrupulously recognise such differences, is to reward or to punish sectarian opinions. If, moreover, such reward be administered under the sanctions of law, not only may the honest and conscientious be branded, and his prospects be marred, to the advantage of a subsidized competitor ; but the persecuted citizen is taxed and effectually plundered to uphold a system which he deprecates as injurious and hostile to his principles. Virtue is degraded, and the hireling is set in the place of honour. But in the processes of national education, where the loftiest and most sacred obligations must be subjected to influences, a yet more perilous consequence is to be pondered. Bacon says, 'We see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel, than into a vessel seasoned ; and what mould they lay about a new plant than about a plant corroborate ; so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps.'

The voluntary teacher is the greatest benefactor to an observant and docile people. And whatever is done, or has a tendency to remove so legible and living an epistle of the great and salutary

doctrine of independent voluntarism as this practical demonstrator is, will be pernicious to freedom and good government. The school is in this question a stepping-stone to the church; and *the infant pupil who practically learns the value of independent education, is father to the man who supports his religion because he loves it.* It is too much the practice, when an object is to be gained, to disparage the amount of impression and bias received by pupils in the earliest years of their school life. The simile of the poet, when he says, 'As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined,' conveys a practical, moral lesson; and the soundest philosophy contemplates the sensitive mind, in its earliest processes, as deriving its most permanent impressions. An error often repeated, comes at last to be believed as true; and a sophism may pass current as an undisputed principle, because it has not been exposed. With many plausible pretensions, education has been advocated as a mere secular gift or acquirement; professing to leave religious instruction to the parent or the pastor, it has been urged as the province of the magistrate to supply instruction in things secular. The application of the term is not always clearly defined; nor can we profess fully to comprehend what is meant in such a connection; but, as it is understood by us, we do not think it possible that mere secular knowledge can be made the sole element of youthful education in the several classes of schools; especially such as are contemplated for infancy, childhood, and the neglected juvenile population.

'It is a moral impossibility,' says a writer in the Manchester 'Times,' 'to educate the mind without a mixture of religious motive, principles, and sanctions. The intercourse of the teacher and pupil, and of the scholar with his fellow during six or seven hours daily, must be subject to some influence nobler than law, order, or fees. The form and power of *letters* in sounds and syllables, of *figures* in their relation to number and quantity, of *objects* in animate and inanimate nature:—the art of spelling, writing, and ciphering, and geography, supply only the mechanical symbols which the mind must appreciate and which education must employ. In mental education there is an influence which has been compared to that of *light* and the sweet *odours*. Seneca thus elegantly discriminates: 'Qui in solem venit, licet non in hoc venerit, colorabitur; qui in unguentaria taberna resederunt, et paulo diutius commorati sunt, odorem secum loci ferunt.' Though we should not sit in the very sunshine, it is impossible to approach the light without deriving some faint colouring from it; and we cannot long remain in the perfumed cottage without bearing away some of its fragrance. There is something which the opening mind receives under the process of education which is not signified by diagrams or algebraic characters, and which is not dependent on the methodical tediousness of rules of grammar: not only is every generous principle derived from nature clothed with new strength, but thought itself is stimulated and loftier objects become familiar. The

mind is a part of nature, and particularly deserves profound and intense investigation. To the pupil as well as to the instructor, it is constantly though imperceptibly insinuating its claims, and asserting its Divine origin and moral destiny.'

The philosopher, no less than the theologian, will appreciate as a paramount principle in national government the primary law of nature, which constitutes the parent the responsible guardian of the child. Not only should domestic ties be held sacred, but the obligations and responsibilities of the family should be developed and strengthened rather than infringed or neutralised. It is the parent's duty to provide education for the child; to judge what is best, and to watch that his offspring suffer no neglect while under mental training. It is the child's duty to confide in a parent's competency and fidelity, and to rise up in deference to the honor and authority of the father and mother. As a general law, no authority can wisely or beneficially interpose between them. But a state provision for education, and an authorised executive control over scholastic arrangements, as far as they tend to supersede the natural guardian's vigilance and responsibility, does interpose. The *degree* of interposition is not now the matter in question. The more that any scheme depends on the decision of public functionaries, and on the provision of compulsory taxation, and the more that its administration is entrusted to corporate power, the less will the domestic guardian possess of influence or authority.

Public schools founded by benevolence, or sustained as chartered incorporations; the Blue-coat school, Christ's Hospital, and other endowed charities for education, as well as the English universities, afford, in the history of their *alumni*, painful illustrations of the baneful alienations and negligence to which we advert. The whole history of governmental institutions, down even to the parochial seminary, with its partially endowed pedagogue, supply demonstrations of the operation of this transference of parental watchfulness and obligation, and this unnatural assumption of governors, tutors, and inspectors. The check upon these has been effectual only, perhaps, after long complaints, where free and frequent communications have been enjoyed between the parent and the child. The greatest proportion of British youth is trained under the direct control of the parent. The natural law provides and works for the well-being of society in an amount far larger than is that in which it can be proved to have failed. Thousands of parents have provided for the education of their children amidst many difficulties, while, it may be, only hundreds have altogether neglected their duty. Is then a natural law to be abrogated, or its operation paralysed, where

the virtuous are obedient; and is an expedient which violates this law to be adopted to meet the vicious negligence of the criminal part of the community?

The economist who understands and appreciates the value of a philosophical principle in the political relations of society, and in the operations and intercourse of the several members of the community, will find here matters not undeserving calm and thoughtful consideration. He will not be carried away by the plausibilities of a pseudo-philanthropy, or scared by the monstrous conjurations of mere theorists. He will not fear to carry out a sound and just principle in application, though rendered opprobrious for temporary and partial interests. To him there will be no absurdity in the questions—Can education be made a marketable commodity? Can it be best produced by monopoly or by competition? Will its value and estimate rise in proportion to its worth and quality? And will its extension be secured in proportion to its freedom and natural remuneration? The author of 'The Wealth of Nations' deemed such considerations important enough to find a place in his philosophy, and thus replied:—

'The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished more or less the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence as far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their particular professions.

'In some universities the salary makes but a part, and frequently but a small part of the emoluments of the teacher, of which the greater part arises from the honoraries or fees of his pupils. The necessity of application, though always more or less diminished, is not in this case entirely taken away. Reputation in his profession is still of some importance to him, and he still has some dependency upon the affection, gratitude, and favourable report of those who have attended upon his instructions; and these favourable sentiments he is likely to gain in no way so well as by deserving them, that is, by the abilities and diligence with which he discharges every part of his duty.'

'The improvements which, in modern times, have been made in the several different branches of philosophy, have not, the greater part of them, been made in universities, though some no doubt have. The greater part of universities have not even been very forward to adopt those improvements, after they were made; and several of those learned societies have chosen to remain, for a long time, the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection, after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general the richest and best universities have been the slowest in adopting those improvements, and the most averse to permit any considerable change in the established plan of education. Those improvements were

more easily introduced into some of the poorer universities, in which the teachers, depending upon their reputation for the greater part of their subsistence, were obliged to pay more attention to the current opinions of the world.'

'The discipline of colleges and universities is in general contrived, not for the benefit of the students, but for the interest, or, more properly speaking, for the ease of the masters. Its object is, in all cases, to maintain the authority of the master; and whether he neglects or performs his duty, to oblige the students in all cases to behave to him as if he performed it with the greatest diligence and ability. It seems to presume perfect wisdom and virtue in the one order, and the greatest weakness and folly in the other. Where the masters, however, really perform their duty, there are no examples, I believe, that the greater part of the students ever neglect theirs. No discipline is ever requisite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known wherever such lectures are given. Force and restraint may, no doubt, be in some degree requisite (from the parents) in order to oblige the children, or very young boys, to attend to those parts of education which it is thought necessary for them to acquire during that early period of life; but after twelve or thirteen years of age, provided the master does his duty, force or restraint can scarce ever be necessary to carry on any part of education. Such is the generosity of the greater part of young men, that so far from being disposed to neglect or despise the instruction of their master, provided he shews some serious intention of being of use to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectness in the performance of his duty, and sometimes even to conceal from the public a good deal of gross negligence.\*

The *wisdom of antiquity* differs in fact, as well as in phrase, from the wisdom of ages; and it is not always a proof of sagacity to laud the judgment of former generations at the expense of modern attainments. Yet a truly enlightened and philosophic mind will derive lessons of instruction from the experience of bygone times. The inductions which history supplies may be a safer guide than the inventions or presumed discoveries of expediency or empiricism, or the theories of interested partisans. The early apostle of free trade has judiciously discussed this subject and remarks:—

'In the early ages both of the Greek and Roman republics, the other parts of education seem to have consisted in learning to read, write, and account according to the arithmetic of the times. These accomplishments the richest citizens seem frequently to have acquired at home, by the assistance of some domestic pedagogue, who was, generally, either a slave or a freedman; and the poorer citizens, in the schools of such masters as made a trade of teaching for hire. Such parts of education, however, were abandoned altogether to the care of the parents or guardians of each individual. It does not appear that the state ever assumed

\* Adam Smith, 3rd vol.

any inspection or direction of them. By a law of Solon, indeed, the children were acquitted from maintaining those parents in old age, who had neglected to instruct them in some profitable trade or business.

'In the progress of refinement, when philosophy and rhetoric came into fashion, the better sort of people used to send their children to the schools of philosophers and rhetoricians, in order to be instructed in these fashionable sciences. But those schools were not supported by the public. They were for a long time barely tolerated by it. The demand for philosophy and rhetoric was for a long time so small, that the first professed teachers of either could not find constant employment in any one city, but were obliged to travel about from place to place. In this manner lived Zeno of Elea, Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, and many others. As the demand increased, the schools both of philosophy and rhetoric became stationary; first in Athens, and afterwards in several other cities. The state, however, seems never to have encouraged them further than by assigning to some of them a particular place to teach in, which was sometimes done too by private donors. The state seems to have assigned the Academy to Plato, the Lyceum to Aristotle, and the Portico to Zeno of Citta, the founder of the Stoics. But Epicurus bequeathed his gardens to his own school. Till about the time of Marcus Antoninus, however, no teacher appears to have had any salary from the public, or to have had any other emoluments but what arose from the honoraries or fees of his scholars. The bounty which that philosophical emperor, as we learn from Lucian, bestowed upon one of the teachers of philosophy, probably lasted no longer than his own life. There was nothing equivalent to the privileges of graduation, and to have attended any of those schools was not necessary, in order to be permitted to practice any particular trade or profession. If the opinion of their own utility could not draw scholars to them, the law neither forced any body to go to them, nor rewarded any body for having gone to them. The teachers had no jurisdiction over their pupils, nor any authority besides that natural authority which superior virtue and abilities never fail to procure from young people towards those who are entrusted with any part of their education.

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'In the attention which the ancient philosophers excited, in the empire which they acquired over the opinions and principles of their auditors, in the faculty which they possessed of giving a certain tone and character to the conduct and conversation of those auditors; they appear to have been much superior to any modern teachers. In modern times, the diligence of public teachers is more or less corrupted by the circumstances which render them more or less independent of their success and reputation in their particular profession.

The state of education in some most richly endowed and even celebrated academies, contrasts singularly with the schools which necessity has planted, and the progress which has attended individual effort, or the enterprise of teachers, independent and voluntary. These last were required to minister a supply to those who sought education, because they knew its value and found its adaptation to the circumstances in which

they were placed; and, therefore, they strove to commend themselves and their systems. The testimony of Smith on the 'expense of the institutions for the education of youth' is now as valuable as when he first wrote; and his instructions will, perhaps, be more readily received than those of an inferior teacher; he says:—

'If the authority to which he (the teacher) is subject resides in the body corporate, the college, or university, of which he is himself a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are, or ought to be teachers; they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbour may neglect his duty, provided he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching.

'If the authority to which he is subject resides, not so much in the body corporate of which he is a member, as in some other extraneous persons, in the bishop of the diocese, for example; in the governor of the province; [in a County Board;] or, perhaps, in some minister of state; it is not indeed in this case very likely that he will be suffered to neglect his duty altogether. All that such superiors, however, can force him to do, is to attend upon his pupils a certain number of hours, that is, to give a certain number of lectures in the week or in the year. What those lectures shall be, must still depend upon the diligence of the teacher; and that diligence is likely to be proportioned to the motives which he has for exerting it. An extraneous jurisdiction of this kind, besides, is liable to be exercised both ignorantly and capriciously. In its nature it is arbitrary and discretionary, and the persons who exercise it, neither attending upon the lectures of the teacher themselves, nor perhaps understanding the sciences which it is his business to teach, are seldom capable of exercising it with judgment. From the insolence of office, too, they are frequently indifferent how they exercise it, and are very apt to censure or deprive him of his office wantonly, or without any just cause. The person subject to such jurisdiction is necessarily degraded by it, and, instead of being one of the most respectable, is rendered one of the meanest and most contemptible persons in the society. It is by powerful protection only that he can effectually guard himself against the bad usage to which he is at all times exposed; and this protection he is most likely to gain, not by ability or diligence in that profession, but by obsequiousness to the will of his superiors, and by being ready, at all times, to sacrifice to that will the rights, the interest, and the honour of the body corporate of which he is a member. Whoever has attended for any considerable time to the administration of a French university, must have had occasion to remark the effects which naturally result from an arbitrary and extraneous jurisdiction of this kind.'

None saw more clearly than Smith the prejudicial operation of endowed systems of education; and recent investigations



have only confirmed his apprehensions. He enumerates the immunities of such academies, and adds—

‘ Were there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand, or which the circumstances of the times did not render it either necessary or convenient, or at least fashionable, to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching either an exploded and antiquated system of science acknowledged to be useful, or a science universally believed to be a mere useless and pedantic heap of sophistry and nonsense. Such systems, such sciences, can subsist nowhere, but in those incorporated societies for education whose prosperity and revenue are in a great measure independent of their reputation, and altogether independent of their industry. Were there no public institutions for education, a gentleman, after going through, with application and abilities, the most complete course of education which the circumstances of the times were supposed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of every thing which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world.

‘ There are no public institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical in the common course of their education. They are taught what their parents or guardians judge it necessary or useful for them to learn, and they are taught nothing else. Every part of their education tends evidently to some useful purpose ; either to improve the natural attractions of their person, or to form their mind to reserve, to modesty, to chastity, and to economy ; to render them both likely to become the mistresses of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such. In every part of her life a woman feels some conveniency or advantage from every part of her education. It seldom happens that a man, in any part of his life, derives any convenience or advantage from some of the most laborious and troublesome parts of his education.’

Well might Sir Nicholas Bacon answer Queen Elizabeth, when his opinion was required concerning some monopoly licenses, ‘ *Licentiâ omnes deteriores sumus.*’ And strange it is, that many quondam advocates of commercial freedom do not see, or admit, that the profits of the scholastic profession, and the demand in the education market, are as much subject to the principles and laws of political economy, as are corn or cotton ; and that the productions of mind, the most ethereal of all mechanisms ; that the cultivation of intellect and genius ; and the commerce of reason and thought, of knowledge and education, shall as naturally prosper as the trade in bread-stuffs, independent of all adventitious resources and appliances. Moreover, the children of a nation can only be securely and habitually trained to industry and economy, to submission or good order, to sweetness of disposition and tenderness of affection, to amiableness

of manners and offices of kindness, where domestic authority is not usurped by a foreign power, and where the parent has full scope for the exercise of conscientious fidelity, and the full discharge of all his responsibilities.

Mankind have been contending for ages respecting the best form of government; and the successful occupant of place and power is invariably tempted to go beyond the province of the civil magistrate and invade the prerogative of other powers; nor have any been more subject to this temptation than utilitarian statesmen. But we concur with Christopher Anderson in his 'Domestic Constitution,' and believe that 'whatever be the form of political arrangements, let the family constitution once be neglected, then will the blessings of rational freedom and good government, with all the superior blessings of morality and religion, vanish from the land. Nay, it must become but one vast den, and its inhabitants, if not destroyed, would change into animals the most ferocious and terrible on earth.' We should think it a most interesting investigation, and suggest it for the statistician, to take an equal number of those who have been pupils under the *independent* voluntary teacher, subject to the parent's vigilance and control; and of those who have been educated under chartered or endowed tutors, who have not been responsible to the parents; and compare the results. We would not confine the comparison between the High School in Edinburgh and Heriot's Hospital; London University College and Christ's Hospital; or the separate boarding schools managed by independent responsibility, and the chartered or charity boarding schools founded by private benevolence or corporation endowments. Though on this subject we might appeal to the Rev. T. Guthrie, and the records of charitable foundations in Edinburgh. But we would challenge inquiry into the operations and effects of voluntary and parochial schools in Scotland; of the hedge school and the charter or board schools of Ireland.

To theorise, and build airy castles, has been the amusement or the weakness of great men. It is more pleasant to erect than to pull down; and the *iconoclastes* are not so popular with the multitude as the image-makers. To be famous according as one has lifted up axes upon the thick trees, does not secure a philosophical reputation. Ideal fabrics and speculative systems have, therefore, been often reared even by profound and contemplative minds; though thus their weaknesses have been incidentally exposed. And what statesman or philosopher has been free from some defenceless point? Achilles exposed his vulnerable heel; Plato had his 'Republic,' in the arrangements of which he overlooked impossibilities; Augustine wrote '*De*

*civitate Dei*,' and 'Confessions;' the only works of his which Gibbon acknowledges to have known. Sir Thomas More recreated his genius in Utopia; and Lord Bacon had his vision of 'Atlantis;' Harrington elaborated his political economy in 'Oceana;' and Jeremy Bentham constructed a 'panopticon.' From Plato to Bentham, the republic, the Utopia, or the panopticon, were all severally supplied with scholastic theories and schemes of education. We are not surprised, therefore, that the active spirits who have closed a successful war waged with monopoly, and have, while resting on their laurels, found time and desire for activity, should direct their generous minds to some public and, as they hope, beneficial enterprise, and seek to impregnate the mind of youth with the seeds of their doctrine. We only wonder that they should have so soon forgotten their free-trade catechism, and lent their sanction to any measure of monopoly, or given their assent to the principle of a *fixed duty* in education. We have carefully considered their 'plan for the establishment of a general system of secular education for the county of Lancaster.' Our deliberate conviction is, that it is manifestly sectarian. Its hostile aggressions on the sects, and its special pretensions to a *secular* character, though evidently enforcing religious distinctions, warrant the assertion, that its tendency is to increase the divisions already existing among the people. And yet with palpable inconsistency, they extol and wish to follow the example of a system which, with the power of law in every district, 'inspires' the 'active members of every sect' to 'watch, denounce, and expel sectarian teaching.' It is but just that the authors of the *Plan* for Lancashire should be heard for themselves, and we transcribe their introductory observations:—

'For ourselves, we believe there is no safeguard for civil and religious liberty, no security for the rights of property and labour, nothing within the scope of merely human agency which can conduce to the material, the moral, and the religious well being of the people, equal to a universal diffusion of education. Deeply impressed as we are with this belief, it is no less our conviction that the vast benefits of education may be, to a great extent, neutralized, if it be conducted on false or erroneous principles. If, as in countries governed by despotic power, the duty of educating is assumed by the government, the minds of the people may be pressed down into bondage, rather than elevated to freedom. If, as with us, the education of the people is entrusted to the voluntary efforts of certain sections only of the community, that large portion of the people unconnected with any religious denomination is abandoned altogether to chance, or to what is worse than chance, to utter exclusion from all instruction.

'To adopt a course between these two extremes, we hold to be the part of a free and enlightened nation; and to point out the means by

which we conceive such a course may be pursued, is the object we have in view. In thus intimating our belief that voluntary effort is not equal to the necessities of our condition, we must guard against the supposition that we are insensible to the vast amount of good which has been effected by it. The national gratitude is due to those who have so nobly struggled for the emancipation of their fellow men from the bonds of ignorance.

But, in our gratitude to them, let us not forget the claims of society at large; let us not forget that our gaols are filled with criminals, the ignorance of a large majority of whom is sufficient evidence that the existing educational agencies have not embraced the whole of the population; let us not forget that if we had built school houses instead of gaols, many of our criminals might now have been honest and respectable members of the community. We do not assert that universal education would wholly prevent crime; but we do say that it would be the means of greatly diminishing it.

The plan adopted by the government for aiding voluntary effort, is, we conceive, in one essential respect, imperfect, considered apart from the conscientious objections which are felt to it by great numbers of dissenters. The government gives money in proportion to the amount raised by voluntary subscription; and must therefore be granted in an inverse ratio to the necessities of the people. In localities where the congregation is poor, and stands most in need of help, the smallest amount of assistance is afforded. We believe that the only fair and equitable mode of raising and apportioning public money for the purposes of education, is to give to the people themselves, in their various localities, the power of taxing all equally, and of exercising control over the expenditure.

As all should contribute to the support of public schools, so all should have the right of admission to them. And in order that none may be directly or indirectly debarred from the exercise of this right, nothing should be taught in the schools which would practically exclude any. All catechisms and creeds should, as a measure of simple justice to all, be strictly excluded. None will deny the value of religious instruction; but the most effectual barriers should be provided against the introduction of sectarian teaching. In the words of the honourable Horace Mann, Secretary to the Board of Education, Massachusetts, United States, 'Our aim obviously is to secure as much of religious instruction as is compatible with religious freedom.'

To give the greatest possible efficiency to the public schools, and to protect the rights of every section of the people, a central board for collecting and diffusing information, and with certain other limited powers, should be established, deriving its authority from the people, and responsible to them for the exercise of it.

The public schools we propose to establish should not be considered merely as schools for the poor. The education given in a large proportion of the schools established for the middle classes, is of a very inferior character; at the present time, some amongst the very poor receive a better education than those who occupy a position somewhat more elevated in the social scale. By the latter we anticipate that the establish-

ment of a system of education for the whole people will be hailed with satisfaction.

The spirit pervading these statements we can honestly commend; but there is a strange jumble of erroneous conclusions and indiscriminate distinctions. The writers do not discern the things which differ. It is not correct to say, that, 'with us, the education of the people is entrusted to the voluntary efforts of *certain sections only*.' There is room and freedom for the voluntary efforts of *all*, whether in sections or individually. It is far from the truth to say, that 'the people unconnected with any religious denomination are abandoned altogether to chance.' Voluntary teachers find the sphere of their efforts precisely in this 'large portion,' and obtain their largest reward from successes among them. And the assertion that they are abandoned to utter '*exclusion* from all instruction,' is either highly figurative or a theoretic mistake.

In England, already, school room is provided for popular instruction enough for 1,876,947; while, by proper calculation, the deficiency only extends to 61,345, which would afford accommodation for the whole school-going youth in the land. In 1843, *returns* proved that, in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, for a population of 2,208,771, day-scholars amounted to 210,592. The probability is, that on the lowest estimate, already in the county of Lancaster, 170,000 children attend day-schools for instruction; while it has been proved by an official survey of the districts, or deaneries of Macclesfield, Frodsham, Manchester, Warrington, Amounderness, Lonsdale, Blackburn, Leyland, Furness, Copeland, and Kendal, that school accommodation has been furnished for 210,894; and that instruction is accessible to four times the number who embrace it. In four hundred and fifty-four localities, chiefly within the county of Lancaster, only fifty thousand scholars are reported as receiving daily education, where the people have, principally by voluntary enterprise, provided four times the school-room occupied. But hundreds of thousands more seek and obtain instruction by other means; while thousands of generous spirits find their highest pleasure in *gratuitously* imparting what they value, and wish to bring others equally to appreciate, as a means of happiness.

It is a popular but gratuitous assumption to imply, that the building of school-houses instead of gaols would have secured that many of our criminals might now have been honest and respectable members of the community. In Lancashire, there is already four times the amount of school accommodation provided, to that which is occupied. And it would not be difficult

to show, that the acutest criminals and the leaders in crime have passed through, or might have entered the 'school-houses.' Other crudities in these paragraphs we shall hereafter incidentally expose.

The *plan* proposes the appointment of 'committees' in every township, who *shall be required to establish and support* four descriptions of schools; 'for which *purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.*' Common day, and evening schools, infant, and industrial schools, are the designations employed to distinguish these 'four descriptions.'

The 'common schools' shall be for children from five to fifteen years of age,—

'In which they shall be instructed in reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography, and such other kinds of useful secular information as may be deemed advisable, or the growing intelligence of the people may demand. In addition to these, a sacred regard to truth; justice, kindness, and forbearance in our intercourse with our fellow-creatures; temperance, frugality, industry, and all other virtues conducive to the right ordering of practical conduct in the affairs of life. And inasmuch as these virtues, together with reverence and love towards the Divine Being, are clearly taught and powerfully enforced in the Scriptures, a selection of examples and precepts inculcating them shall be made therefrom, and read and used in the said schools, but without reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect or denomination.

'For the purpose of making this selection, a commission shall be appointed by the county board, consisting of nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination; and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous concurrence of the commission shall be required in the selection.

'All children shall have the right of free admission, at the ages before mentioned, to the day, evening, or infant schools of the parish, township, or school union, in which they reside; except such as do not possess the faculties of hearing, speech, or sight, such as are of unsound mind, afflicted with any contagious disorder, or convicted of crime.

'Note.—School committees may, in special cases, relax the rule excluding children convicted of crime.'

These paragraphs supply an illustration of the spirit and philosophy in which the plan is conceived; and the author of 'Strictures' makes his comments with great point in the following paragraphs:—

'I have been forced to the conclusion that it is impracticable and Utopian. It is well meant, but unsound in philosophy. The theory is fallacious, and the working is impossible. One of the essential provisions is that a *commission* shall be appointed by a county board, to make a selection of 'examples and precepts' from the *Scriptures*, and that this commission shall consist of 'nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination; and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous con-

currence of the commission shall be required in the selection.' Nine religious sects—unanimous! Do these men know what sectarian theology is; or have they read the history of creeds, confessions, and formularies, where the commission was composed of one religious sect?

'Their provision and their exclusion are incompatible. What they propose to teach, and what they repudiate and promise to prevent, are either incomprehensible figments, a speculative shadow; or religious tenets. Their *secular* is religious, and their *Catholicon* is sectarian. They hold up the word of promise to the ear, and they break it to the hope.

'What is a '*sacred* regard for virtues,' more or less than a periphrasis for religion? Can '*reverence and love for the Divine Being*' be taught, as they are clearly enforced in the Scriptures, without a reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect? Are there no denominational tenets which respect the Scriptures and the *dicta* of any secular commission or authority for selection or imposition? The '*examples and precepts*' are to be selected from the Scriptures; but in whose name or by whose sanction are they to be taught? Will the apostolic precepts have the same validity as the evangelic or prophetic possess? Will they be enjoined as ethical truths, or Divine injunctions? Will the positive and legal be discriminated as such? Will the evangelic and ecclesiastical supersede the authority of the decalogue? Will the morality of the Lord's day observance be implied in the fourth commandment; and will reverence to the name of '*God manifest in the flesh*' be enforced by the prescriptions in the third? Let the affirmative or the negative be embraced, and will not the commission of *nine* (however sage) favour the peculiar tenets of *some* religious sect?

'But still further; any teacher, possessing the highest qualifications, and successful above all competitors, being animated by religious considerations, and stimulated by a sacred sense of Divine obligations, shall be discharged from his functions, deprived of his emoluments, and separated from his pupils, if discovered to have '*favoured in his teaching any peculiar theological opinions!!*' Here assuredly is the intolerance of secular education, the bigotry and persecution of latitudinarianism. His sect may be the most catholic—his conviction of the exclusively salutary nature of his peculiar opinions the most irresistible—he may believe the youthful pupil, sick and dying, will perish, if he be not taught what *he* has received as God's truth—he sees the child drawn unto death, and ready to be slain, and he hears one exclaim, '*deliver him, I have found a ransom!*'—but no! the secular educationist denounces and *man* condemns him to dismissal, whom heaven will applaud! Let it be admitted the teacher himself holds the peculiar opinions, and that he practices their concealment, even when their avowal would be most beneficial—will not this involve the habit of hypocrisy, and poison all reciprocal confidence? If the peculiar tenets of any sect are to be interdicted, will it not follow that the teacher must be sectarian in his studies? He may otherwise teach unwittingly the peculiar opinions of one of the sects. The influence of such a habit on the teacher's mind, will be demoralizing and sceptical; it will relax moral and conscientious obligations, and quench the generous love and pursuit of truth. Children may be taught

at home ; and, with the confidence of youth in their teacher, may suggest inquiries, and interrogate their enslaved instructor, whose answer may be interpreted as favouring some religious sect, or as hostile to the parents' creed taught at home. A portion in the lesson book may lead a pupil to inquire, in matters palpable and suited to instruction for such a child. But whether the master can impart a light, or be himself but a novice in such discussions, at the risk of the penalty, perpetual exclusion from his office, he must not reply even so as to favour any religious sect.

' But what board shall prove its competency for this *index expurgatorius* of peculiar tenets ? The nine commissioners, severally of a diverse creed, are each to judge what peculiarity favours the opinion of any of his eight colleagues. They must be *learned* laics ; for paid clerical functionaries they cannot be. The *Friend* must be versed in the whole encyclopædia of theological dogmas ; and while he honestly guards his own sect, composed of ten thousand members, from all aggression, he must as faithfully guard the ninety-nine sects, not represented at the board ; and exclude what may be *Catholic* to ten millions of the people. What man will be so presumptuous as to undertake the responsibility of such a sectarian commission ? But by what standard or theological dictionary shall they determine concerning religious opinions which all may admit are sound and safe, and which yet favour the peculiarities of some religious sect, or the theological opinions pronounced sectarian ? Will it be esteemed no presumption for these commissioners to prepare a lesson book, which the members of their several sects shall be *bound* to accept ? The pupils for normal schools must be cautioned ; masters for examination must be crammed : examiners themselves must beware, that they do not even seem to know the peculiar tenets of any religious sect ; and yet they must be lynx-eyed to detect the most shadowy semblance of peculiar opinions. Hypocrisy, deception, latitudinarianism will have the premium and occupation ; but the fervid and honest enthusiast in religion, who teaches, most succeeds in teaching, secular knowledge ; whose assiduity is provoked by conscientious scrupulousness, that he may discharge religious duties, and commend his religion by his fidelity, and who cannot, therefore, conceal his opinions ; who would endure privation and toil that he may at fitting times diffuse his devoutly cherished opinions, which, of necessity, must favour the peculiar tenets of some sect, will be punished, and doomed to ignominy and disappointment.\*

The projectors of this secular education are well-meaning friends of liberalism ; we would therefore warn them against the divisions any attempt to establish their scheme will produce in the ranks of reformers. They have set up the standard of a new sect, and increased the number of political 'shibboleths.' Champions will now be ranged to prove or disprove the plan unexceptionable, and its pretensions to catholicity. The earnest and sensitively-conscientious men will dread its infringement on principles and obligations held sacred ; till in the controversy

\* 'Strictures,' on a Plan, &c. Republished from the Manchester Times. Letters by Phileleutheros.



they are reckoned censorious and pragmatical. The speculative and lax admirers of the theory, who have marshalled themselves as promoters of education, under the auspicious sanctions of philanthropy, will scorn the crotchet, and be tempted to disdain as narrow-minded bigotry and opinionated obstinacy, the opposition which they encounter.

It would require a volume to select and refute every error or political heresy in this plan. But we must condense our objections. A certain class of reformers fortify their projects by referring to the experience of America, and the educational statistics of that country are produced, if not paraded, in argument for national education. We frankly admit, they find there much plausible precedent. First, however, before they deem that conclusive, they should remember, the system which they laud in America was *coeval* with the colonization of that continent; and though, perhaps, adapted to a newly-settled and plebeian population, with few sects and no hierarchical domination; its late introduction would excite antagonism in an *old* country, whose inhabitants were long settled, with many hereditary prejudices and predilections. Then, let them consider that the Americans are themselves departing from the scholastic provisions of their localization, in proportion as disparity prevails between the capitalist and the working man; as privileged classes multiply, aristocracy encroaches, and the habits of Americans approach to the manners of old English society.

Before we proceed to further criticism, we shall add a few extracts from 'the Plan,' as to the county government of this tentative measure of secular education. They confine it to the county of Lancaster, because the contrivers 'believe it will meet with a warmer support from some, and a less decided opposition from others, than if it had been proposed for the country at large; and because they believe, that in this county are to be found men pre-eminently qualified to carry out such an experiment with spirit and success.' How credulous! For administration, it is proposed there shall be committees for the townships and for the hundred; and for the county, a board of education. We copy the limitations and extent assigned to their several powers in progressive degrees of authority. Such is the plan; what will be its working at the end of twenty years?

*'1st. Powers and Duties of the School Committee.'*

'The school committee shall have power to engage and dismiss masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schools; subject to the following regulations:—

'1st. Nothing shall be taught in any of the schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect; and in order that perfect security

may be afforded, any ratepayer shall have the right to complain to the school committee of the conduct of any teacher in this respect; and in case of dissatisfaction with the decision of the school committee, he shall have the right to appeal to the committee of the hundred; and, if dissatisfied with their decision, to the county board of education, and from the decision of the county board to the courts of law and equity.

'2. No clergyman of the church of England, nor any dissenting minister, nor any ecclesiastic of the catholic church, shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connexion with the schools.

*2nd. Powers and Duties of the Committees of the Hundred.*

'1. To unite parishes or townships containing less than two thousand inhabitants into school unions, which unions shall act in every respect as if they were parishes or townships of themselves.

'2. If the majority of the rate-payers of any parish or township present at a public meeting, called for the purpose, object to be united with any other parish or township, they shall have the right of appeal from the decision of the committee of the hundred, to the county board.

'3. If any parish, township, or school union neglect to establish or support schools, the committee of the hundred shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a school committee for such parish, township, or union.

'4. To admonish or dismiss teachers whose conduct is brought under their notice by appeal from the decision of the school committees.'

*'County Board of Education.*

'A county board of education shall be established, consisting of twelve persons, of whom not more than three shall be members of any one religious denomination.

'1. The board shall appoint annually a secretary, at a salary of not less than five hundred nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum; and two inspectors at salaries of at least two hundred pounds each, per annum. The concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary in the appointment of the secretary and inspectors.

'2. It shall be necessary for the board to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools; and no book shall receive the sanction of the board which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect. Objections made in writing by any three members of the board, to any book, on the ground that it favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect, shall prevent such book from being introduced into any of the schools. \* \*

'5. If any township, parish, or school-union, shall neglect to establish and support schools, and if the committee of the hundred in which such parish, township, or school-union is situated, shall neglect to use the power given them to supply the deficiency, it shall be the duty of the county board to establish schools, to levy rates on such parish, township, or school-union, for their establishment and support, and to appoint a committee to manage them.

'9. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the local schools, the county board shall have power to expend two thousand pounds annually in maintaining at the normal school a

number of such pupils as shall be reported by the school committees to be deserving of such reward, and shall pass through such a course of examination by the public examiners as shall be decided on by the county board.

' 10. The expenses incurred by the board shall be defrayed by the parishes, townships, and unions, in proportion to their population.

*' Normal Schools.*

' 1. The county board shall establish and support one or more normal schools for the training of teachers. It shall have power to engage and dismiss teachers, to decide on the course of instruction to be pursued, and on all matters relating to the management of the normal schools.

' 2. Nothing shall be taught in the normal schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect.

' 3 The county board shall have power to draw from the townships, parishes, and school-unions, in proportion to their population, the sums necessary for the erection of buildings for the normal schools. The current expenses shall be defrayed by the pupils, or by the townships, parishes, or school-unions, for whom the pupils are in training.'

The Earl of Clarendon, as well as Lord John Russell, have severally applied to Ireland the counsels of a wise policy, whether from choice or of necessity. By not a few their sentiments have been applauded; and not alone for Ireland are they susceptible of application. Legislative intervention in the affairs of individuals has put a check, elsewhere than among the Irish, on enterprise; destroyed self-reliance, and misdirected capital and industry; illustrating that the less a government interferes beyond the removal of obstructions and securing of perfect freedom, the better for the community. Neither laws nor the actions of the executive government are indispensable for the regeneration of a nation.

When a scarcity of provision prevailed recently, many benevolent individuals urged that the government should send their 'men of war' to foreign ports, not as plunderers but traders; and that the public servants should act as a great national commissariat. The ministry declined such interference with the regular merchant; and on this account an outcry was ignorantly raised against them for cruelty, and as having caused the death of myriads, especially in Ireland. Sober-minded and observant philosophers, or judicious merchants, have not, however, thus judged. They knew that, had government gone into the market, either as buyers or carriers, they would have not only disorganised legitimate trade and interrupted the *bona fide* enterprise of the skilled merchant; but would have obstructed the supplies which a natural trade was sure to provide. Had benevolent companies or incorporated trades interposed, the same evils on a smaller scale would have followed. If this would be the natural

tendency of interference by the executive, in measures to secure an adequate supply of bread-stuffs, and other commodities, what other operation could result from their intermeddling with individual enterprise in relation to popular education? How will it affect the balance between the demand and the supply; disturb the relations of the voluntary teacher, and misdirect the expectations and confidence of the market? Let a private teacher attempt to come into competition with such accredited and endowed agents of an incorporate system, according to the *plan*; and he will find himself in the same state with a merchant who ventures to trade without a bounty in competition with those whose traffic is encouraged by large public bounties. 'If he sells his goods at nearly the same price, he cannot have the same profit; and poverty and beggary, at least, if not bankruptcy and ruin, will infallibly be his lot. If he attempts to sell them much dearer, he is likely to have so few customers that his circumstances will not be much mended.'

It may be answered, 'the appetite for education is not so natural to the ignorant as for meat and drink. Free trade in bread and water will succeed, but not in knowledge.' Dr. Chalmers urged this consideration in favour of an argument for an established religion; and voluntaries answered him by appealing to the principles divinely appointed, as sufficient to procure all needful provision. Had Dr. Chalmers been able to secure heavenly intelligences as the 'powers' of earth, and angels as the ministerial agencies of the church, who should, free from the taints of corruption or the influence of selfishness, have administered ecclesiastical affairs; then, in part at least, his proposition would have been plausible. But it would have been to deprive the gospel of much of its glory. The recipients would not have sustained the responsibility and dignity of freemen, and of a voluntary people doing God's service willingly.

If, then, men, naturally disinclined to provide for themselves spiritual food, are left dependant on voluntaryism, and its sufficiency be realized, are they not far more likely to supply themselves with education? If governors cannot be trusted to provide religion because their provision will be made for sinister purposes; can it be expected that the officials of even a local and secular corporation will wisely arrange for what is counted a common education for the mass of the people, without invidiousness or prejudicial influence, as for *all* the subjects in the realm?

The injustice involved in the application of the proposed system, under the sanctions of parliament, with the powers of an incorporate society, and supported by taxation on the entire community, must be manifest to such as calmly examine the subject. Surely, if a salary be given to the teacher of one scheme

of education, because it is peculiar, the system which is not endowed is taxed to an equivalent amount—besides being branded with public disapproval. The *premium* bestowed on the favoured plan is a new money power, appropriated to the advantage of a section; and for the emolument of those functionaries who are conformists to the creed embraced in the chartered system. The bestowment of such recompense on the corporate teacher will necessarily deserve the character of a penalty in its operation upon the independent teacher, and will prove injurious to his efforts, whatever be his energies or success.

Where taxation is universal, the benefit, whether direct or remote, should be common. But in the plan proposed it is otherwise. The salaried agency is sectarian; and necessarily the more so by the vain attempts at catholicity; while public opprobrium is created and cast upon the conscientious teachers whose scruples prevent their acceptance of chartered privileges. Moreover, if a revenue be exacted from all, being members of the community, the complaint of inequality is well founded if the benefits do not extend to all. But the operation of the measure, sketched in the plan of these friends of education, will be limited, and the advantages will accrue only to such individuals as either have not exercised conscience, or whose mind has not suffered from doubts or questions of principle as a cause of disquietude. It is thus that an instrumentality, which should be for the elevation of the people, and the advancement of benevolent and generous sympathies between man and man, will rather divide and destroy the mutual confidence and co-operation of society.

Under the pretext of education the fiction of liberality has been sustained by rulers and clergy; with the semblance of philanthropy and a lugubrious charity and compassion for the criminal population, ignorance has been denounced as the cause of guilt; and a morbid pity has been nursed into sympathy for the inhabitants of our jails, penitentiaries, penal settlements, and floating prisons. 'Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise;' and where crime is palliated or sheltered under the disguises of untutored or unlettered years, is it not probable that the *knowing* culprits will not acknowledge aggravating acquirements? But it is not an extravagant conjecture, that excuses are manufactured as well for government measures, which are exceptionable and dangerous to liberty, as for the immoralities of our criminal population, by the *cant* educational and the zeal for continental innovations which have recently prevailed. There is a crisis now in English history like to the struggle which convulsed the country in the time of Charles I. Then it was precipitated by royalty, now it is impelled by utili-

tarian and doctrinaire politicians. Then the contest raged around the throne, now it agitates the homestead and the hearth of the citizen. Then it was with the tramp of the warrior and the garment rolled in blood; but now it is with the strife of tongues and the conflict of opinion. But still the 'old English liberty' will prevail; and it will be found that the *paladium* of British freedom is committed to every Englishman: to be guarded by his vigilance, and secured by his own responsibility and constant energies.

The eager advocate of the plan under review, will probably demur to these strictures, as if misapplied. It is certainly not our intention to misrepresent. The powers of government to be vested in committees, and the board, are proposed, by the plan, to be *incorporate*;—and this is 'one of the most important provisions relating to these bodies.' And how extensive are to be these corporate powers? 'To enter the public schools at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars; into the course of instruction pursued; and into all matters relating to the management of the schools;' 'to admonish or dismiss;' and 'to prevent such book from being introduced;' 'to sanction all books before they are admitted;' to judge what book 'favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect;' to appoint 'secretary and inspectors.' Will all these be done without any pecuniary influence? And yet the projectors please themselves, or assure their friends, that this board is invested with *no more* power than is necessary for *enforcing the law*, and securing the *efficiency* of the local schools.' If the operations of a body so incorporated partake not of the genius of government influence, what will be their utility; and if they be equal to government—what mighty charm will the annual retirement of *two* members of the board work? Men 'dressed in a little brief authority' are proverbial for the 'fantastic tricks' which they play before high heaven; but what evils may these sexennial boardmen perpetrate during their period of office? What testimony does the most philosophical economist bear concerning the action and influence of corporate bodies?

'A monopoly granted to a trading company has the same effect as a secret in trade or manufactures. The price of monopoly is on every occasion the highest which can be got. The exclusive privileges of corporations, statutes of apprenticeship, and all those laws which restrain, in particular employments, the competition to a smaller number than otherwise might go into them, have the same tendency. The real and effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman is not that of his corporation, but that of his customers. It is the fear of losing their employment which restrains his frauds and corrects his

negligence. An exclusive corporation necessarily weakens the force of this discipline. If you would have your work tolerably executed it must be done in the suburbs, where the workmen, having no exclusive privilege, have nothing but their character to depend on.' Virtually all these characteristics will belong to the *corporate* action of the board contemplated in this plan. We would invite the advocates of such a measure, and any who think that the experiment at least is possible, to remember the operations of the board for charter schools in Ireland; and examine what are the tendencies of the government *chartered* Board of Education; intended, vainly, as a substitute for all other Irish systems, and to neutralize antagonistic sectarianism.

The politician seeks how to encourage the principle of good government, and to secure an efficient administration without diminishing the independence of the subject, or adding to the irresponsibility of the ruling class. But this plan authorises legislative intervention in the most domestic affairs of private individuals. The clothing or food of the body are not so much the province of the parent, as is the furnishing or culture of the mind; an incorporate board, for analysing the food or measuring the garments of the youth of the county, would not be a more impertinent intermeddling, or more likely to check the sympathies of the community. The administration would have the despotism and energy of a dictator, which should provide and controul the educational apparatus for five hundred townships in a county; but it would debase the parent citizen to the dependence of an infant minor, and dissolve some of the gravest obligations which are sustained under the paternal roof.

The economist demands that the best article be produced at the cheapest price; whereas in corporate operations the plan is practically how to expend, for the benefit of interested parties, the largest amount having the smallest return. 'It is the interest of every man to live as much at his ease as he can; and if his emoluments are to be precisely the same, whether he does or does not perform some very laborious duty, it is certainly his interest, at least as interest is vulgarly understood, either to neglect it altogether, or if he is subject to some authority which will not suffer him to do this, to perform it in as careless and slovenly a manner as that authority will permit. If he is naturally active, and a lover of labour, it is his interest to employ that activity in any way from which he can derive some advantage, rather than in the performance of his duty,' whose remuneration is already fixed. The practical working of 'township' schools, as proposed in the *plan*, will develop this absence of stimulus. The functionaries, having the inspection

and controul, will not hold the relation which will excite a healthy vigilance, or secure in the servant a constant and direct responsibility. Public servants are sustained at the largest cost, and always are subject to the least responsibility. Their assumptions and *hauteur* are only paralleled by their presumed independence.

But the monopoly conferred on the corporation teaching, is at the expense of the people who are professedly the objects of benevolent consideration; while, under the pretext of favour, an injury is inflicted. The nation is taxed, and not only denied an equivalent, but the revenue of the tax is appropriated to the antagonist of their best friend.

Every system of taxation, moreover, ultimately bears on the profits of production; and the largest share, in proportion to the means of the individual and the contributions of the multitude, is extracted from the labouring classes. The people are already too heavily burdened in national taxation; and the collection of revenue by a government functionary is expensive and demoralizing. The tax-gatherer is an unpopular officer, that which is given to him is given with reluctance, and generates discontent. Swift said truly, that in the arithmetic of the customs, two and two, instead of making four, make sometimes only one; if, then, it shall require a great number of officers to levy the education tax, whose salaries may consume a great part of the revenue, the benefits will be disparaged, and the hearts of the people alienated from the object desired. And, although the expense of government to the individuals of a great nation has been compared to 'the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to pay in proportion to their respective interests in the estate;' multitudes will doubt whether they have an interest in a chartered scheme of education; which requires so many accessories for its support, beyond what a voluntary system secures. They will doubt whether it be 'in proportion to their respective abilities, as nearly as possible,' they are *forced* to contribute towards the support of this untried and impracticable plan; more especially when they compare what is the proportion of revenue or interest they receive under the protection of the state. What will be the expenditure of the plan to which the projectors call the attention of *all classes*?

The increase contemplated in this plan to the official staff of the county and of the administrative power of civil functionaries, is not undeserving of consideration. How many will it clothe, not only 'with a little brief authority;' and how widely ramified will be the pervading influence of placemen, if even



they be not pensioners? It may be doubted, indeed, whether any executive administration of the crown will consent to the creation of such *imperium in imperio*, or to leave its control in other hands than their own; while the natural sympathies of all corporations are subject to the supreme influences of the ruler. Shall these functionaries be required to perform their duties merely because chosen by the rate-payers, without fee or salary? If not remunerated;—then what is the testimony of all historical experience with reference to the ‘*great unpaid*’ magistracy? But if every one who does public service should be rewarded suitably, both that his attendance may be obligatory, and that he may be held responsible for his duties, let the apparatus of this PLAN be considered. In the county of Lancaster there are four hundred and sixty-four townships. A school committee, and one or more schools are contemplated for each; having at command offices, secretaries, clerks, stationery, etc., needful for the routine of periodical or extraordinary business. Consultations, returns, reports from them, directions, regulations, inspection and the government of them will be a needful part, and development of the system. The number of each township’s committee is not specified; take, then, an average number of *five*, and one secretary, besides schoolmasters for each:—

Four hundred and sixty-four <i>townships</i> , members of committee, five each .....	2,320
Secretaries for each, one .....	464
Six county divisions of <i>hundreds</i> , for which are provided, by the plan, committees, number.....	60
Secretaries for each, one .....	6
One county board and secretary .....	13
One commission of nine and secretary .....	10
One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers .....	7
Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four.....	7
Normal school tutors or professors .....	6
Teachers of the township schools, <i>at least</i> .....	464
Collectors of the school-rate, throughout the hundreds; and con- tractors, or servants, to keep the buildings in repair, say .....	?
Number of functionaries ascertained.....	4,357
Number hypothetical.....	?

The salaries or expenses of these public servants are not anticipated in the plan, with two exceptions—the secretary to the board, and two inspectors;—for the former, not less than five hundred, nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum is proposed. The minimum salary of the inspectors also is specified. That these conjectures are not absurd or extravagant

representations, will be apparent from a *note* which is appended by the projectors of the scheme, at page 11 of the Plan, and which, as the basis of our calculations, we transcribe:—

‘The population of Lancashire in 1841 was 1,666,054, but may at present be considered as 2,000,000. The net rental assessed for the poor-rates in the county of Lancaster for the year ending Lady-day, 1841, was £5,266,606—at present it may be taken as £6,000,000. The erection of a school-house in every township (four hundred and sixty-four in number) at an expense of £250 each, would cost altogether £116,000. A rate of fourpence three farthings in the pound would raise a sum of £118,750.’

The modesty of these hypothetical buildings, which are to be provided for school-rooms in every township, hardly corresponds with the matter-of-fact structures usually appropriated for such purposes, by corporate or government provision. The expense of £250 each, would but too probably prove an under estimate, besides the cost of keeping them in repair.

This summary may help to some conclusions on the financial character of the PLAN; all the revenue for which is to be levied by taxation, and which, *minus* the teachers’ salaries, is to be an additional burden upon the tax-paying people. Moreover, it should be remembered, that the projectors mean Lancashire should be a model county for all others; while the adventitious expenditure may be calculated for a thickly-peopled district, much lower than for districts where the population is more scattered; and the system in all its operations would remain much more under check in the county of Lancaster, than in the counties of Dukes, Clergy, and Squires.

We have listened to the earnest appeal of the authors of this scheme. We have sought to avoid ‘the bitterness of controversy, and to approach the consideration of this momentous question in a spirit of conciliation, benevolence, and justice.’ And we must frankly avow that, we think, like the author of ‘The Republic,’ they have pursued the *idea of good*, without sufficient consideration for the evil *influences* of society. Not only have they contrived an impracticable and illusive theory, which will lead to futile organisation, but they are working into the hands of designing men, who are insidiously fabricating a great *national network*, in which to entangle and enthrall the mind of our youthful population. This *county* plan will not succeed; but it may serve as an admirable pretext for the further modification of Dr. Kay Shuttleworth’s plastic and chameleon minutes.’

Events prove that the public mind is not only agitated with this question; but so awakened to investigation and discussion are the thoughtful men, that no temporary expedient or supple-

mentary 'minute' will suffice. A few needy or temporising associations, and some timid, half-hearted, and wavering non-conformists may have been tempted into correspondence, respecting government grants or chartered revenues for education. But there are others, the hope of the country—the earnest men, on whose leading the movement of the age depends; the truly enlightened advocates of liberty and nonconformity, who have a mission to perform; and they will not be found wanting in the emergency. The deliberations which have been held in the metropolis to concert a plan of co-operation for voluntary education, and to occupy the place and position, now deserted by the Borough Road School, intimate how deeply and painfully affected have been the minds of many who were its benefactors, by the procedure of the British and Foreign School Society. We may have more to say of the scheme for a voluntary association, which these gentlemen have projected. Meanwhile, we assure them of much sympathy and interest in their discussions.

The Congregational Union Board of Education has not been deceived by the *supplementary minute* of the Committee of Privy Council. Theirs were not the exceedingly 'refined objections' which could be *salved* over by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth's prescription. They have seen through the *gloss* of that plausible and only pretended concession; and have not been allured by its flattering *conciliation*. They never would have refused to account for the appropriation of monies received, or to report, in the fullest terms, the amount and character of religious education imparted by them. They would do nothing in a corner; they would sanction no irresponsibility in the application of national resources; but neither would they hypocritically and deceitfully accept public money for one purpose, and apply it to another. They would not even pretend to give secular education only, when they covertly were imparting instruction in sacred things. They believe that religious truth is taught in their day schools, either separately or by the influence of their general teaching; and they would not be under the law of *man* in this matter; they would not receive a *code* of education from any secular authority, or by any minute of council. They have spoken out at their autumnal meeting, in the city of York, during the month of October. We hope Dr. Vaughan, as well as Dr. Shuttleworth—the advocates of secular and endowed education—as well as the government, will deeply ponder the following resolutions, which, after long and deliberate discussion, were passed, *nemine contradicente*, by more than three hundred ministers and delegates, from all parts of England and Wales.

1. 'It is their conviction, that the education imparted to the young in day-schools, by the various congregations connected with this body, ought to combine religious with secular instruction; and such, in their belief, is the invariable practice. In accordance with their known ecclesiastical principles, the religious character of these schools determines the source from which alone support to them must be derived, and necessarily excludes all aid from the government.

2. 'This union having, on former occasions, expressed their deliberate views, founded on these principles, on the various measures of the government in relation to education, see nothing in this supplementary minute to induce the slightest modification in their opposition to these measures; since their objections do not lie against affording information, however ample and explicit, to the government, and to the public at large, respecting the character and extent of the religious instruction communicated, but against the reception of public money for institutions of a religious character, such as this supplementary minute acknowledges them, by implication, to be, just as the former minute recognised them in express terms.

3. 'This supplementary minute is, in their conviction, of most mischievous tendency, inasmuch as it is calculated to ensnare the judgment, by diverting it from the proper question involved in these measures, yet leaving all their objections untouched; while concurrence in it, on the part of dissenters, would naturally produce the impression on the public mind, that they only sought a decent pretext for availing themselves of the government money.

'On these grounds, this meeting would express their hope, that this new minute will meet with universal rejection by all who hold the principle of the unlawfulness of government interference with religion.'

The more this important subject is discussed, the more evident will become the momentous interests involved. Thus has it appeared to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The members felt they had duties to discharge, which affect a far wider circle than their own subscribers, or the direct contributors to their funds. They contemplate the deliberations and conclusions to which they may come, as belonging to the entire community, rather than any separate section of the people; and therefore their anxiety is most reasonable, to take counsel and ascertain the opinion of the friends of education in distant places. They will confer benefits, even by extending the inquiries and awakening the thoughtfulness of the pastors and teachers in all parts of the country; as well as by maturing their own plans of operation.

We hail with great pleasure the arrangement by which a conference is to be convened of the friends of education, in some central place, convenient for attendance from provincial towns as well as from the metropolis. It is wisely determined that this assembly shall be congregated prior to the meeting of parlia-

ment; so that, before politicians or senators commit themselves to the plausibilities either of government measures, or of theories put forth by associations, they may have the advantage of such conference and of its deliberations. Whoever may take part in that proceeding, will doubtless remember that the eyes of the empire are anxiously directed toward them. The friends of freedom, in our colonies and in the United Kingdom, more than the warring factions of religious polemics, or the subtle *employes* of jealous statesmen, will turn their hopes and attention to this council of the people. It is no partial or sectarian interest, no mere denominational or partisan struggle. The welfare of the nation, the progress of liberal institutions, the elastic power of the voluntary principle, and the self-diffusive energy of independent education, await the crisis and the demonstration.

ART. VII.—*First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reports from the Select Committee on Navigation Laws, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them.* Printed by order of the House of Commons.

THE first trace of a navigation law to be found in the statutes—and it is useless to look further back at the usages of the Danes and Saxons—is the 5th of Richard II., cap. 3. That is the germ of a system since carried by our shipping over a world that Richard and his barons never dreamed of, and existing at the end of nearly five centuries, is now causing inquiries in Parliament, and serving as the rallying cry of parties. As lawmakers always follow precedents, subsequent legislation was but the development and growth of that germ. From its nature, though we cannot, *a priori*, infer the oak from the acorn, we may learn the applicability of our maritime system to the present and the future of society, and therefore we begin with the first little filament of its life.

The avowed object of the Act was to ‘*prohibit any subject of the king from shipping any merchandise outward or homeward, except in ships of the king’s allegiance, on penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo.*’\* The motive assigned for the prohibition ‘was to augment the navy of England,’ said to be then ‘greatly

\* Macpherson, ‘Annals of Commerce,’ vol. i. p. 592.

reduced.' Thus the beginning of the law was the prohibition of any honest traffic, unless it were carried on in ships of which the owners, master and crew, owed allegiance to the king. At that period the effects of the Conquest had not passed away, and the allegiance claimed was one of its results. 'The statute 2 of Richard II., cap. 4, speaks of mariners being arrested and retained for the king's service, as of a thing well known, and practised without dispute, and provides a remedy against their running away.\*' Thus the allegiance was the duty of submitting to any violent outrage the king and his barons might ordain, to serve their own purposes. A somewhat remarkable illustration may be found in the records of the same king's reign, which is worthy of being quoted, to show the condition of those who were constrained to serve the king at sea, and whose honest traffic he prohibited.

In the 5th year of the reign of Richard II., he summoned a parliament 'especially to punish,' as the Commons were told by Sir Hugh Segrave, Treasurer of England, 'the authors of the late horrible tumults and rebellions made against the king, who had been forced to grant to the rebels charters of liberty and manumission, who were only bond-tenants and villains of the realm of England, under the great seal of England, which the king, knowing to be done against law, desired them to seek remedy, and provide for the confirmation or revocation thereof.' 'The Lords and Commons together came unanimously to this resolution, 'That all grants of liberties and manumission to the said villains and bond-tenants obtained by force, were in disherison of them, the Lords and Commons, and destruction of the realm, and therefore to be nulled and made void, by authority of this parliament.†' When the first Navigation Act was passed, therefore, the bulk of the people were still in a condition of vil-

\* 'Blackstone's Commentaries,' book i., chapter 13.

† Parliamentary History of England, vol. i. 387. Such a remarkable example as that recorded in the text of bad faith in the nobility to the villains, must not be allowed to pass, without supplying its appropriate lesson. The villains under Wat Tyler had extorted from the crown charters of freedom and manumission, confirmed under the great seal. Relying on the sovereign, they had dispersed and returned to their homes; and then the parliament, repudiating the contract made with the king, annulled the grants as disinheriting them—that is, putting an end to their power over slaves. Wat Tyler, let us add, and his followers, then contended for free trade. One of their demands first granted and afterwards 'nulled and declared void' was 'freedom of buying and selling in the towns and out of the towns'; but that freedom, like the other charters, was withheld by the lords of markets, fairs, tolls, and bridges. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the conduct mentioned in the text influences the sentiments and affections of the descendants of Wat Tyler and his associates to this day. They have, unfortunately, been continu-

lanage, their persons and property were held at the mercy of their feudal superiors, and the prohibition to traffic was intended to make the services of the villains more readily available to those who claimed their allegiance.

It is apparent, from this brief account of the conduct of the people and their rulers, that they were in conflict; the people were struggling for freedom, including freedom of trade; and the barons, to maintain their power. By that conflict all the laws of that age were tainted. The villains, including the mariners, strove for enfranchisement, and the barons, by violence, to retain them in obedience. There was no conception then in existence of the importance of trade as a branch of civilization. The warrior monarch, as the rule, only required ships to carry his armies to the continent, and as the means of having them, he ordained that none but those on which he could legally seize, of which the masters, owners, and mariners, were of the king's allegiance, or owed him suit and service, should engage in the trade of his dominions. He prescribed the business of ships, as he seized seamen; and the first navigation law had a precisely similar origin to impressment. The present charter of the ship owners was originally intended to secure by force a supply of ships and seamen for the king's service. Manning the fleet, and restrictions on trade by a navigation law, have, ever since, gone hand in hand;\* and to this day the latter is defended as a means of providing seamen for the navy, owing allegiance to the monarch, on whom the State can seize, whenever it may require, or suppose it requires their services.

Several other early acts of parliament on the subject partake of the same character. By the 14th Richard II., cap. 6, it was enacted, that the merchants of England should export their mer-

ally reminded to our own time, by some similar promises similarly broken, of the little faith to be placed in rulers. Future historians will probably speak of the parliamentary reform effected by the Whigs, to the utter disfranchisement of the bulk of those who contributed to bring it about, as another example of charters of liberty and manumission promised under the great seal, as held by Lord Brougham, and nulled and made void as benefits mean modern statesmanship, covertly and with cozenage, by the authority of the Whig ministry and the parliaments of 1830, 1831. Such treacherous proceedings continued at intervals through centuries, are not without their influence on the character of the people, and are the parents of that mistrust of politicians which is now both just and general. Perchance the down-stricken peasantry of the south of England, whose deterioration is now so much mourned over by philanthropic politicians, owe their degradation to such deceit and treachery in the possessors of power as is recorded in the text. Before we censure too severely the habits of any labouring classes, we ought to ascertain from a minute examination of domestic history what has been the conduct of their rulers.

\* See the evidence of Captain Sir J. Stirling.

chandise in English vessels only.' The act Henry VII., 1 cap. 2, in like manner forbids 'the buying or selling of any wine, the growth of Guienne or Gascoigne, unless it were imported in a vessel belonging to England, or of the king's allegiance, and navigated principally by natives of England, or those who were the king's bondmen.' The assigned motive for this law was the decay of the navy, from the seamen being unemployed. By the 4th Henry VII., cap. 8, 'wine, wood, etc., were prohibited to be imported unless in vessels belonging to the king, or some of his subjects,' and navigated by seamen, of whom the greatest part should be natives of his territories. The king's subjects were also forbidden from shipping goods in England or Wales on board any vessel owned by a foreigner, unless when sufficient freight could not be found in an English vessel.\* In passing the law the parliament considered 'that were great minishing and decay hath been now of late tyme of the navy of this realme of Englande, and ydilnes of the maryners of the same by the whiche this noble realme within short process of tyme, without reformation be had therein, shall not be of abylytye ne of strengthe and power to defend itself.' The intention of the legislature in all these acts was rather to provide means at the command of a feudal monarch for carrying on war, than increase the wealth of the people, promote their convenience, or add to the employment and profit of the shipowner.

Passing over several similar acts, intended to modify the earlier laws (for, like all such laws, they required to be continually altered), we come to the Acts of the Commonwealth, passed at a period peculiarly propitious to a rapid growth of commerce and shipping; and, considered therefore, while the others have been disowned, to be the true parents of our maritime superiority. By the first of these, the Act of 1650 'intended,' as Blackstone says, 'to mortify our own sugar islands which were disaffected to the Parliament, and still held out for Charles II., by stopping the *gainful trade* which they then carried on with the Dutch, and at the same time to clip the wings of those *our opulent and aspiring neighbours*.' 'All ships of foreign nations were prohibited from trading with any English plantation, without licence from the council of state.' In 1651, the prohibition was extended also to the mother country, and no goods were suffered to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms, or in the ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture. At the Restoration, the same provisions were

\* 'Annals of Commerce,' vol. i., p. 602.

† Ibid., p. 706.

‡ Ibid., p. 712.



continued by statute 12 Carl. II, c. 18, with this very material improvement, that 'the master and three-fourths of the mariners shall also be English subjects.'\* In all these enactments, the parliament copied, with modifications and extensions, the letter and spirit of the Acts of Richard and Henry, substituting for 'ships of,' 'the king's allegiance,' and 'king's liege people,' 'ships of the build of England, Ireland, and the plantations,' and the more modern phrase of 'English subjects.' Subsequently, these Acts were variously modified to a small extent, and in trivial matters—whale ships, for example, were allowed to have their crews only one-third English; Persian silk, an Asiatic product, was allowed to be imported by the Russian company through Russia, but, in the main, the Act of 12 Carl. II. c. 18, continued in force till after the separation of the United States from England, and constituted with its adjuncts that great maritime code which is supposed to have insured the safety and the supremacy of England. Professing to confine all the over-sea and coasting trade to ships built in England, owned by Englishmen, and manned by English seamen, and to secure them a monopoly of this trade to the exclusion of foreigners, and particularly of the Dutch, the law has been at all times peculiarly acceptable to ship-builders, ship-owners, and mariners, who have credulously believed that the effects of legislation were always identical with the intentions of the legislator.

The principle provisions of this Act were as follows: no goods or commodities whatever, were allowed to be imported into, or exported from, any of our plantations or colonies, except in English or colonial ships manned by Englishmen. None but natural born or naturalized subjects were allowed to exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in the colonies, under forfeiture of goods and chattels. No goods,—the growth, product, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, could be imported into England, except in English ships. No goods of foreign growth or production could be imported in foreign vessels, except from the place of growth, under forfeiture of ships and goods. Salted fish, oil, etc., not caught or cured, or imported in vessels truly English, were liable to double aliens' customs. No goods could be carried coast-wise, except in English ships. No goods of the growth of Russia, no masts, timber, boards, and a great variety of bulky articles, could be imported in foreign ships, except ships of the build of the country where the articles were grown or produced, *owned and manned, like British ships, by natives* of that country. The Act further prohibited the shipping from our colonies of sugar, to—

\* Commentaries, book i., chapter 13.

hacco, cotton, wool, etc., *to any place but England*, 'for the sole benefit of our own navigation and people.' \*

As trade expanded and became important, the original idea of securing the services of ships and seamen for the use of the sovereign, expanded too, and was modified; and, not only the state was to be served by providing it with ships and seamen when wanted, but all the opulence to be gained by traffic was to be confined and guaranteed exclusively to the subjects of the English crown. In the seventeenth century, according to Hume, *trade* first became an affair of state; and the great wealth and power which were then its fruits, directed the attention of statesmen to the political importance of commerce. The spirit of trade is mutual advantage; the makers of navigation laws, in the seventeenth century, thought they could secure all its benefits to one people; and they attempted to create a monopoly of that which only lives by diffusion. For upwards of a century, the 12th Charles II., cap. 18, was continued in force, with partial modifications and suspensions; but the progress of trade, and the conversion of our noble American plantations into the United States, have latterly caused numerous relaxations of the monopoly. They were generally the growth of circumstances, such as the increase in the trade and maritime power of Prussia, which threatened restrictions on our trade, and were unwillingly adopted. More than anything else, perhaps, the extension of the warehousing system, promoted mainly to facilitate the collection of the revenue, and increase that trade which the navigation laws narrowed and impeded, has impaired the monopoly. To trace all these alterations would be rather tedious than profitable, and we shall content ourselves with describing the present state of the law, as contradistinguished from the Act of Charles II., according to the evidence of Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

A consolidating Act, the 8th and 9th Vic. c. 88, is now called the Navigation Law. By the second clause of that Act, several species of goods enumerated, the produce of Europe, such as figs, masts, timber, tallow, etc., cannot be imported for consumption except in British ships, or in ships of the country from which they are imported; but a great number of commodities common in trade are not enumerated, such as flour, fian, oil, refined sugar, etc., which being the produce of Europe may be imported without any restriction as to navigation. Besides this distinction of which no man, Mr. Lefevre says, now knows the reason, though the law was passed in its present form so late as 1845, there are other exceptions to the general rule introduced in conse-

\* For this condensed view of the provisions of the old law, see 'Annals of Commerce,' vol. ii., p. 484., *et seq.*

quence of treaties with various powers, and granted to them as privileges, so as to narrow still more, and complicate still more this restriction on figs, etc., for the sake of navigation, from which flour, etc., is exempt. By the third clause, goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, are prohibited to be imported *from Europe* for home consumption, except goods the produce of the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, goods the produce of Asia or Africa, brought into places within the Straits of Gibraltar, etc., which may be imported from countries within the Straits, but not otherwise across the Atlantic Ocean. The origin of these exceptions and some others, is lost in the change of circumstances which have taken place, and no good ground can now be assigned for continuing them. The fourth clause enacts, that goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, shall not be imported in *foreign* ships, unless they be ships of the country in Asia, Africa, or America, of which the goods are the produce, and from which they are imported. To this clause, too, there are exceptions, the motives for which are at present little understood. This clause limits the imports from our colonies in Asia, Africa, and America, to British ships. The fifth clause provides that all manufactured goods shall be deemed to be the produce of the country where they are manufactured. The manufactures of the Channel Islands, however, except ships, are treated as foreign, if made of foreign materials. Their ships, though built of such materials, are entitled to registration. By the sixth clauses, importation from those islands is limited to British ships. The seventh clause limits exportation to our colonies from the United Kingdom to British ships. Clause eight confines the coasting trade to British ships; and the ninth and tenth clauses regulate the intermediate trade of the Channel Islands and of British possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, which must be in British ships. Our colonial trade is further regulated by the British Possessions Act, which prevents importation into British possessions in America from any country except the United Kingdom, into any port unless declared a free port by that Act or by order in council; and it also prevents ships of any country from importing into the colonies, unless such country has had express permission given by order in council. The privilege of trading with our colonies has been given to a considerable number of states without any restriction, and to France and Spain with restrictions, amongst which, though why, nobody seems to know, French vessels are not allowed to carry the great staple of their country, wines, to our colonies. Several of our colonies at present are dependent for subsistence on imports from the

United States, and to have kept up the old exclusions would have doomed them to starvation.

In the modern law there is no trace of the prohibition on foreigners to reside or be factors in our colonies. Exportation of every kind from England is entirely free, though it must employ shipping equally with importation; the old notion of a balance of trade operated on our lawgivers in the seventeenth century, and made them remove the restrictions on exportation. But in respect to the relative employment of our own shipping and foreign shipping, a clause which permits any goods in any ship not prohibited by some other law, to be imported for the purpose of being warehoused and re-exported, is of great importance. Any thing may be exported in any ship, and any thing may be imported in any ship to be re-exported. The present restrictions on navigation only apply to goods to be used within the country. They are no longer helps to maritime power, but mere impediments to consumption; and the once celebrated Navigation Law, the source, as was said, of our maritime power, has dwindled into a mere auxiliary of the bread-taxing landlords. The inheritors of the power of those who broke Richard's pledge to 'the bond tenants and villains of the realm,' still treat us as slaves, and would confine us if they could for our subsistence to the acres which pay rent to them. The popular prejudices which still cluster around navigation laws are not associated with the new system of which the people know nothing, but with the old system which has been gradually abrogated. The new system, while the shipowners still cling to it as a rag of protection, is rather vituperated than praised; it is the old and the dead law which is the idol of popular admiration. It is that law which squires, as taught by their clerical preceptors, still eulogise at the hustings, and of which farmers dream when they cheer the squire for magnificently promising to uphold the ancient institutions of the land.

In examining the effects of the law, it may be useful to consider them in relation to the past, or those of the old law, and in relation to the present,—if there be any present in respect to laws, and all their effects do not belong always to the past—or those of the new law. Adam Smith said, and his words on this subject, have been often quoted by the monopolists, on account, probably, of the rarity of the support they find in his pages, that 'the regulations of the Act of Charles II., though partly proceeding from national animosity, were as wise as if they had all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom.' Blackstone, too, in England, a more popular and Tory authority, boasting that the 'law was intended to punish our sugar colonies, and clip the wings of our opulent and aspiring neigh-

bours,' declares 'that it is the most beneficial of all our statutes for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms.' If such a bundle of prohibitions and restrictions—such an indulgence of national animosity have really been a national benefit, all the general rules on which the policy of the nation has been latterly based must be erroneous; the foundations of political science are laid in shifting sand, and we shall be encouraged by the authority of these sages to adopt as national policy that which is morally wrong. Briefly to trace the effects of our navigation laws, in past times, therefore, has a higher interest than that of merely establishing an historical fact; and to abolish them, a higher object in view than that of increasing opulence. It will vindicate Smith's own science, replace the foundations of Blackstone's law, and contribute to shew that consistency and harmony pervade the moral, as they pervade the physical world.

Analysis, by revealing the common elements of all bodies, has given modern philosophers a mastery over nature the ancients never contemplated. Its power in detecting truth is not less in the moral than in the physical world. If we have patience to apply it, and break up this great composite body of navigation law into its political and commercial effects, we shall more speedily get at the truth. Co-existing with the navigation laws, a wonderful increase has taken place in the political power of Great Britain. Her fleets have gradually spread over every sea, her maritime supremacy has been established, and it is consistent with our customary philosophy to ascribe this supremacy and power to the laws which were professedly passed to secure them. 'The result,' says Mr. Richmond, speaking the general sentiment, 'the laws aimed at, was obtained.' Mr. M'Gregor, the late intelligent secretary to the Board of Trade, and other authorities assert, 'that our maritime power has prospered in defiance and in spite of the navigation laws.' Let us look at their effects.

From the earliest historical period England and the Netherlands carried on an extensive traffic with each other to their mutual advantage. It was continually interrupted by wars and obstructed by political restrictions, but it grew in spite of these obstacles, and was profitable to both people. Any national jealousy which existed before the reign of Elizabeth, was confined to the Burgundian Netherlands; with Holland, which, compared to Antwerp, was late in rising into importance, we were uniformly good friends. The Reformation added a religious to a commercial bond, and when the United Provinces separated from Spain, and established their independence, England became their staunch ally and friend. The two united formed the great bulwark of protestantism.

After that event there sprung up a trade rivalry between them. The progress of the United Provinces in wealth was, until then, unexampled. After the ruin of Antwerp, many manufacturers and many industrious citizens, took refuge in Holland. De Witt tells us, that between 1571 and 1650, a period of seventy-nine years, Amsterdam increased three-fold ; as marvellous an increase as that of the towns of England or the United States in the present century. The Dutch had opened a large trade to India, they had extended their commerce to the West Indies and the Mediterranean, they had surpassed and almost extinguished the Hanse towns, they had become colonizers to a great extent ; and in the early part of the seventeenth century presented to the world a splendid specimen of successful industry and enterprize. In the prosecution of their designs they were not always just. What nation ever was ? They interfered with the growing trade of England to the East Indies ; attacked English ships, and committed the horrid massacre of Amboyna. They then sailed their vessels cheaper than the English, they had in proportion a greater number ; they carried on traffic with all the world and for all the world, and even carried on part of the coasting trade of England. Their great and sudden power, their extensive business, their services even to our own merchants and people excited envy, their intemperance excited hatred ; and within little more than sixty years after, England had contributed to establish their independence, England passed the Navigation Act to cripple their trade, abate their power, and teach them humility. A more remarkable example of national animosity attempting to strike down a rival by means of a statute, is, perhaps, not to be found in the annals of trade legislation.

We were not at war, however, with Holland when the law was enacted, though shortly afterwards a war broke out between the two Republics, which all contemporary authorities ascribe to our Navigation Law. The Dutch government earnestly remonstrated against it. ' It was the foundation ' says the parliamentary History of England, ' of the grand quarrel that soon afterwards ensued. '\* After a short interval, during which the two countries, in the time of Cromwell and Charles II., were trying to injure each other, they again became united in defence of liberty and religion ; and from the accession of William III., till the American war, they continued firm and fast friends. Whatever injured one was an abatement of the political power of the other. Their great opponents were the catholic and maritime powers, France and Spain, against the former of which, by far the most formidable naval

\* Vol. xx., p. 76.

antagonist England ever yet found, she had to struggle for her very existence; and by weakening her ally she augmented the relative strength of her enemy. Admitting, therefore, that the Act really 'clipped the wings of the Dutch,' from whom we could have nothing to fear, that was tantamount to clipping our own wings. In its political effects, the Navigation Act was at variance with the policy of the country for upwards of a century. It plunged England into ruinous war, wasted her strength, and lessened the power of her most steadfast political friend.

The Navigation Law has given rise to numerous other contentions, and has continually provoked the angry feelings of foreigners. It was a restriction on their trade as well as our own. It prescribed how their ships must be navigated to enter our ports. After the separation of the United States, it kept alive the rancour that civil war had engendered. Our maritime code, including this Act, and our practice of impressment was adjudged extremely offensive to the Americans; and taking their seamen, and searching their ships led to the war of 1812. It is somewhat singular that this war, like the war under Charles II., which grew from our navigation laws, was neither honourable nor profitable to Great Britain. In the one, the Dutch sailed up the Medway; in the other, our frigates were captured; in both, coming after the navigation laws, and growing out of them, a severe blow was inflicted on our naval reputation, and our maritime superiority.

Apart from the number of our seamen, which we shall consider under the commercial effects of these laws, the defence of the country must ever have been dependent on their courage, and devotion to their country. It is characteristic of their pursuits, that they cannot be confined to one place. They can seek service all over the world. Whatever weakens their attachment to their country tends to deprive it of their aid. A more violent infringement of the rights of property, and of freedom, than to prescribe how many seamen shipowners shall employ, and of what country they shall be, and to seize them when wanted, is not to be found in the annals of meddling, despotic legislation. Apprentices, and a certain number of seamen, being forced by the law on the shipmaster, who was very generally the shipowner, there was at once hostility between them; and in addition to the unpleasant feelings which are sometimes generated between employers and employed, there was always the animosity caused by the chain of the law binding together unwilling parties. 'The masters,' says Sir James Stirling, 'complain of the law about apprentices, that it forces them to take servants who are not profitable. The law requires that about a sixth part of the whole number of seafaring persons

shall at all times be apprentices; but *if too many seamen* are made by the process, the hardship falls upon the old sailor, who is thrown out of employment, or is prevented from getting full employment. It appears to be an arbitrary interference with the labour market, and is at all times a hardship on the shipowner, and at certain times a hardship on the men.' Of course, if it have any effect, it increases the number of seamen disproportionately to the demand for their services, and beats down their wages. It increases their dependence too on the shipowners, who are irritated against them by the law. The facility of finding employment in other countries counteracts this effect in some degree, but their superabundance thus becomes a means of supplying foreign shipping with seamen. Formerly, they went in great numbers to Holland, but since the growth of the mercantile marine of the United States, they go thither, and it is notorious that American vessels are, in a great measure, manned by English seamen.

At the same time, the object of the law in compelling the merchant captain to take so many apprentices and English sailors is, that the State may have their services when it requires them; and it takes them by impressment without regard to the wants, at the moment, of the shipcaptain. He cannot always rely on the services of those who are forced on him. On the same principle the law allows the seaman to break his contract with the shipowner, and enter on board a king's ship, and it encourages the shipowner, if he be displeased with his men, to break his contract with them on a slight pretence, and send them on board ships of war. The men have never looked on their employers as protectors, nor the shipowners on the seamen as faithful servants whom they are bound to protect. The consequence of our maritime code, therefore, is to weaken or destroy the cordiality that ought to exist between shipcaptains and seamen. Their disagreement is notorious; though naturally they have strong motives for mutual kindness. For ages have our shipowners witnessed, we are afraid with satisfaction, the practice of impressment, as tending to keep the seamen more dependent on them; and in spite of their boasted patriotism and humanity, they have never, in modern times, lifted a finger to protect their servants from this grossest of all outrages. From these facts we have no hesitation in concluding that the Navigation Act has had a most deleterious effect on the character, as men, both of the shipowners, or shipcaptains, and the mariners.

We need scarcely add, that excluding competition has not increased the professional skill of either class. We regret to say, that it is given in evidence by several gentlemen, that



English ships are not navigated, and their cargoes not stowed, with the same care, that is taken of some other ships. On board American ships English seamen are highly valued; nevertheless, on board English ships their services are neither equally efficient nor equally meritorious. An American ship, though her crew be composed exclusively of Englishmen, is navigated, and better navigated, by fewer men than an English ship. Secure against competition in the home and colonial trade, English shipmasters, and English seamen, who certainly were amongst the most renowned of their profession before the Navigation Act was passed, have not kept pace with the rest of society in improvement, and no longer stand A 1 on the great register of mankind. The Navigation Law is a perpetual interference with the natural laws which regulate the relations between men, and demoralizes and degrades them. Taken in conjunction with impressment, it has diminished the attachment of our maritime population to the empire, and has lessened its strength and security.

Commercially, these laws have been even more strikingly injurious than politically. Ships are that part of a nation's capital which can be most advantageously and easily lent to other nations. It is the natural and best means for a more advanced to assist a less advanced nation. On this principle our ships are now carrying on the trade of South America, and however advantageous that is to us, it is equally advantageous to the people of that country. Without our ships they would have no trade. About the period of the Commonwealth, as we have already stated, the Dutch had made a rapid stride in improvement. They had gone ahead of other nations. They had capital to spare, and they lent them their ships. They became the general carriers. To a small extent they carried for Englishmen, they even participated in our coasting trade, and did that for us and the rest of the world, which we are now doing with so much mutual advantage for South America. It is perfectly clear from a fact, mentioned by Roger Coke, namely, that ship building and seamen's wages rose very much after the Navigation Act was passed, that we had quite as much trade as our resources were adequate to carry on. The prosperity of the Dutch, however, excited jealousy more than emulation, and the Act seizing their property put a stop to their useful services. It annihilated so much trade which was mutually advantageous, or it never would have existed, its existence being the proof of its advantages; and thus all the injury which the Act inflicted on the commerce of the Dutch was a reciprocal and an equal injury to the commerce of some of our own people. 'Many petitions, accordingly, were presented, in

the year following its enactment, from the merchants, touching private inconvenience sustained by the new Navigation Act.\* 'In two years,' says Roger Coke, writing in 1671, after the passing of the Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament, 'ships became one-third dearer than before, and seamen's wages became so excessive that they have lost us the Greenland and Muscovy trades.' 'Putting,' as Mr. McCulloch says, 'Holland and Germany, so far as it depended on us, out of the commercial world,'† it nearly annihilated our trade with them; and it required first, the French revolutionary war, which threw into our hands the exclusive supply of colonial goods, and next, Reciprocity treaties, and the improved feelings of modern times, to revive and extend the trade between Great Britain and those opulent and civilized people.

Ever since the destruction of the Norway and Greenland trades, these laws have continued to impede or destroy some branch of commerce. Being restrictions on friendly communication, and prohibitions of honest traffic, which men would not engage in unless it were beneficial, they could have no other effect. Of the extent of the mischief they have done, we have no positive evidence, because they prevented trade from coming into existence. The very complaints of the shipowners prove the present injuriousness of the laws. But for what yet remains of them, the ship owners say, more Swedish, more Prussian, more Danish, more American ships would trade with England, her colonies, and the rest of the world. They allege, as the argument in favour of the laws, that they annihilate much trade. As the old prohibitions and restrictions have been relaxed, more foreigners, they complain, have carried on trade with Englishmen. To prevent or prohibit that trade, is a positive injury and a positive injustice to all the parties who would engage in it and would profit by it. Nominally, the shipowners oppose foreigners; in reality, they advocate a restriction on some of their own countrymen. The complaints of the shipowners of the relaxations of the law, and their resistance to further relaxations, on the ground that foreign shipping would thereby be encouraged, are testimonies borne by the advocates of the law to its actual injustice and injuriousness. They vehemently contend, indeed, that by permitting other men to have these benefits, the shipowners would be injured; but this assertion of selfishness is clearly a supposition only, it is not a fact; and experience has proved it to be unfounded. The very nature of trade, which consists in conferring mutual advantages, shows that the more

\* 'Parliamentary History,' vol. xx., p. 85.

† For both passages, see Mr. McCulloch's 'Commercial Dictionary,' article, Navigation Laws.

others succeed, the more they may benefit us. With destitute savages no gainful commerce can be carried on; we supplant them, and appropriate their soil; and the more industrious and wealthy are other people, the better customers they make.

The shipowners complain that since 1824, when the first Reciprocity act passed, in pursuance of which, treaties have been entered into with a number of states, giving their ships equal privileges with British ships, foreign ships have increased very much. That is what might be expected. The Reciprocity treaties were made to attain that end. Accordingly, the foreign tonnage that entered inwards, and cleared outwards, in 1846, was 3,727,438, being an increase, as compared to 1824, (1,506,148) of 2,221,290 tons, or 151·47 per cent. In the ten years, however, which preceded 1824, the increase was only 303,920 tons, or 25·27 per cent. Comparing that with the average increase, in ten years, of the period subsequent to 1824, 68·85 per cent., we see that foreign shipping did increase very nearly three times as fast in ten years subsequent to, as in the ten years prior to 1824. The Reciprocity treaties have answered their purpose, foreign shipping has increased, and trade has increased by restriction being removed. But has English shipping not increased too? In the twenty-two years ending with 1846, the tonnage of the English shipping entered inwards, and cleared outwards, was 8,688,148; in 1824 it was 3,454,853, or it had increased in 1846, 5,233,295 tons, or 148·84 per cent. The average increase in ten years was sixty-seven per cent, while the increase in ten years prior to 1824, was only 34·83 per cent. Thus, though foreign tonnage has increased since 1824, so has British tonnage, and almost in equal proportion to all the foreign tonnage, not the tonnage of any one nation, engaged in our trade. It is further to be noticed, that the centesimal increase in British shipping since 1824, is on 3,454,853 tons, while that on the foreign shipping is only on a tonnage of 1,506,148; and there may naturally be more room for the extension of the smaller trade, opened in 1824, than of the trade already choked with shipping.

Another instructive table is to be found in the parliamentary paper, number 588, session 1847. It states the amount of tonnage of ships registered, and belonging to the United Kingdom and its colonies in each year, from 1821 to 1846. In 1821 the tonnage was 2,560,203. The average of the four following years was 2,534,768 tons, or a falling off, under the old navigation laws, and before the first Reciprocity treaty was negotiated, of 25,435 tons, or 1 per cent. per annum. In the year 1826 the number of ships increased considerably, 2,635,644 tons, no doubt in expectation of reaping advantage from the Reciprocity

treaties, which some shipowners had promoted. In the four following years the tonnage fell off even to less than in 1821, viz.; in 1827,—2,460,500; 1828,—2,518,191; 1829,—2,517,000; and in 1830,—2,531,819. But this falling off is accounted for by a new registration Act having been passed in 1827, which compelled the owners to register their ships anew, and cleared from the register all that had a merely nominal existence. In 1831 the tonnage increased to 2,581,964, and it continued steadily to increase to the last year of the return, 1846, when it reached to 3,817,112. From 1821 it had increased 1,256,909 tons. On the average of the six years, 1841-6, the increase was 50,772 tons per year, while on the average of the six years, 1821-6, the increase was only 12,573 tons per year. Thus the shipping belonging to the ports of the empire increased in the last six years, when the Reciprocity treaties were in full operation, when free trade had, to a great extent, been carried into effect, four times as fast as in the six years before the navigation laws were relaxed, before there were any Reciprocity treaties, and when the shipowners had that restricted trade, for which some of them still pray. The case would have been stronger had we not given the shipowners the benefit of their own increased exertion in 1826, in expectation of what the Reciprocity treaties were to do for them. Excluding 1826, the shipping actually declined between 1821 and 1825, indicating that the relaxation of the navigation laws saved our shipping from decay.

They say, or Mr. Richmond says, in their name, that the number and tonnage of our ships have not increased in proportion to the increase of our trade. Prone to grumble, they seize hold of a statistical fact, and without knowing its bearings, interpret it, by their fallacious hopes and disappointments, into meaning the general inconvenience. Between 1827, the first year of the new Registry Act, and 1846, the increase of the tonnage belonging to the United Kingdom from 2,460,500, to 3,817,112, was 1,356,612, or 55 per cent., while the increase of tonnage of British shipping entered inward and cleared outward, in the same period, from 3,974,580 in 1827, was to 8,688,148 in 1846; or 4,713,568 tons, or 118 per cent. From both statements all consideration of foreign shipping is excluded. The tonnage entered inwards and outwards indicates the business done, the tonnage of the shipping belonging to the empire, the number of instruments by which it was done. The result is that the business done increased more than twice as fast as the instruments to do it. In 1846, 3,817,112 tonnage of shipping did as much business as very nearly three times the 2,460,500 tons of shipping in 1827. By the introduction of steam, by the employment of steam tugs to assist sailing vessels, by the

general improvement and management of ships, their efficacy was so much increased, that in 1846 one ship did as much work as two ships of equal tonnage in 1827. Ships, like other instruments, have been improved, and their efficiency increased, while the number and tonnage of our shipping have also been increased since 1827, 55 per cent.

Mr. George Young, in his evidence before the committee, notices the increase of business, in comparison to the increase of shipping, to disparage it :—‘According,’ he says, ‘to the existing practice with regard to every steamer that runs between Dover and Ostend, every voyage is included in the returns of the trade between that country and this; and the result, therefore, is, that a steamer of two hundred tons making two voyages a-week, is made in this return to figure as a tonnage of upwards of twenty thousand.’

But this mode of estimating tonnage has been always the practice. The steamer of two hundred tons, now making two voyages a week, and figuring for a tonnage of 20,000, in comparison to the sailing brig or schooner of two hundred tons, that twenty-five or thirty years ago made the same voyage sometimes in a day, and sometimes in four weeks, figuring at the end of the year as 4,000 or 5,000 tonnage of shipping, becomes an admirable test of the greater carrying power of our vessels, and of their improvement, as instruments of transport. Less money than formerly, in proportion, now serves to carry on trade; fewer cotton mills than formerly spin the required quantity of cotton yarn; and in like manner fewer ships in proportion than formerly carry to and fro an equal quantity of goods. The increase in their efficiency, and the increase in their numbers shows a great competition amongst shipowners, and great profit, to excite their competition. If freight has sunk a shilling or two per ton, they have no right to call out that the nation is undone. Their own exertions have brought about improvement, and cheapened carriage. If they have gone too far, and now, as they say, keep their vessels afloat more from patriotism than profit, the fault is their own; and the owners of old ships not worked so advantageously as the new ships, who are the principal sufferers, should complain of their more active compatriots, not of those relaxations in the law under which, and in consequence of which, their vessels have increased both in efficiency and number.

It is true, as the shipowners say, that, on the whole, since the Reciprocity treaties were passed, foreign tonnage has increased, proportionately, somewhat faster than British tonnage in our whole trade; but, far from regarding that as an evil, it manifests, we think, a progress in civilization, which may well

compensate for any comparative retardation in the increase of British shipping. According to the statement already quoted, the increase of foreign ships in our trade is 2·63 per cent. more than the increase of British ships; according to another table given by Mr. Porter, there was no greater increase of foreign than of British ships. Assuming, however, that the increase of foreign tonnage in our trade was three per cent. more than the increase of the British tonnage between 1824 and 1844; within the same period the British tonnage has increased in the trade of the United States, relatively more than United States shipping, the most flourishing of the world, and the envy of our shipowners. In the four years subsequent to 1820, the average centesimal proportions of tonnage engaged in the trade of the United States was, American, 88·74, foreign, 11·26; the average of the four years prior to 1844, was—American, 69·38, foreign, 30·62. The foreign tonnage had therefore increased in the American trade at the rate of 29·86 per cent., while the increase of foreign tonnage in our trade was not 3 per cent. Of the increase of foreign tonnage in the American trade, 75 per cent. was British, and only 25 per cent. all other foreign shipping. In the four years ending 1828, the centesimal proportions of French and foreign tonnage engaged in the trade of France were, French 41·52, foreign 58·48; and in four years, ending 1844, French 32·66, foreign 67·34. Thus in nineteen years, the foreign tonnage engaged in the French trade, in relation to French tonnage, had increased 8·96 per cent., while the foreign tonnage engaged in ours, had only increased 3 per cent. We have not met with similar returns of the foreign tonnage engaged in the trade of other countries; but its increase in the trade of Great Britain, of France, and of the United States—three of the greatest trading nations of the world—is sufficient to warrant the deduction, that in the trade of most countries, the increase of foreign shipping is greater than the increase of native shipping. This is what we might expect, and it shows that the modern policy of removing restrictions has attained the end proposed.

England, and other European nations, following her example, have, within the last few years, abolished many restrictions on foreign trade. Each state has so far ceased to injure its own people, and the foreigners who would trade with them. As the exclusions have been removed, both the injured parties have profited by the change, and have increased their transactions. Of course, the more numerous those restrictions were in different countries, and the more they are got rid of, the greater must be the comparative increase of foreign ships. In consequence of that, however, our own national wealth increases, so that the advantage of two nations—the thing desired—ensues,

from the abolition of restrictions. The peculiar advantages of each nation become, in the progress, equally accessible to all, and there is a greater general abundance. If more Prussian ships come hither, in relation to English ships, than formerly, more English ships go to France and the United States, relatively to French and American ships. The shipping of each country, as restrictions are removed, naturally engages in that trade which is most profitable to it, for which it has some peculiar advantages, and which, in the end, must be most profitable to all. If fewer English ships than formerly are engaged in the Prussian trade, it is because the owners find a more profitable trade with the French and the Americans. Selfish avarice, thinking only of petty, momentary gains, and jealously believing, all that goes to another, a loss to itself, may fancy the increase of foreign shipping a proper subject for patriotic complaint; but statesmanship will regard it with favour, as an evidence of increasing wealth; and philanthropy will hail it with intense satisfaction, as binding fast in peace, by friendly commercial relations, all the nations of the earth.

As the increase, however, in the number of Prussian ships engaged in the English trade, and the diminution of English vessels in the Prussian trade, is Mr. G. F. Young's great argument for retaining the Navigation Law, we may give an explanation of it. It is mentioned by Mr. Tottie in his evidence, that Swedish vessels, and probably other northern vessels, make their first voyage to England to get their fittings here. This is one circumstance which makes it more advantageous for a Prussian ship than an English ship to convey a cargo to England. She would come otherwise empty, for come she must. Prussian ships, and all other northern ships, engage in the carrying trade of the world, and go to the Mediterranean, South America, and other places, to get cargoes. England lies on the road, and many of them bring cargoes of timber here, on their way further south. Hence another advantage for carrying on the trade with England, possessed by ships of the north and east of Europe, which enables them to do that, while our ships are carrying on the more lucrative trade of the United States and South America. If no adequate explanation could be given of the increase of Prussian ships in our trade, it is no proper subject of alarm. Prussia has, perhaps, one brig of war, presented by our government, and is not yet a maritime power that can raise the apprehension and jealousy of England.

From the obvious effects of our Reciprocity treaties in opening trade with several nations already far advanced in wealth, and increasing in population, we are not disposed to place so

much stress as has been laid by some of our contemporaries on the relative greater increase of British shipping in foreign trade, where it is not protected, than in the colonial trade where it is protected. Our recent legislation has tended to throw open our colonial trade with foreign countries, formerly a strict monopoly, to foreign vessels, and, at the same time, the reciprocal legislation of other countries has tended to open to our vessels foreign trade. It is therefore to be expected, as foreigners come to share with Great Britain her colonial trade, and as foreign trade is opened, that the relative increase of our shipping should be greater in the expanding trade of the world, than in the narrow colonial trade, of which a part went to foreigners. Nevertheless, the greater increase of our shipping in foreign trade, where it is not at all protected, than in our colonial trade where it is protected; and the much greater amount of the shipping engaged in the unprotected, than in the protected trade, are facts of considerable importance, which, being known, may assuage the fears of some, from exposing our shipping to competition; and perhaps astonish others at the small amount of protection which remains to be contended for.

The return No. 4, of Sessional paper 588, is a 'statement of the tonnage of British ships that entered the ports of the United Kingdom from different foreign countries and British possessions in each of the years 1824, 1846, distinguishing the tonnage employed in the trade with British possessions, and which is protected by the navigation laws from the tonnage employed in the trade with foreign countries, and which is unprotected from competition with foreign ships. From that we learn that in 1824, the tonnage in the protected trade was 893,097, and in the unprotected trade 904,223, the two being nearly equal, the latter exceeding the former by only one eighteenth part. In 1846, however, the protected trade was only 1,735,924 tons, and the unprotected trade,—carried on with all the foreign countries of the world, and in open competition with all other ships,—was 2,558,809, the latter being 812,885 tons, or nearly one half greater than the former. The protected trade in the twenty-two years had increased 842,827 tons, or 94·37 per cent., the unprotected trade had increased 1,654,586 tons or 182·98 per cent. Thus the unprotected trade has grown to be one-half more important than the protected trade, and is increasing relatively so much faster, that the protected trade must soon become an insignificant part of the whole.

With this evidence before us of the greater increase of our shipping in that trade in which they have been exposed to competition, than in the trade from which competition is in a great



measure still excluded; with the evidence that we have laid before our readers of the general increase of foreign shipping in the trade of every nation in which our shipping fully share; of the very great and rapid increase of our trade and shipping since the Reciprocity treaties were formed; of the more rapid increase of our shipping during the last six years than during the six years prior to the beginning of those treaties, with the evidence of the greater efficiency of our shipping, as well as the increase in their number, both of which have taken place under extending competition; we are perfectly satisfied that our shipping has nothing to fear from the most unlimited competition, and that it will be augmented by the removal of all restrictions on navigation. It is not necessary to pursue this part of the subject into further detail. Enough has been stated to prove that our shipowners have lost nothing by those relaxations of the law which they admit, and even contend have conferred great advantages on foreigners, including foreign shipowners. But if they have lost nothing, and they admit the injury which the law inflicts on others by their own complaints, an unanswerable case is made out against the law. Since 1824, the trade of the country has been increased three-fold, and our own shipping one third. These immense advantages have at the same time been shared by foreigners, and the present prosperity of all thus becomes an effectual guarantee of future peace.

We have given but a brief notice of the commercial effects of these laws, and have rather indicated them from the effects of relaxing the laws, than by the positive and palpable results of the laws themselves. In truth they are chiefly negations, the stifling, in its birth, of so much traffic, the annihilation of so much means of subsistence and wealth, and we can only darkly infer the mighty mischief actually done, by our knowledge of the good that has arisen from relaxing the laws. There are many other parts of the vast subject which we must touch still more briefly. The inquiries of the committee took a wide range and brought to light many curious facts. Mr. Tottie, the Swedish vice-consul, informed the committee, that Swedish vessels get their sails, anchors, cordage, and many of their fittings, from this country, and that naval stores to a considerable extent are annually exported from England. The captain of an American ship informed the committee, that the Americans get most of their sails, and most of the iron-work for their ships from England. In Sweden even the timber is imported of which the ships are built. There was much similar evidence, and evidence of the cost of building ships, which shows the apprehension of decay from

competition to be wholly unfounded. When foreign ships are built, and fitted out, with materials from England, what can English shipowners have to fear? It was shown, that the rates of insurance for English ships, but not for their cargoes, are lower than for foreign ships. All such inquiries, however, we hold to be of comparatively little value for the legislature. It can never nicely adjust the balance, and it ought never to try, between such numerous and conflicting details. Every legislative impediment to building, victualling, and manning ships cheaply, ought to be removed; but when the legislator has done that, the success of our shipping must be entrusted to the skill of our shipwrights and seamen, and the good providence of God.

If a practical man have a grievance, if he can show that a law operates to his disadvantage, remove the grievance, alter the absurd law; but do not quit the eternal principles of morality and justice in legislation to promote the ends of particular classes. The legislator who begins to inquire into the advantages and disadvantages of different trades in different countries, will be lost amidst a multitude of details; and legislation founded on them, must be minute, contradictory, and varying. If it be apparently feasible to-day, it will be absurd to-morrow. On this account we are the less anxious to advert to many singular matters given in evidence before the committee. One merchant deposed to losing a sum of £780., because he was not allowed to bring a cargo of sugar home by any other than an English ship, and had he been allowed he would have made £1,500. Another that he lost £150. by not being allowed to import palm oil from America. Another that he was obliged to send some Alpaca wool, the produce of America, and which had been imported from Germany, back to New York, and import it thence to England before he was allowed to use it. Almost every man who was examined narrated some instance of injury done by these restrictive laws. They prevent a free circulation of goods between the continent of England, and so prevent an equalization of prices. They increase the amount of charge for carrying passengers to our colonies, and so check emigration, and check that colonial prosperity which is a great means of increasing our navigation. They are a mass of legal restrictions on honest industry, and their effects cannot be examined without detecting their mischief. Adam Smith praised them because 'national defence is of more importance than opulence;' but in modern times the power of the State wholly depends on the ability of the people to pay taxes; opulence and defence are identical, and whatever lessens the former weakens the latter. Even the shipowners do

not say, that these laws increase the national opulence, and in admitting that they restrain trade, they admit them to be wholly indefensible.

They abound too in incongruities. They permit refined sugar to be imported from any part of Europe, but not raw sugar. Flour made from American wheat may be imported from Hamburgh, but not the wheat. Buenos Ayrean hides must not be brought from Antwerp, but if they be dipped in a tan pit they may be readily imported. Wheat, the produce of Russia, must not be imported in a Russian ship. The law is extremely anxious to increase the number of English ships, but it will not allow ships to be bought of foreigners. English shipwrights must be paid for building them, and even a wrecked vessel can only be bought to be broken up. English capitalists can, indeed, become the owners of foreign ships, and the trade they are not allowed to carry on in their own country they carry on abroad. English ships must be owned by Englishmen, but foreigners may, to any extent, be shareholders of a steam navigation company. The law prescribes an immense number of details, but leaves them to be enforced by the lowest menial of the Custom House. Never was national security, supposing it to be derived from the Navigation Law, provided for by so poor a guarantee. It all reposes on the proverbially loose regulations of the Custom House, and on Custom House oaths.

A subject of, we think, somewhat greater importance than these details, is to show that our maritime superiority has been in no case owing to laws that every inquirer has admitted are injurious to trade. The peers and commons in parliament always take credit to themselves for all that is great and good in the nation, and all that is weak and wicked they attribute to the people or to nature. Whatever may go wrong, they never doubt their own wisdom, and never accuse themselves. Habitually engaged in squabbling for place and power, with no higher ambition than to be tricked out in stars and garters, like savages in their war paint and coats of feathers, at one time grovelling at the foot of the throne, and at another pandering to the lowest passions of the mob, they arrogantly assume to be, by their deliberations and decisions, the authors of all civilization. They emblazon their names on some of the great features of society, and impose themselves on posterity as great master artists; while the truth is that society goes forward in spite of them, and, in general, they must be shoved aside, to make way for improvement. With no part of society are more prejudices in their favour bound up than with our shipping. In many cases, as in laws to provide for the poor, which are invariably found, instead of extinguishing, to increase

pauperism, the objects at which they have pretended to aim have never been realised. In this the Navigation Acts appear to have been eminently successful. The professed object of the law was to secure our maritime superiority, and promote our commercial greatness. We have become the first maritime and commercial nation of the world. We have attained, by means of trade and ships, a power that the authors of the law never had any conception of. The rapid growth both of our commerce and maritime ascendancy is almost coeval with the Navigation Law of the Commonwealth. It is not surprising, therefore, with the general disposition of mankind to flatter lawgivers, that our greatness should have been attributed to the law; that writers of such eminence as Smith and Blackstone should have praised it, and that the popular prejudices at every successive naval victory and every addition to our trade, should have been strengthened in its favour. It is, historically, a very strong case, to justify legislative meddling with trade, and to condemn the modern theory of *Laissez faire*. To explain, therefore, the natural origin of our maritime power, and show that this restrictive and passion-born law has rather impeded than advanced it, may help to establish a theory, the firm belief in which we conceive to be essential to the quiet progress and happiness of mankind.

Though it is common-place, we must remind our readers that no laws could confer a maritime superiority on Hungary or Bohemia. A sea-coast is indispensable; and including all the British isles, our coast is so vast, and so numerous are its harbours, that it may be doubted whether our maritime superiority is quite commensurate to its proportionate extent. Our people live in and by the sea. 'They talk about ships,' says Mr. Richmond, 'from the time they can talk.' 'There has always been something attractive in the trade in shipping,' says the same advocate of the navigation laws, 'in a maritime country like England.\* Our children, from their earliest infancy, are familiar with the management of these magnificent machines. They paddle in the sea; they launch their own little ships; they go on board large vessels and boats, handle the oars, climb the rigging, and naturally become seamen. Laws and police might forbid boys from such dangerous exercises, as in France, and might prevent them from becoming seamen, but they can add nothing, and do add nothing to the attractions of a maritime life. Our laws have connected sea-going with hardship and brutality; they have surrounded ships with terror by their injustice; they have deterred the population from embracing a maritime life by impressment, and have in no wise con-

tributed to our possessing that maritime population which is the real kernel of our naval supremacy. That is due to the nature of our country.

From the beginning of history our population was not only maritime, but enterprising. The Saxons, in their hide boats, were intrepid seamen long before the reign of Alfred; and our maritime reputation was established before the Act of Richard II. Drake had been round the world, and the Armada defeated, before the Rump Parliament, with its coercive measures for sugar colonies, and its spiteful law against Dutch trade had come into existence. Even when Blake gained his reputation and his victories, the Navigation Act could have had no beneficial influence; and our arms were more triumphant, and our maritime power more marked immediately before, than after that enactment. The Dutch sailed up the Medway when it was in full operation, and the traditionary recollection of that disgrace, followed by no subsequent similar disaster, may have tended to strengthen the conviction that we were indebted for our safety to the Act which was reported to have crippled the naval power of the Dutch. The spirit of enterprise for which our vast maritime reputation has been long renowned, was no more the offspring of our navigation laws than was the geographical position and form of our country.

Subsequent to the passing of the Navigation Act by the Rump Parliament, our trade, and with that our maritime power, undoubtedly made a rapid and a continuous stride; but, fortunately for the truth, the passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, and the continent of America, had been discovered before. Most of our plantations, too, on that continent, had been made prior to our quarrel with the Dutch. Thus Great Britain naturally possessed great capabilities, both moral and physical, for becoming a great maritime and trading power, at the period of the Commonwealth, and the colonies and plantations she then possessed may convince us that she had not neglected her advantages. The Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament was intended to curtail a colonial trade already established. Of all the single events in the history of mankind, the discovery of America by the seamen of Europe, enriching some states, exciting the trading emulation of others, and establishing in a new and fertile country a great population of Europeans, has perhaps most contributed to extend the trade of Europe. That was clearly the chief cause of the vast increase of trade which commenced soon afterwards, and has ever since continued. However trite may be the remark, it is for some minds necessary to add, that of this discovery, and of the vast trade which ensued from it, the acts of the Rump Parliament, and of

Charles II., though they existed contemporaneously with many of its effects, were not the cause. The Navigation Laws had no influence whatever in creating and extending the trade with America.

No country has profited more by that, than Great Britain. The previous discovery of the mariner's compass promoted voyages across the ocean, in preference to the old practice of groping along the coast. Before that, the north and east of Europe, including the Hans Towns, were flourishing states, and carried on a large coasting trade with the south and west. As long sea voyages became common, and as the importation of colonial and East India produce by the Atlantic Ocean superseded much of the coasting trade between the north-east and south-west of Europe, including the coasts of the Mediterranean, the position of Great Britain, intermediate between the former and the new countries of the west, having, as it were, a fair starting point for her ships, which the seamen of the Baltic, the Elbe, and Weser, had not, they, too, being closed up a large part of the year, while her western ports were always open to the ocean, made her, and she has ever since continued, a convenient depot for distributing colonial produce to the north and east of Europe. Its ships, better calculated for coasting than over-sea voyages, were spared from crossing the ocean, a matter of some difficulty in those days of scurvy and ignorance of lemon-juice; and, as a matter of convenience, they came hither for colonial produce, instead of going to the Antilles. The position of Great Britain and her colonial possessions explain not only the great share she acquired of the increasing trade of America, but her ability to supersede the Dutch in supplying with colonial produce the north of Europe. After her quarrel with Holland, which added New York to her plantations, she became the natural monopolist of the trade with North America. 'In the trade with British colonies,' says Sir James Sterling, 'British ships are favoured by the circumstance that the transactions are for the most part carried on by the subjects of the same country, speaking the same language, and living under the protection of the same laws.' In many cases, the colonists and the shipowners were the same parties, or parties closely related; and thus our colonial trade naturally fell into the hands of our own people. In the first instance, the colonists had generally only wants which the mother country could supply; and for some time after being established, the colonial trade was a natural monopoly; and, independently of the Navigation Act, was confirmed in our hands. Barring the way between the well-peopled, civilized north of Europe, and the western continent, stretching

into the Atlantic near to America, and possessing more noble plantations than any other European country, Great Britain acquired the lion's share of the new trade consequent on the discovery of America; and the wealth and power which ensued have, by the populace and even by philosophers, been falsely ascribed to an act of parliament for 'clipping the wings' of our ally and customer. Over our geographical position, over our natural capabilities for naval dominion, over the discovery of America, which so extended trade, our Navigation Acts had no more influence than over the tides of the ocean; and the strength of our oak timber might as well be attributed to the wisdom of parliament, as the maritime superiority which has so many natural causes.

That our Navigation Laws which superfluously pretended to secure all our colonial trade to our own people, had not this effect, seems evident from the fact that similar laws effected no similar benefit for Spain. The intercourse with her colonies was rigidly restricted by law to her own subjects. Long before the independence of the colonies, however, the trade with them had fallen, by smuggling mainly, into the hands of foreigners, and since their independence it has been almost exclusively carried on by foreigners. Spain has not become the seat of any great manufacture for supplying the wants of her colonies, and while the vast trade begun between England and her plantations, has been amazingly extended and increased with the United States, Spain has lost all her trade with her colonies, which are supplied with European goods, chiefly from England and France. If Navigation Laws could create or secure a trade, there is no reason why Spain should not at this moment be the monopolist of all the trade to the countries that were once her magnificent possessions in America. But we see from the rapid extension of our own trade with the United States and with other countries as the power of our Navigation Laws has been abridged, that they can have no such effect, and it is an outrage to reason and to nature, to attribute such beneficial and magnificent effects, as the trade and maritime superiority of Great Britain, to the embodiment into a law of the pettyfogging prejudices of the Rump Parliament.

The vast trade of our country and our maritime security are fixed, we are happy to say, on far broader foundations—foundations that nothing can remove, though we may by acts of parliament suicidically destroy the great life that has grown from them. Nothing is more likely to lead to that terrible calamity than a belief that we are indebted for our greatness to legislation. It is true, that as England became

powerful from these natural causes, and as the Act directed against the Dutch continued in existence, our rivals became relatively less powerful at sea; but similar natural causes explain the change, and we commit a fatal mistake by ascribing it to an act of parliament. Holland had a much less sea coast, a vastly inferior territory, and less means of increasing in population and power than England. Her coast navigation is extremely difficult, and the class of vessels suitable for that purpose are not adapted to long sea voyages. The coasters and the colliers of Great Britain, however, the brigs of Yarmouth, the cutters of Bridport,—are calculated to cross every sea. The relative inferiority of Holland is owing to these natural causes, and we should waste and undermine our own strength, we should foster error, corruption, and decay, did we continue to believe that her comparative feebleness is the consequence of our Navigation Laws. No doubt they injured Holland, but they inflicted an equal or a greater injury on England. One of the main causes of the comparative slow progress of Holland was excessive taxation. In that, all writers agree. 'I believe,' says Mr. Richmond, an advocate for navigation laws, and on this point an authority, confirming a well-known fact, 'a Dutch ship was more expensively sailed than an English one, for Holland was the most heavily taxed country in Europe.' From the period of her sudden start into prosperity after the establishment of her independence, her rulers were ambitious of playing a great part in the political affairs of Europe. They maintained vast fleets and armies; they dictated to Germany and Spain; they acquired and jealously guarded an incommensurate colonial empire: they involved their country in enormous expense, and cursed her with a system of fiscal confiscation, that, to this day, in spite of wonderful care, economy, and frugality, has retarded her progress. England is now pursuing, under the delusion that acts of parliament can give national greatness, a similar course. The act which can confer that may well retrieve any little disaster, and we rely accordingly for our prosperity on the completely rotten stick of statesmanship. From free competition our people cannot escape, neither do they wish it, for by commerce they live and thrive. On every article, however, from the rudest produce of the soil to the most refined manufactures, from corn to ships, taxation now weighs with a heavy hand, and every dealer for himself says competition will ruin him. The baneful effects of taxation meet us then at every turn, and make healthy natural food poisonous. If relying on statesmanship we go on, untaught by experience, enlarging the sphere of government operations, and increasing its expenditure, leaving



nothing to the good sense of our people, and trusting no foreign nation to regulate its own affairs, we shall counteract the natural causes of our maritime superiority, and our great trade, and ruin both by excessive fiscal burdens. On this question the shipowners are the last men we should listen to. Believing that the law has given our country a great mercantile marine, and still deluded by the high freights they obtained during war under heavy taxation, they fancy they can recover, by restrictions causing high freights, their share of the natural taxes from the rest of the community; and they are the zealous defenders of those enormous fiscal burdens, which more effectually ruin a community than war or pestilence.

We trust that next session of parliament this important subject will be further investigated, and the principles of free-trade receive a further extension by the abolition of a law which is so ill suited to our condition, that with a little more than ordinary failure of the crops, it was from necessity suspended. The perpetual naval supremacy of our country is to be desired by every patriot; but it would inspire us with regret were it only to be achieved by laws injuring other nations. We might then wonder at the dispensation which placed humanity and love of country at variance. We establish societies to protect the wild aborigines of the forests of America and of the Islands of the Pacific, but they are not more worthy of our regard than the refined and civilised men of Europe, whose enjoyments, whose means of subsistence, whose progress in arts, in wealth, and science, we avowedly try to impede by navigation laws. If it be praiseworthy to protect those aborigines, it is criminal to injure Europeans. Jealousy of power, which grows by increase of traffic, is wholly unfounded, for it is a jealousy of our own power, or the power of an ally and friend. The progress of trade has indeed put down that feudal and despotic dominion, which, beginning in violence and crime, was as long as it lasted inimical to social welfare; and it is an unfortunate prejudice growing out of ancient political animosities, to entertain the same dread of the power which grows from friendly traffic, as of that which grows from political crimes. Such a prejudice, however, has made us, for ages, commit social wrongs on other nations. Unjust and mischievous laws are not the proper foundations for national supremacy. They might have been enacted by the wildest savages, and could have no better effect than the blind passions from which they sprang. Supremacy, to be lasting, must be founded on superior knowledge, on greater skill, on more assiduous and persevering industry, and on more foreseeing wisdom. It is to be secured by the virtues and talents of indi-

viduals, and not by laws that cherish ignorance, impede the increase of skill, and lessen the wealth and power of the community. Like the shipowners, we ardently desire the permanent naval supremacy of Great Britain; but navigation laws have not contributed to that end, and have counteracted the circumstances that tend to make her supremacy as permanent as nature itself.

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### Brief Notices.

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*The Progress of the Nation in its various Social and Economical Relations; from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century.* By G. R. Porter, Esq., F. R. S. A new edition. 8vo. pp. 846. London: John Murray.

THERE are few single volumes in our language to be compared with this. It is honorable alike to its author and to the community to which it is addressed. It displays immense research, and is distinguished throughout by a lucid and masterly arrangement. The views which it advocates are, with slight exceptions, correct; its philosophy is sound, and its sentiments are humane and generous. Few men could have produced such a work, and few people would have called for a second edition of it. In the preparation of this edition, no pains have been spared to maintain the well-merited reputation of the work. The whole has been thoroughly revised, and the information been brought down to the latest practicable period. 'This,' says Mr Porter, 'has proved a work of much labour, and required for its speedy accomplishment a greater portion of time than could be taken from the performance of other and more onerous duties.' We can fully credit this, and rejoice that the preparation of such a volume has been undertaken by a gentleman whose appreciation of its difficulties is equalled by his skill in surmounting them. The work is not new to the public, and we shall refrain from any extended analysis of its contents. It is already widely known, and it may suffice, therefore, to record, that it is divided into eight sections, which treat of the Population, Production, Interchange, Revenue and Expenditure, Consumption, Accumulation, Moral Progress, and the Colonial and Foreign Dependencies, of the Empire. Under each of

these topics a vast mass of important and interesting information is collected, the whole of which is digested with masterly skill, and conveyed in a style at once clear, simple, and nervous. On the one point of education we are at issue with the author, who is a strenuous advocate for government interference. But, great as is our deference for his authority, we are compelled to dissent from his position on this subject. We have greater confidence in the expansiveness of private benevolence than he cherishes, and prefer waiting the slower but more healthful progress of this element, than to hazard the enormous evils which follow in the wake of government patronage.

Taken as a whole, 'The Progress of the Nation' is one of the best books in our language. It is alike indispensable to the statesman, the merchant, and the man of general information. It should have a place in every library, and be frequently consulted by all who would possess full and accurate knowledge on whatever pertains to the progress and well-being of the commonwealth.

*The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge.* Vol. II. 8vo. London: Charles Knight.

IN noticing the first number of this work in our journal for May last, we described its general character and merits, and are glad now to report that its publication is steadily advancing. The present volume, which constitutes the second, proceeds as far as *Bautzen*, and its paper, type, and illustrations, fully bear out the promise of its enterprising publisher. The popular mind is deeply indebted to Mr. Knight, and amongst his services the production of 'The National Encyclopædia' is entitled to rank very high. Such works have hitherto been restricted to the wealthy, and the learned. Their cost has placed them beyond the reach of others, and their contents have for the most part been too erudite for general readers. 'The Penny Cyclopædia' was originally designed for a larger class, and it admirably accomplished much of its mission. Combining rare scholarship with scientific accuracy, it exercised a generous confidence in the public mind, and we are glad to report that such confidence was not misplaced. For the last twenty years our people have been rapidly advancing in the power to appreciate such a production, and now that it is brought within the means of thousands, it cannot fail to obtain an unprecedentedly wide circulation. We strongly recommend 'The National Cyclopædia' to all our readers. Its mode of publication facilitates its purchase, and every young man, making any pretensions to intelligence and general information, should instantly enroll himself amongst its subscribers.

*Christian Privileges; or A View of the Peculiar Blessings appertaining to the Believer in Christ.* By T. Lewis, of Union Chapel, Islington. London: John Snow.

THIS interesting and useful little volume is the last of a series which the respected author has published with a view to promote practical religion, and to strengthen the faith of the Christian in the promised blessings of the gospel. The volume is composed of seven Lectures previously delivered to the congregation at Union Chapel, to whom it is affectionately, and with much earnestness, dedicated. The spirit of an aged pastor, deeply concerned for the welfare of his Charge, is conspicuous throughout these Lectures. They are the results of matured piety,—the utterance of a heart richly imbued with the unction of the gospel, and desirous of ministering to the consolation and improvement of others. We have perused the volume with much pleasure, and cordially recommend it as the closet companion of those for whose benefit it is designed.

## Literary Intelligence.

### *Just Published.*

The Poet's Pleasaunce; a Garden of all sorts of Pleasant Flowers, which our pleasant Poets have, in Past Time, for Pastime planted. By Eden Warwick. With 29 Ornamental Borders, composed of Flowers and Insects.

Passages in the Life of an English Heiress; or, Recollections of Disruption Times in Scotland.

The Seasons. By James Thomson. Edited, with Notes, Philosophical, Classical, Historical, and Biographical. By Anthony Todd Thomson, M.D., F.L.S.

Elements of the British Constitution; containing a Comprehensive View of the Monarchy and Government of England. By Rev. J. D. Schomberg, A.B., Vicar of Polesworth, Warwickshire. Second Edition.

The Philosophy of Religion; or, an Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe. By Thomas Dick, L.L.D.

Pseudo-Protestantism proved to be as Delusive and Dangerous as Puseyism or Popery, in a Letter from the Rev. T. Greenfield, Salisbury, to the Rev. E. Parker, Vicar of Stoke Gyfford.

Missionary Labours in British Guiana, with Remarks on the Manners, Customs, and Superstitious Rites of the Aborigines. By the Rev. J. H. Bernau, Missionary of the Church Missionary Society.

The Bible and the Six Points of the Charter—Universal Suffrage. By the Rev. B. Parsons, of Ebley. Second Edition.

The People's Dictionary of the Bible. Part XXVI.

An Amended Translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By Henry Craik.

Oxford Protestant Magazine. No. VIII.

A History of Servia and the Servian Revolution. From Original M.S.S. and Documents, translated from the German of Leopold Ranke, by Mrs. Alexander Kerr.

The Basis of the Evangelical Alliance Unfolded. By J. de Kewer Williams.

Tracts of the Anti-bribery Society. No. I.

The Auto-biography of Rose Allen, edited by a Lady.

Positive Ruin, the Result of Public Service. An Appeal to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P., First Lord of the Treasury, against the proceedings of Charles James, Lord Bishop of London, and the Foreign Office. With Notes and an Appendix.

The Doctor, &c. Vol. VII.

Two Years in the East. By R. N. Hutton. 2 Vols.

Medical Discussion on Teetotalism, held at Dunmow, Essex, on the Evenings of April 20 and 21, 1847, between R. B. Grindrod, L.L.D., and W. Cock, Esq., M.R.C.S., and John Coventry, Esq., M.R.C.S.

The Image Worship of the Church of Rome, proved to be contrary to Holy Scripture, and the faith and discipline of the Primitive Church, and to involve contradictory and irreconcilable doctrines within the Church of Rome itself. By J. Endell Tyler, B.D.

Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-book, for 1848. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton, with Contributions by Lady Dufferin, R. M. Milnes, Esq. M.P. and others.

The Juvenile Scrap Book, a *gage d'amour* for the young. By Mrs. Ellis, 1848.

The Inundation, or Peace and Pardon. A Christmas Story. By Mrs. Gore, with Illustrations by George Cruikshank.

The Christian Reader; a Collection of pieces from the most celebrated authors. Selected and arranged, by John Slater. Third Edition, enlarged, revised, and improved, forming a class book for families and schools.

The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. By Thomas Medwin. 2 vols.

The Law of the Offerings, in Leviticus, 1,—7, considered, as the appointed figure of the various aspects of the offering of the body of Jesus Christ. By Andrew Jukes.

Nelson's Edition of Matthew Henry. Part 8.

The Modern Orator. Fox. Part VII.

Religion and Poetry, being selections, spiritual and moral, from the poetical works of the Rev. R. Montgomery, M. A., Oxon. With an Introductory Essay. By Archer Gurney. 2nd Edition.

Christianity; its perfect adaptation to the mental, moral, and spiritual nature of man. By Athanase Coquerel, one of the Pastors of the Protestant Church of France, and Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. Translated by Rev. D. Davison, M.A., with a preface written expressly for the English Edition, by the Author.

"It is written," or every word and expression contained in the Scriptures proved to be from God. By Professor L. Gaussen.

The History of Greece. By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. Vol. 4th. New Edition.

The Ministry demanded by the Churches, in these Eventful Times. An Address to the students of Bristol College, delivered at Broadmead Chapel, at the close of the Session, June 30, 1847. By Henry Trend.

Way-side Verses. By W. J. Brock.

Endeavours after the Christian Life: Discourses by James Martineau. 2 Vols.

The Characteristics of the Present Age. By Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Translated from the German by William Smith.

THE  
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR DECEMBER, 1847.

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ART. I.—1. *A Popular Life of George Fox, the First of the Quakers. Compiled from his Journal, and other Authentic Sources; and interspersed with Remarks upon the Imperfect Reformation of the Anglican Church, and the consequent Spread of Dissent.* By Josiah Marsh. 8vo. 2 London: Charles Gilpin.

2. *A Journal, or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the work of the Ministry, of that ancient, eminent, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox; who departed this life in great peace with the Lord, the 13th of the 11th Month, 1690.* Sixth Edition. 2 Vols. Leeds: A. Pickhard.

GEORGE Fox was an extraordinary man. His life is a study, worthy the attention both of the philosopher and of the Christian. Diverging from the ordinary course of human action, he pursued a path distinguished by many striking peculiarities, and which requires, for its due appreciation, an intelligent estimate of the influences of his times, and a knowledge of the effects which he wrought in society. In some of the more obvious features of his character, he was identical with the spiritual heroes of the papal church. His earnestness and zeal, his self-sacrifice, his unwearied labors, his renunciation of secular good, his patient endurance of persecution, his steadfast perseverance in what he deemed duty, his perpetual reference to some other code than that which his contemporaries recognised, and his

ultimate mastery of the difficulties which opposed his early progress, remind us of the better features of St. Francis, Ignatius Loyola, and other champions of the papal see. To a superficial observer, this resemblance may prevent a detection of the many points of discrepancy which existed, and he may consequently be confounded with the class whose religious sympathies were overlayed by the clouded imaginations of the fanatic. There is an easy method of solving such facts as constituted the life of George Fox, and, unhappily, this method has usually been resorted to. To say nothing of the polemical productions of his opponents, in which, as matter of course, we look for misrepresentation, and an exaggerated view of supposed or real deformities, we cannot turn to the historians of his day without perceiving proofs of partial knowledge, precipitate judgment, and the utter absence of a calm and philosophical spirit. Misconceptions have been transmitted from father to son, from one generation of writers to another, until the truth has been lost sight of, and the very disposition to recover it almost extinguished.

To confound George Fox with the class of enthusiasts, to suppose that the facts of his history are sufficiently explained by an introduction of the deleterious element which is uppermost in such minds, is to discard philosophy, as well as to do violence to the laws of Christian charity. That there were points of character in which he assimilated to this class, is not to be doubted. They lie on the surface of his biography, and are so frequently recurring, as to force themselves on the attention of every reader. Hence their prominence in general estimation, and the temptation they hold out to a hasty and unphilosophical judgment. If, however, we would estimate the founder of Quakerism aright, and would deduce from his history the profitable lessons which it reads, we must look below the surface, must take cognizance of the whole case, must connect the outward and visible with the inward and divine. Immediately that this is honestly done, a new man appears to view. There may be much which we condemn, many things which we question, but the tokens of a pure conscience and of faith unfeigned, will, notwithstanding, force themselves on our notice, and command respect. We shall not be suspected of approving some of the peculiarities of George Fox, but we should be wanting in the perception of excellence, or be unfaithful to our conviction of its existence in his case, if we did not unhesitatingly avow our admiration of his virtues, and our gratitude for the services he rendered to his race. Earnest, to the very verge of fanaticism, frequently coarse, and sometimes bitter in the denunciation of opponents, magnifying the importance of trifles, and occa-

sionally bent, to all appearance, on provoking the collision from which he suffered, he yet possessed a large measure of the genuine Christian spirit, was tenderly alive to the best interests of his fellow-men, asserted the sacredness of conscience, and brought forth to public view some neglected, but most momentous, doctrines of the Christian system. They who listened only to his rebukes, or marked only the peculiarities of his apparel and demeanor, knew little of the man. They saw merely the outward and perishable, that which was doomed to decay, and which stood in contrast to, rather than constituted, the inner and spiritual life. Over the whole there was spread the fine odour of Christian sanctity. His spirit struggled with the infirmities of human speech and thought, frequently confused in its utterance, sometimes erroneous in its views and judgments, but at all periods, and under every circumstance, the honest and fearless advocate of what was held to be the truth of God. This was the main stay of Fox, the point from which his character and life must be viewed, if either of them be estimated aright.

His temperament and early training will account for much which followed. The youth and the man were parts of the same human being; and it is impossible to comprehend the latter without an intimate acquaintance with the former. Had he known less of religious truth, his early melancholy might have degenerated into superstition, and, combined with his earnestness, have stimulated him to emulate the labors of papal worthies. On the other hand, had he escaped some misconceptions of religious truth into which he fell in early life, he might have proved a yet more illustrious reformer of the church, and have left on its institutions a wider, if not a deeper, impression. As it is, however, we rejoice in what he did, and yield to none, even of his own community, in devout thankfulness for his appearance. 'He was a burning and a shining light.' Would that the church were visited by a thousand such!

Two considerations are needful to a correct appreciation of the labors of George Fox. The religious opinions he promulgated betokened the reaction of the public mind. They were the natural product of one of the laws of our nature. Religion had, for ages, been unspiritualized. Its distinctive glory had been lost sight of. It had been treated as a thing of forms and ritual—an outward service, rather than an inward and spiritual homage. This condition of things had attained its perfection in the Romish church, and too much of it was retained in the English Reformation. The temper of Elizabeth was essentially popish. Her protestantism was an accident, and the whole force of her prerogative was employed to retain in her hierarchy as much of popish forms as consisted with its pro-



testant name. The best portion of the clergy struggled against this policy, but the iron character of the queen, aided by her prelates, Parker and Whitgift, compelled their silence. Hence it resulted that the popular estimate of Christianity which continued to prevail, was essentially one with that of the Romish church. A few devout men protested against it, but the crown and the mitre combined to suppress and punish them. So long as this restraint was continued, the enormous evil endured, but no sooner was it withdrawn than the opposite extreme rose to view, and in the ministry of George Fox found a befitting and able advocacy. Quakerism was, in fact, the recoil of the human mind when released from priestly domination. It was an earnest, deep-toned, and unmistakeable protest against the incrustations which had been permitted to overlay and deface the fair form of Christianity.

Another consideration which must be borne in mind, in order to a correct estimate of the life of George Fox, is the character of the times in which he appeared. It was an epoch of intense excitement. The meeting of the Long Parliament betokened a new era. Old forms of authority were despised both in the church and in the state. The name of the king was invoked against the occupier of the throne; and Strafford and Laud, as the representatives of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, were led by their offences to the block. New sects and schisms sprung up on every hand. Each man became a law to himself. The old landmarks were removed, and freedom of thought and speech was prodigally used as the birthright of every Englishman. The same law prevailed through each department of the community. The senate and the church, the press and the army, alike manifested its power. Patriots and divines, the soldier and the scribe, appealed to new principles, asserted new rights, and stood forth in the conscious attitude of freedom to do battle for human liberty. George Fox partook of the pervading spirit. 'Like Cromwell, though in a different way, he was the offspring of the civil war. Each took his complexion from the aspect of his times; the one devoting himself to the pursuits of war, and the conduct of government, the other to the diffusion of principles which were supposed to approximate more nearly than any existing creed, to the spirituality of the Christian system. Both the Protector, and the father of Quakerism, found ready to their hand the materials with which they worked. The one rose to power on the combined operation of political and religious influences; the other succeeded in his vocation, by steadily adhering, through evil report and through good report, to what he deemed the disenthralment of the church, and the vindication of her purity. They were alike

enthusiasts in their respective departments, though the masculine intellect of the former admitted an infusion of worldly policy, from which the ardent faith of the latter was wholly exempt.\*

George Fox was born at Drayton, in Leicestershire, in July, 1624, at a memorable period of English history. The reign of James I. was drawing to a close, and thoughtful men of every class were looking to the character of his successor, as that which would determine the complexion of coming events. The son of Mary Stuart had bitterly disappointed the hopes of the nation. An unnatural son had proved a feeble and pedantic monarch, whose personal vices induced contempt, while his arbitrary government aroused opposition. One important service, indeed, was rendered by James. It was farthest from his intention, but the elements of his character conspired to produce it. An interval was needed between the iron rule of Elizabeth and the fierce struggle of the civil war, and that interval was supplied by the reign of James. Yielding neither to his predecessor, nor to his son in his notions of the prerogative, he was disqualified by the radical weakness of his character from reducing his theory to consistent practice. Irresolute and timid, he was incapable of the vigorous policy which alone could crush the rising spirit of English liberty. His measures, therefore, only served to irritate. They aroused opposition, stimulated inquiry into the foundations of government, and habituated our earlier patriots to those parliamentary discussions which ultimately abolished both kingship and prelacy.

Such was the period of Fox's birth. Buckingham was yet in the ascendant, and he was speedily succeeded by the apostate Wentworth, and the semi-papal Laud. The father of Fox was a weaver, a man of irreproachable character, familiarly designated by his neighbours 'Righteous Christie.' He was a member of the Church of England, and trained up his son in regular attendance on its services. The childhood of the future Quaker was remarkable for its 'gravity of deportment, and a serious turn of mind.' The scriptures were his daily companion, and he turned with indifference, or contempt, from all the ordinary occupations and amusements of his age. His master noted his turn of mind, and employed him principally in tending his sheep. The solitariness of this occupation was congenial to his temper. He loved it, and cherished the musings which it favored. The shadow of coming events was at this time visible. The sounds of preparation were audible on every

• Price's History of Nonconformity, vol. ii., p. 510.

hand, and, judging from his future character, we cannot doubt but that the atrocities of Laud, and the heroism of Leighton, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, were amongst the subjects of his musings, and went far to determine the complexion of his career. It was now the very crisis of civil and religious freedom. All sedate and thoughtful men felt it to be so; and by the fire-side and on the highway, in the market and at the church, men talked together of the patriotism of Hampden, and of the cruelties of the self-styled ministers of God. The wants of Fox were few and very simple, and as he possessed some small property, he determined to relinquish trade in order more completely to devote himself to a religious life. It was one of the errors of his day to attach undue importance to mere impressions. The age of direct communications was supposed to have recurred, and in the dreams of the night, or the strong impulses of the day, Fox heard the voice and traced the will of God. Distressed, when about nineteen years of age, by the light demeanor of a cousin, he spent the night in prayer. 'I did not,' he tells us in his Journal, 'go to bed that night, nor could I sleep, but sometimes walked up and down, and sometimes prayed and cried to the Lord, who said to me, 'Thou seest how young people go together into vanity, and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all, both young and old, and keep out of all, and be as a stranger to all.' His submission was immediate and unreserved. It never occurred to him to inquire whether the communication was divine. He confided in it as such, and in the middle of 1643 left his relations, 'and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young.' This action foreshadowed his future life—its weakness and its power, its error and its high-mindedness. Whilst regretting the one we must not lose sight of the worthiness of the other, nor in our admiration of the latter, must we suffer ourselves to be beguiled into an approval of the former.

'During this voluntary banishment from society, his time was spent in fasting, prayer, and a diligent perusal of the scriptures. At Barnet, he frequently shut himself up in his chamber for days together, and at other times he strolled about in the solitary chase, waiting upon the Lord in meditation and prayer, and at times suffering greatly from 'strong temptations almost to despair.' When in this state of mental trial and anguish, he says, 'It was opened to his understanding, how it was that Christ had been tempted;' yet, when he contemplated his own condition, he was filled with astonishment, and exclaimed, 'Was I ever so before?' He remained for a considerable time under the influence of these depressing feelings, fluctuating between doubt and despair, and at times almost driven to the perpetra-

tion of sin ; but ' God, who knew the integrity of his heart, both supported and preserved him.' His serious deportment at various times attracted the notice of different religious professors and teachers, who sought his acquaintance ; but he perceiving that they neither acted nor lived up to the principles they professed and taught, soon grew afraid of them, and shunned their company.'—*Popular Life*, p. 30.

His state of mind at this period was deeply distressing. It partook largely of the religious character, but was not exclusively such. A melancholy temperament long indulged had seriously impaired his health, and required for its correction physical treatment as well as religious culture. Mr. Marsh will deem us mistaken in this view, but we appeal to Fox's own *Journal* in proof of its correctness. After relating the failure of his visit to Dr. Cradock, he says,—' I went to another, one Macham, a priest in high account. He would needs give me some physic, and I was to have been let blood ; but they could not get one drop of blood from me, either in arms or head, (though they endeavoured it,) my body being, as it were, dried up with sorrows, grief, and troubles, which were so great upon me that I could have wished I had never been born, or that I had been born blind, that I might never have seen wickedness or vanity ; and deaf, that I might never have heard vain and wicked words, or the Lord's name blasphemed.'

During this unsettled period he adopted the peculiar garb which he subsequently wore, and by intense meditation on the phraseology current amongst religious people, and the notions they cherished, ' it was manifested to him that God, who created the world, does not dwell in temples made with hands.' ' From this,' says Mr. Marsh, ' he perceived that the church of Christ was a living church, and therefore he could never after apply this name to a building, but always called the churches steeple-houses.' He now (1646) withdrew from the parish church, believing that his spiritual interests would be better consulted by ' a secret waiting upon God.' His friends were grieved at this step, but his own conscience was clear, and their expostulations and counsels failed to induce him to return. The early part of the following year was spent in a similar manner. He secluded himself from all earthly companionships, ' fasting often, and often sitting in hollow trees till night came ; and not unfrequently passing whole nights mournfully in these retired places.' Like Bunyan's pilgrim, he ' wallowed for a time' in the Slough of Despond, and was ' grievously bedaubed with the dirt ;' but the time of his deliverance was now drawing nigh. Gleams of light occasionally shot athwart the gloom, and their effect was surpassingly beautiful. ' Though my exercises and troubles,' he says, ' were very great, yet were they not so con-

tinual but that I had some intermissions, and was sometimes brought into such a heavenly joy, that I thought I had been in Abraham's bosom. As I cannot declare the misery I was in, it was so great and heavy upon me, so neither can I set forth the mercies of God unto me in all my misery.' His own account is deeply touching, and suffers from any paraphrase. We envy not the philosophy nor the piety of the man who can turn from it with a sneer. We give it in his own words:—

'Now after I had received that opening from the Lord, that 'to be bred at Oxford or Cambridge, was not sufficient to fit a man to be a minister of Christ,' I regarded the priests less, and looked more after the dissenting people. Among them I saw there was some tenderness; and many of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had some openings. But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do; then, O! then I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition;' and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give Him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief, as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work, who shall let it? and this I knew experimentally. My desires after the Lord grew stronger, and zeal in the pure knowledge of God, and of Christ alone, without the help of any man, book, or writing. For though I read the scriptures that spake of Christ and of God, yet I knew him not, but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open, and as the Father of Life drew me to his Son by his Spirit. Then the Lord gently led me along, and let me see his love, which was endless and eternal, surpassing all the knowledge that men have in the natural state, or can get by history or books; and that love let me see myself as I was without him. \* \* When I myself was in the deep, under all shut up, I could not believe that I should ever overcome; my troubles, my sorrows, and my temptations were so great, that I thought many times I should have despaired, I was so tempted. But when Christ opened to me, how he was tempted by the same devil, and overcame him and bruised his head, and that through him and his power, light, grace, and Spirit, I should overcome also, I had confidence in him; so he it was that opened to me, when I was shut up, and had not hope nor faith. Christ, who had enlightened me, gave me his light to believe in; he gave me hope, which is himself revealed in me, and gave me his Spirit and grace, which I found sufficient in the deeps and in weakness. Thus, in the deepest miseries, and in the greatest sorrows and temptations, that many times beset me, the Lord in his mercy did keep me. I found

that there were two thirsts in me ; the one after the creatures, to get help and strength there ; and the other after the Lord, the Creator, and his Son Jesus Christ. I saw all the world could do me no good ; if I had had a king's diet, palace, and attendance, all would have been as nothing ; for nothing gave me comfort, but the Lord by his power. I saw professors, priests, and people, were whole and at ease in that condition which was my misery ; and they loved that which I would have been rid of. But the Lord did stay my desires upon himself, from whom my help came, and my care was cast upon him alone.'—*Journal*, vol. i. pp. 92, 93.

He was still, for some time, occasionally subject to deep depressions, but the growing clearness of his religious views, aided, it is probable, by an improved state of health, filled him for the most part with unspeakable joy. The struggle he had encountered was amongst his best preparations for the ministry. It induced tenderness and sympathy, gave him an intimate knowledge of the wiles of Satan, and fitted him to administer consolation and warning to the various inquirers by whom he was soon surrounded. His mistrust of human counsel had led him to study the divine record ; and if the confidence with which he communicated his own opinions was deficient in humility, it nevertheless betokened the strength of his conviction, and served to encourage the habit of independent inquiry. He was now in his twenty-third year, and his experience and the unsettled state of the country, concurred in urging him forward in his religious career. He commenced his ministry in the neighbourhood of Manchester, whence he travelled through various parts of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, preaching repentance. His addresses were brief, and without premeditation. His strong emotions found utterance in words, the special attributes of which were appropriateness and force. Discarding the rules of the schools, throwing contempt on mere oratory, despising whatever was artificial, he spoke directly to the hearts of his fellow men, and the result was such as might have been anticipated. 'Numbers were soon convinced by the force of his address and the energy of his manner, and meetings consisting of those who fully united with his religious views, began to be established at different places.' His physical frame appears to have yielded, at this time, to the intensity of his emotions. It is somewhat difficult to determine the precise character of the change he experienced, as his own account is exceedingly brief and guarded. His biographer terms it a trance, but Fox employs no such term, and was probably in doubt concerning it. 'A great work of the Lord,' he says, 'fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead ; and many came to see me for about fourteen days. I was very much altered in countenance

and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed.' We take the fact as thus described, in its simplest and most obvious character. The phenomena are clearly resolvable into physical causes, and what followed entails no necessity for adopting any other hypothesis. An exhausted frame sunk into a state of inanition, during which the spirit betook itself with renovated agility to the devout contemplations which it loved. Such facts indicate the mysterious relations in which man stands to the invisible, and may well rebuke the pride of a false philosophy, which admits of no other community than that which is seen, and earthly. Cases like that of Fox require to be treated with extreme caution. He was on the very verge of insanity. His intense excitement threatened the overthrow of reason, and induced him on some occasions, in the early part of his career, to act in a manner which afforded his enemies a pretext for charging him with madness. He was surrounded by clouds, 'the elements and stars' came over him, he heard living voices, and felt the inspiration of the Almighty prompting his daily service. Much of this is no doubt attributable to the style in which he wrote; but after every reasonable deduction, we are compelled to tremble at the precipice on which he stood. We say not this to disparage the character or labors of Fox. It was a terrible ordeal through which he passed; and in the preservation of his intellect, and the unblemished integrity of his life, we recognise a marvellous token of divine goodness.

The year 1648 witnessed a continuance of his labors, and a further development of those views by which his theology was distinguished. The doctrine of 'the inner light,' and the perfectibility of the renewed nature, became more prominent in his teaching, and certain peculiarities of speech and action were also assumed. 'When the Lord,' he tells us, 'sent me forth into the world, he forbade me to 'put off my hat;' and I was required to thee and thou all men and women, without any respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down, I was not to bid people 'Good morrow' or 'Good evening;' neither might I bow or scrape with my leg to any one.' We may smile at this, and certainly deem the writer misled in the importance which he attached to such matters: but his sincerity is unquestionable, and we honor the integrity which stood by them when they were deemed the subjects of divine command. It is not our present purpose to discuss the theology of Fox. It may have been right or wrong. In our judgment, it partook of both, and on a fitting occasion we shall be ready to show cause in support of our view. But we have now to do with his biography, and to that we confine ourselves.

Ilitherto he had escaped persecution in its grosser forms. It

was not, however, to be expected that he would continue to do so; and it is due to the truth of history to record, that his first experience of it was mainly attributable to himself. It was in the year 1649, that he approached Nottingham on a Sunday morning; and when he came to the top of the hill, whence he espied 'the great steeple-house, the Lord,' he tells us, 'said unto me, 'Thou must go, cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein.' To hear, was to obey. Fox did not hesitate on this point, and the scene which followed is thus graphically described by himself:—

'When I came there, all the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest (like a great lump of earth) stood in his pulpit above. He took for his text these words of Peter, 'We have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day-star arise in your hearts.' And he told the people that this was the scriptures, by which they were to try all doctrines, religions, and opinions. Now the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me, that I could not hold, but was made to cry out and say, 'Oh, no, it is not the scriptures:' and I told them what it was, namely, the Holy Spirit, by which the holy men of God gave forth the scriptures, whereby opinions, religions, and judgments were to be tried; for it led into all truth, and so gave the knowledge of all truth. The Jews had the scriptures, and yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the bright morning-star. They persecuted Christ and his apostles, and took upon them to try their doctrines by the scriptures, but erred in judgment, and did not try them aright, because they tried without the Holy Ghost. As I spoke thus amongst them, the officers came and took me away, and put me into a nasty, stinking prison, the smell whereof got so into my nose and throat, that it very much annoyed me.'—*Journal*, p. 117.

We are not surprised at this result, and Fox himself probably questioned the propriety of his own procedure, as he never repeated it; thus showing, as Clarkson remarks, 'that he disapproved of his own conduct in having thus interrupted the service; because no punishment or danger ever deterred him from doing, or repeating, whatever he conceived to be his duty.' On his release from confinement at Nottingham, where, he informs us, he 'had been kept prisoner a pretty long time,' he proceeded to Mansfield Woodhouse, and 'was moved,' he says, 'to go to the steeple-house, and declare the truth to the priest and people.' It does not appear that he interrupted the service on this occasion. He only availed himself, it is probable, of the license of his times, which tolerated much greater freedom in such matters than consists with the decorum of modern manners. His address, however, was ill received. 'The people,' he tells



us, 'fell upon me in great rage, struck me down, and almost stifled and smothered me; and I was cruelly beaten and bruised by them with the hands, bibles, and sticks. Then they haled me out, though I was hardly able to stand, and put me into the stocks, where I sat for some hours; and they brought dog-whips and horse-whips, threatening to whip me. \* \* The rude people stoned me out of the town, for preaching the word of life to them.' Undeterred by such brutal violence, Fox persisted in his labors. Persecuted in one place, he proceeded to another; and wherever he came, the burden of his message was the degeneracy of the church, the hireling spirit of its ministry, and the necessity of an appeal from the literal word to the 'inner light.' He was soon afterwards arrested at Derby, together with one of his disciples; and after a wearisome examination, they were committed to the House of Correction for six months, 'as blasphemers.' His companion soon recanted, and was released; but—

'George Fox would not compromise his principles upon the smallest point, and in consequence remained a prisoner for his full term of six months; after which, he was again consigned to durance for a further term of six months, and, upon this occasion, was shut up with the felons in the common gaol. His pen, however, was busily employed during this time, and he wrote many letters of warning and exhortation, according as his sense of duty moved him to do so, addressing, at different times, judges and magistrates, clergy and people, besides several letters to his own followers.'—*Popular Life*, p. 56.

His patient endurance of these trials, and his active benevolence on behalf of his fellow-prisoners, won on many spectators. Amongst these was the keeper of the jail, 'a high professor,' who had been 'greatly enraged' against him. 'As I was walking in my chamber,' says Fox, 'I heard a doleful noise; and standing still, I heard him say to his wife, 'Wife, I have seen the day of judgment, and I saw George there, and I was afraid of him, because I had done him so much wrong, and spoken so much against him to the ministers and professors, and to the justices, and in taverns and ale-houses.' The lion was changed into the lamb, and, as at Philippi, the prisoner became the consoler and preacher of good tidings to his keeper. The proceedings of the magistrates were, in this case, manifestly illegal; and being at length apprehensive of the rebuke of their superiors, they discharged Fox without trial, in the beginning of the winter of 1651. The tolerant spirit of Cromwell was at this time in the ascendant; and though it could not change the temper of subordinate officials, it held them in check, and frequently arrested their course of evil-doing. Fox's demeanor

at Lichfield, through which he passed bare-footed, exclaiming, 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield,' was characteristic of his worst quality, and may reasonably be admitted to form some extenuation of the violence of his adversaries. Nor can a better excuse be made for his conduct at Beverley, of which he gives the following account :—

'In the afternoon, I went to another steeple-house about three miles off, where preached a great high-priest, called a doctor, one of them whom Justice Hotham would have sent for to speak with me. I went into the steeple-house, and stayed till the priest had done. The words which he took for his text were these :—'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters; and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' Then was I moved of the Lord God to say unto him, 'Come down, thou deceiver; dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the water of life freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year of them, for preaching the scriptures to them? Mayest thou not blush for shame? Did the prophet Isaiah and Christ do so, who spoke the words, and gave them forth freely? Did not Christ say to his ministers, whom he sent to preach, 'Freely ye have received, freely give?' The priest, like a man amazed, hastened away. After he had left his flock, I had as much time as I could desire to speak to the people; and I directed them from the darkness to the light, and to the grace of God, that would teach them, and bring them salvation; to the Spirit of God in their inward parts, which would be a free teacher unto them.'—*Journal*, vol. i. p. 155.

Although he waited, in this instance, till the service was closed, the incident too much resembles what occurred at Nottingham. Happily, it was never repeated; and hence, as Mr. Marsh observes, 'we may conclude, that upon this occasion also, his zeal overstepped his own sense of decorum.' George Fox was, in truth, feeling his way. He had yet much to learn; and as he acted under strong excitement, and in the face of great difficulties, we need not wonder at some of his earlier actions being more than questionable.

His reasoning on some of these occasions—if the term may be applied to what he said—was as inconclusive as his address was uncandid and intemperate. The most provoking charges were preferred, and that, too, in many cases, not on the ground of obvious transgression, but on the score of views differing from those which he entertained. The spirits of men were not unfrequently judged by a false standard, and the sentence pronounced was, in consequence, indicative of any other quality rather than of enlightened zeal. The case at Beverley was an instance, and no candid member of the Society of Friends will now approve what was said there. The freedom of the

gospel is wholly apart from the point on which Fox made it to turn, and may be maintained, as it actually is, with equal zeal and earnestness by the advocates of opposite views. Thousands of the most excellent of the earth have maintained the right of those who labor in spiritual things to receive the temporal gifts of their people, without impugning in the slightest degree the distinctive character of the Christian dispensation. We are glad to find Mr. Marsh dissenting from the censorious judgment and false reasoning of the subject of his biography on this point, and trust the time is past for such views to be prevalent amongst us. Let the question itself be fairly debated, but let us cautiously guard against using ill-names, or impugning the motives of brethren from whom we differ. The example of Fox was in this respect unhappily infectious. The master was closely followed by his disciples, many of whom exceeded his uncharitableness and asperity. This was to be expected. It was accordant with a universal law, and should have made him specially cautious. It was the feature of his public life in which he was most open to imitation. Many could emulate his zeal here, who never practised the genuine virtues which he evinced. Hence they were in perpetual collision with some of the best men of their day, whom they heedlessly confounded with the worst. 'Their principal zeal,' says Baxter, whose account must be received with considerable reservation, 'lieth in railing at the ministers as hirelings, deceivers, false prophets,' &c. After every deduction, however, we are compelled to admire and venerate their virtues. They rendered noble service to truth; and had their fortitude been imitated by others, the freedom of the church of Christ from secular control would not now remain to be achieved. Mr. Orme renders them only simple justice when he remarks, 'The heroic and persevering conduct of the Quakers in withstanding the interference of government with the rights of conscience, by which they finally secured those peculiar privileges they so richly deserve to enjoy, entitles them to the veneration of all the friends of civil and religious freedom; and more than compensates for those irregularities and extravagancies which marked the early period of their history.'\*

We cannot dwell continuously on the subsequent incidents of his career. They are too numerous even to be specified within our limits, and we must, therefore, be content to allude to the more prominent. He journeyed from place to place with indefatigable zeal, formed societies in every part of the kingdom, watched with pastoral solicitude over the people whom he gathered, and was prompt in guarding them from all approaching

\* Life of Baxter, p. 91.

dangers, and in preparing them, by his epistolary counsels, for every change which he anticipated. His personal sufferings were borne with marvellous patience, and they followed him wherever he went. As an illustration, we may specify his treatment in Launceston jail, to which he was committed at the close of 1655. The assizes not being held till the beginning of the following year, he was detained nine weeks in prison 'at a considerable charge,' prior to his arraignment before Chief Justice Glynne, and even then he failed to obtain his freedom. Though the accusations against him and his brethren were proved to be untenable, a fine of twenty marks was imposed on each for not taking off their hats in court, and in default of payment they were ordered back to prison.

'The assizes being now ended, and the prisoners refusing upon principle to pay a fine they considered most illegal, since nothing had been proved against them to justify their apprehension, much less their imprisonment; and judging from the malice of their enemies, that they were not likely to be liberated very soon, demanded a free prison; and told the jailer, they should discontinue to pay him for the hire of his room, for which they had hitherto given him seven shillings a week each person, as well as seven shillings a week for each of their horses. Upon this notification, the jailer, who was an abandoned character, and had been twice branded with a hot iron as a thief, (as well as his wife and the under-jailer), shut them up in a foul dungeon, called Doomsdale, which was noisome and pestilential, on account of its being the common sewer of the prison, the floor of which was so thick in mire, that it was over their shoes, and afforded no place where they could either sit or lie down. In this dreadful place, they were denied by their exasperated keeper even a little straw, or a light; but some kindly disposed people of the town, hearing of their sad condition, brought them both a light and a few handfuls of straw, which they burnt to purify the air. The smoke arising upon this occasion penetrated through the chinks of the floor above, and found its way into the chamber occupied by the under-jailer and some thieves, who immediately began to revenge themselves, by pouring down upon them, through the chinks, whatever they could obtain to annoy them, and make their condition still more deplorable, at the same time abusing them with the foulest language. In this place they were sometimes left in want both of food and water, owing to the brutality of the jailer and his wife, who often abused and beat those who brought them a few necessaries and comforts. The whole particulars of the infamous treatment to which they were subjected, from the misconduct of their unfeeling keepers, are too offensive for recital, and, when such abuses no longer exist in our public jails, are best left untold. \* \* \*

'In this pestilential dungeon, they were retained till the next quarter sessions at Bodmin, when, by sending a remonstrance against the

conduct of the jailer, and stating their hard fate to the magistrates, an order was issued granting them liberty to cleanse out the place and to purchase whatever necessities they wanted. Their peaceable conduct soon afterwards obtained for them a better apartment, and also the liberty of walking in the castle green.'—Popular Life, pp. 131—133.

The hardship of their case at length attracted general commiseration, and Cromwell ordered the governor of Pendennis Castle to inquire into the affair, and to punish such as had exceeded their authority. Shortly afterwards, General Desborough was directed to liberate Fox and his friends; but as they refused to pay the fine which had been imposed, or to pledge themselves to discontinue preaching, they remained in confinement till the 13th of July, 1656, when they were 'freely set at liberty' by Colonel Bennet.

The course of his ministry brought Fox at length into personal contact with Cromwell, and it is interesting to mark how the Protector conducted himself on these occasions. His first interview with the General of the Commonwealth was in 1654, on occasion of his arrest by Colonel Hacker. The nation, it must be borne in mind, was at this time full of plots against Cromwell, and we must not therefore be surprised that the meetings of the Quakers were regarded with suspicion. The royalists were active in fomenting discontent, and felt no scruple to work by every agency which offered itself to their hands. The peaceful tenets of the body are now known, but it was not so in the times of which we write. The authorities might, therefore, naturally regard with apprehension what we know to be harmless, and would in consequence deem it their duty to institute inquiries which the experience of two centuries has shown to have been needless. Let us not, therefore, do injustice even in vindication of the liberty of Fox, nor pronounce judgment on the events which befel him by rules applicable only to our own day. He was arrested without violence, and on being taken before Colonel Hacker, he tells us, 'a great deal of discourse we had about the priests, and about meetings, *for at this time there was a noise of a plot against Oliver Cromwell.* He was offered liberty on condition of not frequenting 'meetings,' but this concession he nobly refused, and was in consequence referred to the personal examination of the Protector. His treatment on the journey to London was respectful and considerate, and when his arrival was reported, Cromwell simply required, Fox tells us, 'that I should promise not to take up a carnal sword or weapon against him or the government as it then was, and that I should write it in what words I saw good, and set my hand to it.' Against such a requisition there could be no valid

objection. It was characteristic of the nobility of the Protector, and was in keeping with the whole course of his generous policy. Cromwell fought not with sects. He sought to maintain, as in duty bound, the new government of England, but cheerfully extended to all its subjects the liberty of religious worship. He did this even to episcopalians, whatever may be alledged to the contrary, and was not likely, therefore, to withhold it from Fox. The latter wrote the required declaration and was soon afterwards conducted to Whitehall. It was in the morning before the Protector had dressed, and on entering his chamber, Fox was moved to say, 'Peace be in this house.' 'I spoke much to him,' says the journalist, 'of truth, and a great deal of discourse I had with him about religion, wherein he carried himself very moderately.' In the conversation which ensued, Cromwell stated his objections to the procedure of Fox, who defended his course with firmness, but with an asperity which frequently led him to misrepresent the views of others. The entrance of other parties broke off the conversation, and, on Fox's retiring, Cromwell took him by the hand, and with tears said, 'Come again to my house, for if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other.' Fox was immediately informed he was at liberty, and might go whither he would. 'Then I was brought,' he says, 'into a great hall, where the Protector's gentlemen were to dine; and I asked them, what they brought me hither for? They said it was by the Protector's order, that I might dine with them. I bid them let the Protector know, I would not eat of his bread, nor drink of his drink. When he heard this he said, 'Now I see there is a people risen and come up, that I cannot win either with gifts, honours, offices, or places; but all other sects and people I can.''

This interview was honorable to both parties, but the palm belongs, in our judgment, to Cromwell. The history of England furnishes no parallel to it, and we are greatly surprised at the statement of Mr. Marsh, that it 'divulges the crafty policy of Cromwell.' Truly we need not wonder at the atrocious libels of Clarendon, Heylin, and Hume, when such prejudice is displayed by a member of the Society of Friends. The insensibility to evidence which the assertion indicates, affords melancholy proof of the rancor with which the memory of Cromwell has been aspersed. Should Mr. Marsh's volume reach a second edition, we earnestly counsel him to expunge this passage, as far more discreditable to himself than it can now prove injurious to the Protector. These extraordinary men subsequently met only twice; once in 1656, and again in 1658. On the former of these occasions Fox was entering London with

Edward Pyot, a fellow-laborer, and on approaching Hyde Park, he saw a great concourse of people, and 'espied the Protector coming in his coach.' Some of the soldiers attempted to prevent his approaching the carriage, but Cromwell forbade them, and so says Fox, 'I rode by his coach-side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say unto him of his condition, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation.' He listened to the communication attentively, and desired Fox to come to his house. This he did on the following day, and the interview which occurred did not leave a pleasing impression on the quaker. We are not surprised at this, though we do not draw from the fact an inference unfavorable to Cromwell. His visitor assumed much, and spoke with an air of authority. His address was that of an ancient prophet, delivering a message from heaven, rather than the respectful communication of a liege subject. 'I was standing by the table,' says Fox, 'and he came and sat upon the table's side by me, and said he would be as high as I was, and so continued speaking against the light of Christ Jesus; and went away in a light manner,'—'in fact,' as Mr. Carlyle quaintly, and with some injustice, paraphrases the passage, 'rather quizzed me; finding my enormous self-confidence none of the least of my attainments.'

The other meeting to which we have referred was just prior to the death of Cromwell, and Fox's account of it was written after that event. This circumstance must be borne in mind, and will go far to account for a part of the narrative. It took place in Hampton Court Park, where the Protector was at the time, riding at the head of his Life Guards. 'Before I came to him,' says Fox, 'I saw and felt a waft (or apparition) of death go forth against him; and when I came to him, he looked like a dead man. After I had laid the sufferings of Friends before him and had warned him, according as I was moved to speak to him, he bid me come to his house.' The health of Cromwell had for some time been rapidly declining. The strong man was bowed down by the weight that was upon him. He had borne up amidst the struggle with Herculean fortitude, but his muscular frame was now failing, and his spirit was hastening to repose. There had been no rest for him on earth, and a merciful angel, in the form of premature old age, was about to conduct him into a peaceful region, where he would escape the malice of foes and the ingratitude of a people whom he had saved from slavery. Fox called at the palace on the following day, but the Protector's medical attendants prohibited his entering the chamber of death. This was, probably, the 21st of August, and on the 3rd of September the great man died, misunderstood by his contemporaries, long reviled by hire-

ling and party scribblers, but at length nobly vindicated, in the judgment of all impartial men, by the research and high-minded advocacy of a living author. Honor be to Thomas Carlyle for the service he has rendered, in redeeming from reproach, the memory of our most illustrious ruler! England has had many kings, but Cromwell stands alone;—as superior in his worth, as he was more profound in political sagacity, and more earnest in his sympathies with English freedom.

A dark change now impended over the nation; but, before we proceed to notice the career of Fox under the Restoration, we must briefly advert to the treatment received by the Quakers from the ruling religionists of the Commonwealth and of the Protectorate. We have already alluded to the extenuating circumstances which may be pleaded, and shall not therefore be accused of indiscriminate judgment when we own, that the conduct pursued towards the members of this sect, forms one of the darkest and most criminal features of the period. The principles of the presbyterian party were notoriously hostile to religious freedom. They denounced it in no measured terms as 'the Diana of the Independents,' and never lost an opportunity of enforcing their Covenant by civil penalties. An age 'of sects and schisms' was their special abhorrence. Untaught by their own sufferings, they sought to re-enact the tyranny of the bishops, and were only prevented from doing so by the unconstitutional procedure of Cromwell and the army. The latter saw the danger, and, intent on the substance rather than the shadow, they violated the letter in order to preserve the spirit of freedom. The influence of the Presbyterians, throughout the kingdom, was considerable; and it was uniformly employed, and that, too, with special violence, against the Quakers. But other religionists were not clear in the matter, and their inconsistency was the more glaring. The independents,—comprising under this term both sections of the congregational body,—were frequently implicated in the persecution of the Quakers; not, indeed, uniformly, or as a whole, but in the persons of some of their leading members. Dr. Owen failed on this point, notwithstanding the defence set up by Mr. Orme. We have attentively considered the account of Sewell, to which he refers, and are compelled reluctantly to admit, that he was a consenting party to the barbarous punishment inflicted on Elizabeth Heavens and Elizabeth Fletcher; the latter of whom shortly afterwards died, from the brutal treatment received from the scholars of St. John's, and the vice-chancellor and justices of Oxford. The case of Owen, though an extreme one, was illustrative of a large class, and we know no good reason why it should not be held up to reprobation. His spirit was too



prevalent ; and the fact yields melancholy evidence, of the danger of entrusting any class of religious teachers with the infliction of civil penalties. So far we admit the culpability of the parties in question, but Mr. Marsh goes much further, and in doing so, is guilty of an offence analogous to that with which he charges the independents and baptists. He is much too sweeping in his censures ; he hastily generalizes where he ought to discriminate ; and is blind to the extenuating circumstances which candor admits. A few specimens in support of this allegation will suffice. 'The word faction,' he says, p. 44, 'with the sole exception of the Quakers, is applicable to all the religious denominations of that period, who, while rejecting the erroneous doctrines of papacy, still retained enough of its persecuting spirit to render them all equally intolerant of the different opinions of one another ; and the events upon record teach us, that each separate church, had it possessed the power, would have persecuted to the death all opposing tenets as heresies.' Again, page 55, he tells us, 'The grand object both of presbyterians and independents, in seeking the overthrow of the established church, was not to secure a toleration for themselves and others, but by a seizure of her power and temporalities, to establish their own supremacy and the infallibility of their own creeds.' With equal discrimination, he subsequently informs us, page 92, that the preachers of the baptists, presbyterians, and independents 'were more hostile and more rancorous towards all opposing tenets, than the clergy of the national church had ever been. The two most powerful sects,' he adds, 'the presbyterians and independents had already begun to partake of the good things belonging to the establishment, and naturally felt their appetites whetted for more ; each party was extremely tenacious of securing for itself as much of its powers and emoluments as it could obtain, and was as jealous of all new doctrines as it was fierce and hot in the persecution of their supporters.'

Such passages may safely be left to the judgment of the reader. Those who are acquainted with the times to which they relate, will know how to estimate their worth. We adduce them as discreditable specimens of a want of discrimination and candor, on the part of the author, and as utterly beneath the dignity of history. The time is happily past, for such sweeping and precipitate generalizations to have much effect. They only injure the reputation they are intended to serve. The memory of George Fox needs not such aid ; and his biographer will do well to erase the passages in question from his book.

The death of Cromwell had revived the hopes of the royalists, and it was soon apparent that his son Richard was incapable of mastering the difficulties of his position. The nation was rent

into factions, which contended against each other with an animosity of which it is now difficult to form an adequate conception. The advent of what Mr. Carlyle designates 'the Nell Gwynne' dynasty, was at hand, and bad men triumphed and good men wept at the prospect. A dissolute prince, with a host of needy and profligate followers, was about to seize the helm, and the patriotism and liberties of England were for a time to be surrendered to arbitrary statesmen and vindictive ecclesiastics. It was a dark and disgraceful period, from the gloom of which scarcely any other nation would have emerged. Fox saw the gathering storm, and, true to his principles, warned his disciples against taking part with either of the disputants. In this we think he erred, and are glad to believe that the society he founded has advanced on his views in this matter. There was much, however, in the policy of the contending parties to dispose him to neutrality, while his peace-principles absolutely prohibited his taking part in the threatened struggle. Apprehensive 'lest any young or raw people,' belonging to his community, should be tempted to take part with one or other of the contending factions, he issued epistles through the press, warning them to be on their guard, and urgently enforcing an adherence to their profession. 'Ye are called to peace,' said he, 'therefore follow it; and that peace is in Christ,—not in Adam, in the fall. All that pretend to fight for Christ, are deceived; for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight. \* \* \* All friends everywhere—This I charge you, which is the word of the Lord God unto you all, 'Live in peace—in Christ, the way of peace,' and therein seek the peace of all men, and no man's hurt.'

The first year of the Restoration saw Fox a prisoner in Lancaster jail, whence he issued addresses to various parties, amongst which was the following letter to the king, the simplicity and faithfulness of which have had few parallels:—

'KING CHARLES,—Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war, but by the power of the Lord. Now, if thou live not in it, thou wilt not prosper. If the Lord hath showed thee mercy and forgiven thee, and thou dost not show mercy and forgiveness, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee. If thou stop not persecution and persecutors, and take away all laws that hold up persecution about religion; if thou persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as those that have gone before thee; for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it. Such God by his power overthrows, doth his valiant acts upon, and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones. If thou bear the sword in vain, and let drunkenness, oaths, plays, may-games, with such-like abominations and vanities, be encouraged or go unpunished,

as setting up may-poles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, etc., the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord until he overthrew them; and so he will you, if these things be not suppressed. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before, as there is at this day, as though there was no terror nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace, and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. Hear, and consider, and do incur in thy time, whilst thou hast power; be merciful, and forgive; this is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.'—*Journal*, vol. i. pp. 524, 525.

Margaret Fell, the widow of Judge Fell, made earnest application to the king on his behalf, and Charles, who was heartless rather than cruel, ordered a writ of habeas-corpus to be issued for his removal to London. What occurred on the receipt of this writ is painfully illustrative of the insecurity of liberty and life, at this boasted period, and of the full conviction which obtained of Fox's integrity. His persecutors were indisposed to incur the expense of his removal to London, and therefore accepted his promise to present himself before the authorities on a specified day, and to carry up the charge against himself.

'Thus,' says Mr. Marsh, 'he left Lancaster Castle without the payment of a single fee, travelled at his leisure, visited his friends, and held many great meetings on his journey; committing over and over again the very offences for which he had been imprisoned, and in which offences his persecutors now silently acquiesced, since by liberating him upon his bare word to surrender himself, they consented to that which they well knew would be his only line of conduct.'

'Upon his arrival in London, he found a great concourse of people assembled at Charing Cross, to witness the burning of the bowels of the late king's judges, who had been hanged, drawn, and quartered. The next day, he went before the Lord Chief Justice Foster, and Judge Mallett, and presenting them his own accusation, they read it through till they came to the words, 'that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood,' etc., upon which they struck their hands upon the table. G. Fox told them, 'I am the man whom that charge is against, but I am as innocent of any such thing as a new-born child, and had brought it up myself; and some of my friends came up with me, without any guard.' They then observed that he stood with his hat on, and said to him, 'What, do you stand with your hat on?' He replied, 'that he did not stand so in any contempt of them.' In consequence of the King's Bench prison being full, Judge Foster asked him, 'Will you appear to-morrow about ten

o'clock at the King's Bench bar in Westminster Hall?' He said, 'Yes; if the Lord give me strength.' Then Judge Foster remarked to the other judge, 'If he says yes, and promises it, you may take his word;' and then he was dismissed. The next morning, he says, 'I was brought into the middle of the court; and as soon as I came in, I was moved to look about, and, turning to the people, said, 'Peace be among you;' and the power of the Lord sprung over the court. The charge against me was then read openly. The people were moderate, and the judges cool and loving, and the Lord's mercy was to them. But when they came to that part which said, 'that I and my friends were embroiling the nation in blood, and raising a new war; that I was an enemy to the king,' etc., they lifted up their hands. Then stretching out my arms, I said, 'I am the man whom that charge is against; but I am as innocent as a child concerning the charge, and have never learned any war postures. And, do ye think that if I and my friends had been such men as the charge declares, that I would have brought it up myself against myself? or that I should have been suffered to come up with only one or two of my friends with me? Had I been such a man as this charge sets forth, I had need to have been guarded up with a troop or two of horse.' Then the judge asked me, whether it should be filed, or what I would do with it? I answered, 'Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore, do ye what ye will with it; I leave it to you.' Then stood up Esquire Marsh, who was of the king's bed-chamber, and told the judges, 'It was the king's pleasure, that I should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came up against me.' They then asked me, 'Whether I would put it to the king and council?' I said, 'Yes, with a good will.' The writ of habeas-corpus and the mittimus were thereupon sent to the king.'—Popular Life, pp. 185—187.

Fox was immediately released on the warrant of the king, and a further order was issued for the liberation of about seven hundred Quakers, who had been imprisoned during the Commonwealth. This was a noble beginning of an ignoble reign, and had it consisted with other parts of the policy of the new government, and been sustained by its subsequent procedure, it would deservedly have placed the Restoration in a vastly different category from that in which it is found. We are not disposed heedlessly to diminish the little glory which belongs to Charles. As an English sovereign he is entitled to small credit even at the best, and we would, therefore, in sheer pity, leave him the honor of having been influenced on this occasion by virtuous motives, did we believe such to have operated. But his whole history is against the supposition, nor is it difficult to resolve his conduct into other, and less creditable influences. In releasing the Quakers, he acted on behalf of the victims of the Commonwealth, and thus threw reproach on his enemies for refusing to

others the freedom they claimed for themselves. The episcopalian and the quaker regarded the 'Covenant' and the 'Directory' as common foes. They had suffered from the supporters of these platforms of church polity, and the restored leader of the former might, therefore, be inclined, on the lowest principles of party fellowship, to exercise generosity on behalf of the latter. Episcopacy and Quakerism had not yet been brought into collision. It was even now, indeed, imminent, but, as yet, there had been no actual contest. It is due, however, to Charles, to say, that had he been left to himself, and had the labors of religionists failed to interfere with his selfishness and lusts, he would probably have abstained from persecution. Had he done so, however, it would have been from an indifference to all religious opinions, and not from any due sense of the rights of conscience.

The mad plottings of the Fifth Monarchy men soon disclosed the insecurity of the Quakers. Clarendon and the bishops were not sorry to have such an excuse for their arbitrary proceedings, as this outbreak furnished. It removed the obstacles which lay in their way, and handed over the sectaries to their mercy. The prisons were, in consequence, immediately filled. 'We heard,' says Fox, 'of several thousands of our Friends, that were cast into prison in several parts of the nation, and Margaret Fell carried an account of them to the king and council. The next week we had an account of several thousands more. \* \* They wondered how we could have such intelligence, seeing they had given such strict charge for the intercepting of all letters; but the Lord did so order it, that we had an account, notwithstanding all their stoppings.' This persecution, it must be remembered, occurred after the nation had had many years experience of the peaceful spirit of the Quakers; and it arose from a party against whose entrance into power they had stedfastly refused to exert themselves. Whatever may be said on behalf of the Commonwealth on the ground of the principles of Fox and of his associates being untried, was inadmissible under the Restoration. Their tenets were known, their sufferings were on record. Their enemies themselves being judges, they were incapable of violence or treason. Fox, however, was undaunted. At all hazards he persisted in his course, and his solicitude was expressed in numerous addresses to his followers, exhorting them to steadfastness and watchfulness in their profession.

The Quakers were at this time suffering grievously in New England, where the puritan refugees, untaught by their own persecutions, enacted the same fearful drama which Laud had acted in England. Fox wrote and pleaded in their cause, and on occasion of a deputation arriving in London

to congratulate the king on his restoration, he sought an interview with its members, and personally appealed to their justice on behalf of his brethren. The state of Connecticut was honorably distinguished in this matter from that of Massachusetts, and the governor, who was at this time in England, assured Fox 'that he had no hand in putting the friends to death, or, in any way, persecuting them; but was one of them who protested against it.' The history of Massachusetts confirms our repugnance to the mixing up of things secular and sacred. It is in vain to deny the severity of the persecution that was practised. It was atrocious in the extreme, and under the circumstances, was more criminal than that which had been practised in England. It is unwise in our modern advocates to attempt to palliate it. Better admit its turpitude, and mark it with reprobation, while we trace it to its source, and guard against its recurrence. The first colonists of New England were English Brownists, who emigrated from Holland as a church. They committed a capital error by applying the rules of their religious discipline to their civil polity, and this error was greatly aggravated when they were subsequently joined by numerous presbyterian emigrants, whose ecclesiastical views were blended with those of the earlier settlers. Hence resulted a species of presbyterianism, for the procedure of which independency is not fairly responsible. A mongrel system prevailed, under which church power employed the civil magistrate to punish such as challenged its dicta. We care not by whom, or under what pretence, the wrong was perpetrated. We have no more confidence in protestants than in papists, in dissenters than in churchmen. Our security is in refusing to all sects the aid of the magistrate in enforcing their shibboleth. The independent ministers in London, with Dr. Owen at their head, remonstrated with the New Englanders, intreating them 'to trust God with his truth and ways, so far as to suspend all rigorous proceedings in corporal restraints or punishments on persons that dissent.\* The interference was honorable, and if not wholly consistent with the policy of Owen, when vice-chancellor of Oxford, it only affords another proof of the tendency of power to mislead even the best of men.

In addition to these labours, Fox also engaged in public discussion with some Jesuits, and his nervous English, and practical good sense, speedily disposed of their fallacies. 'They were soon weary,' he tells us, and we have no difficulty in believing the assertion, 'of this discourse, and went their way; and gave a charge, as we heard, to the papists, 'that they should not dispute with us, nor read any of our books.'

\* Orme's Owen, p. 258.

The sufferings of the Quakers continued, with occasional intermissions, throughout this reign. We have already seen that large numbers were thrown into prison during the first year of the Restoration, and an address to the king, drawn up by Fox, and Richard Hubberthorn, in 1662, gives the following melancholy view of the sufferings of the body.

‘There died in prison, in the time of the Commonwealth, and of Oliver and Richard, the Protector, through cruel and hard imprisonments, upon nasty straw, and in dungeons, ‘thirty-two persons.’ There have also been imprisoned in thy name, since thy arrival, by such as thought to ingratiate themselves thereby with thee, ‘three thousand, sixty, and eight persons.’ Besides this, our meetings are daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, though we meet peaceably, according to the practice of God’s people in the primitive times, and our Friends are thrown into waters and trod upon, till the very blood gusheth out of them; the number of which abuses can hardly be uttered. Now this we would have of thee, to set them at liberty that lie in prison in the name of the Commonwealth, and of the two Protectors, and them that lie in thy own name, for speaking the truth, and for good conscience’ sake, who have not lifted up a hand against thee or any man; and that the meetings of our Friends, who meet peaceably together in the fear of God, to worship him, may not be broken up by rude people, with their clubs, and swords, and staves. One of the greatest things we have suffered for, formerly, was, because we could not swear to the Protectors, and all the changeable governments; and now we are imprisoned because we cannot take the oath of allegiance. Now, if our yea be not yea, and nay, nay, to thee, and to all men upon earth, let us suffer as much for breaking that as others do for breaking an oath.’—*Popular Life*, p. 206.

These sufferings were inflicted in direct contravention of the king’s declaration from Breda, and in violation of the promise subsequently made to the Quakers. The character of Charles afforded, in truth, no guarantee. His word was as false as his father’s, and his heart was yet more corrupt. Devoted to vicious pleasure, he cared little for the wrongs perpetrated in his courts, or for the sorrow, sickness, and death, which his prisons witnessed. Too indolent to exert himself on behalf of the oppressed, and too immoral to sympathise with the virtuous, he lent the weight of his authority to a series of criminal enactments, which were designed to extinguish the light and purity of religious truth.

Fox personally shared the sufferings which befel his brethren. In 1664, we find him in Lancaster jail, from January to June. The assizes were held in the latter month, when he hoped to obtain his liberty. But his persecutors were implacable; and though they failed to substantiate any criminal charge, he was

remanded to prison, where he continued throughout the winter.

'Colonel Kirby,' he says, 'gave order to the jailer, 'to keep me close, and suffer no flesh alive to come at me, for I was not fit,' he said, 'to be discoursed with by men.' Then I was put into a tower, where the smoke of the other prisoners came up so thick, that it stood as dew upon the walls, and sometimes it was so thick that I could hardly see the candle when it burned; and I being locked under three locks, the under-jailer, when the smoke was great, would hardly be persuaded to come up to unlock one of the uppermost doors, for fear of the smoke, so that I was almost smothered. Besides, it rained in upon my bed; and many times, when I went to stop out the rain in the cold winter season, my shirt was as wet as muck with the rain that came in upon me, while I was labouring to stop it out. And the place being high and open to the wind, sometimes as fast as I stopped it the wind blew it out again. In this manner did I lie, all that long cold winter, till the next assize; in which time I was so starved with cold and rain, that my body was greatly swelled, and my limbs much benumbed.'—Journal, vol. ii. p. 63.

During this mournful period, he was not inactive. His enemies could not imprison his spirit, nor depress his energy. Excluded from one department of service, he vigorously pursued another. The pen was substituted for the voice, and his exhortations, rebukes, and warnings, were scattered throughout the kingdom. After a rigorous confinement of fifteen months, he was removed to Scarborough Castle, when he was retained a prisoner more than a year, and was then released by the efforts of his old friend, Mr. Marsh, a member of the royal household. The order for his liberation is dated September 1st, 1666. Fox instantly recommenced his more active labors, travelling through Yorkshire, and having, as he says, 'many large and precious meetings among the people. But I was so weak,' he adds, 'from lying almost three years in cruel and hard imprisonment, and my joints and body were so benumbed, that I could hardly get on my horse, or bend my joints, nor could I well bear to be near a fire, nor to eat warm meat, I had been so long kept from them.'

The great fire of London broke out the day after Fox's release from Scarborough Castle, and on reaching the city he walked amongst the ruins, 'and took good notice of them.' This terrible calamity, with that which preceded it, stayed, for a moment, the spirit of persecution. It was, however, only for a moment. The respite was sweet, though brief; but Clarendon and Sheldon were too intent on establishing the domination of the hierarchy, to permit extended repose to any body of dissenters. The Quakers, by their firmness and patriotic endurance, were espe-



cially obnoxious to Sheldon and his brethren. They acted openly, and without reserve. There was no equivocation in their proceedings ; no attempt to escape the observation of their enemies ; no resort to policy in order to veil their religious exercises under a secular guise. In open day, and in places of public resort, they met for worship, and, as if to prevent the possibility of concealment, their apparel and their speech proclaimed their faith. This noble spirit pervaded the entire body, and Fox was an illustrious instance of it. There was much need of his courage just now, for every thing looked frowning and dark. The Conventicle Act of 1664 having expired, was revived in April, 1670, with severer clauses than it originally contained. No matter whether Clarendon or his enemies were in the ascendant, in either case nonconformists were marked out for persecution, and the Quakers were made to drink its very dregs. Informers were liberally rewarded, and the whole machinery of the church was vigorously worked for their destruction. The intolerance and bigotry of Sheldon emulated the zeal of Hildebrand, and would have rekindled the fires of Smithfield, had the temper of his age permitted. Immediately after the passing of this Act, he issued a circular letter to the bishops of his province, exhorting them to see to its rigorous execution, the close of which reminds us of the worst acts of popish persecutors. ‘ And then, my lord,’ says the primate of the English church, ‘ what the success will be we must leave to God Almighty ; yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we do our parts now at first seriously, by God’s help, and the assistance of the civil power, considering the abundant care and provision the Act contains for our advantage, we shall, in a few months, see so great an alteration in the distractions of these times, as that the seduced people returning from their seditious and self-seeking teachers, to the unity of the church and uniformity of God’s worship, it will be to the glory of God, the welfare of the church, the praise of his majesty and government, and the happiness of the whole kingdom.’ We sicken at such language, and turn from it with indignant contempt. The man who used it wanted only the power to employ the rack, the gibbet, and the stake. He was born out of time, and belonged to a class whose names are now mentioned with loathing and scorn. It was well that the persecutor was met by such men as Fox. His resolution was inflexible, his spirit undaunted. He smiled contemptuously on the threats and power of the archbishop, and predicted, with a confidence which never flagged, the hopelessness of the enterprise on which he had embarked. While he rebuked his sin, he scornfully derided the folly of his labors. We might easily fill our journal with instances of the heroic conduct of

Fox, but must restrict ourselves to one or two. Speaking of the first Sunday after the Act of 1670 came into force, he says, 'I went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, where I expected the storm was most likely to begin. When I came there, I found the street full of people, and a guard set to keep friends out of their meeting-house. I went to the other passage out of Lombard-street, where, also, I found a guard; but the court was full of people, and a friend was speaking amongst them, but spoke not long. When he had done, I stood up, and was moved to say, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me; it is hard for thee to kick against that which pricks thee.' Then I showed that it is Saul's nature that persecutes still, and that they who persecute Christ in his members now, where he is made manifest, kick against that which pricks them.' He was carried immediately before the Lord Mayor, and being discharged, was asked by some of his friends whither he would go, when he replied, with characteristic decision, 'To Gracechurch-street meeting.' It was plain that there were no means of silencing such a man, short of death. He had learnt the secret of moral power, and strong in the consciousness of its possession, set his enemies at defiance. He was always at the post of danger, 'being frequent,' as he says of the year 1682, 'at the most public meetings, to encourage friends, both by word and example, to stand fast in the testimony to which God had sealed them.' It was in the same year that, 'hearing there would be a bustle at the meeting,' he went with the celebrated William Penn to Gracechurch-street, on the first day of the week, and what passed is highly instructive. The constables and the soldiers were but the tools of ecclesiastics, and on this, as on other occasions, performed their part with evident reluctance. Fox's account is as follows:—

'William Penn went with me, and spoke in the meeting; and while he was declaring the truth to the people, a constable came in with his great staff, and bid him give over, and come down; but William Penn held on, declaring truth in the power of God. After a while the constable drew back, and when William Penn had done I stood up, and declared to the people 'the everlasting gospel, which was preached in the apostles' days, and to Abraham; and which the church in the apostles' days did receive, and came to be heirs of. This gospel, I declared, was sent from heaven by the Holy Ghost in the apostles' days, and is so now; and was not of man, neither by man; but by the revelation of the Holy Ghost. \* \* As I was thus speaking, two constables came in with their great staves, and bid me give over speaking, and come down; but I, feeling the power of the Lord with me, spoke on therein, both to the constables and to the people. To the constables I declared, 'that we were a peace-

able people, who met to wait upon God, and worship him in spirit and in truth; and therefore they needed not to come with their staves amongst us, who were met in a peaceable manner, desiring and seeking the good and salvation of all people.' Then turning my speech to the people again, I declared what further was upon me to them; and while I was speaking, the constables drew out towards the door; and the soldiers stood with their muskets in the yard. When I had done speaking, I kneeled down and prayed, desiring the Lord to open the eyes and hearts of all people, both high and low, that their minds might be turned to God by his Holy Spirit; that he might be glorified in all and over all. After prayer the meeting rose, and Friends passed away; the constables being come in again, but without the soldiers; and, indeed, both they and the soldiers carried themselves civilly. William Penn and I went into a room hard by, as we used to do, and many Friends went with us; and lest the constables should think we would shun them, a Friend went down and told them, that if they would have anything with us, they might come where we were, if they pleased. One of them came to us soon after, but without his staff; which he chose to do, that he might not be observed; for, he said, the people told him he busied himself more than he needed.'—Journal, pp. 314—316.

Similar instances occurred in other places. Their meeting-houses were closed by the authorities in order to prevent the necessity of a fine being imposed, and officers were stationed near them to prohibit the entrance of the Quakers. On such occasions, however, they proceeded with their devotions in the open street, and their earnestness and simplicity of purpose frequently won upon those who were sent to watch them.

'One first day,' says Fox, 'it was upon me to go to Devonshire-house meeting in the afternoon; and because I had heard Friends were kept out there that morning (as they were that day at most meetings about the city), I went somewhat the sooner, and got into the yard before the soldiers came to guard the passages; but the constables were got there before me, and stood in the door-way with their staves. I asked them to let me go in; they said, 'they could not, nor durst not; for they were commanded the contrary, and were sorry for it.' I told them I would not press upon them; so I stood by, and they were very civil. I stood till I was weary, and then one gave me a stool to sit down on; and after a while the power of the Lord began to spring up among Friends, and one began to speak. The constables soon forbade him, and said he should not speak; and he not stopping, they began to be wroth. But I gently laid my hand upon one of the constables, and wished him to let him alone; the constable did so, and was quiet; and the man did not speak long. After he had done, I was moved to stand up and speak; and in my declaration, I said, 'they need not come against us with swords and staves, for we were a peaceable people, and had nothing in our hearts

but good-will to the king and magistrates, and to all people upon the earth. We did not meet, under pretence of religion, to plot and contrive against the government, or to raise insurrections; but to worship God in spirit and in truth. We had Christ to be our bishop, priest, and shepherd to feed us, and oversee us, and he ruled in our hearts; so we could all sit in silence, enjoying our teacher; so to Christ, their bishop and shepherd, I recommended them all.' I then sat down; and after a while I was moved to pray, and the power of the Lord was over all; and the people, the constables, and soldiers, put off their hats. When the meeting was done, and Friends began to pass away, the constable put off his hat, and desired the Lord to bless us; for the power of the Lord was over him and the people, and kept them under.'—*Journal*, pp. 325, 326.

Another brief record, and we must pass from this portion of the narrative. We give it in Fox's own words:—

'Having visited and encouraged Friends there, I returned to London, and went to the meeting at the Bull and Mouth, where the constables with their watchmen kept a guard, to keep Friends out of the house. So we met in the street; and when any Friend spoke, the officers and watchmen made a great bustle to pull him down, and take him into custody. After some other Friends had spoken, it was upon me to speak; and I said, 'Heaven is God's throne, and earth is his footstool; and will ye not let us stand upon God's footstool to worship and serve the living God?' While I spoke they were quiet; and after I had cleared myself, we broke up our meeting in peace.'—*Journal*, p. 327.

The death of Charles II., which occurred in February 1685, effected a material revolution in favor of the Quakers. The policy of his successor is now understood, and duly appreciated; but, at the moment, it could not fail to awaken feelings of exultation and thankfulness. One thousand four hundred and sixty Quakers were at this time in prison, besides a vast number of other dissenters: and a proclamation was issued by the king ordering the release of all who had been committed for refusing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The sinister design of this proclamation was soon apparent, but its first effect was to gladden the hearts of thousands by the release of those who had suffered cruel bondage. 'Many of those,' says Fox, 'who had been restrained in bonds for years, came up to this yearly meeting, and caused great joy to Friends to see our ancient faithful brethren again at liberty in the Lord's work, after their long imprisonment.' What speedily followed is well known to every reader of English liberty. In his crusade against civil liberty, James received the earnest and officious aid of the protestant church of England, but when, at length, he put forth his hand against its temporalities, by appointing catholics to some of its offices, a cry of sacrilege was raised, and the long

abused name of liberty was invoked against the popish despot. But enough of this. We shall speedily take occasion to examine the pretensions put forth on behalf of the seven bishops, as champions of the freedom of their country.

We have purposely abstained—our limits being brief—from adverting to Fox's visits to the West Indies, America, and Holland, as also to his marriage with Margaret Fell. Each of these occurrences was characteristic of the man, and the last affords an amusing illustration of the simplicity of his mind, and of its entire devotement to his great vocation. He survived the Revolution, and died on the 13th of November, 1690. Of his character we have already spoken. It was marked by great qualities, some of which were for a season partially obscured. The men of his own day did not rightly appreciate him, but the mists are now clearing away. We see his virtues and his faults, his might and his weakness; and while we venerate the one, we remember our own humanity, and are silent respecting the other. In person, George Fox was somewhat corpulent, and above the middle stature. His countenance is said to have been placid, and his eye was intelligent and piercing. We need scarcely say that his habits were exceedingly active. 'He was a small sleeper, an early riser, and carefully abstemious in his diet.'

Of his 'Journal,' we need not speak to those who know it. It is a full-length portraiture, and is accurately described by Sir James Mackintosh as 'one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world,—which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer.'

Mr. Marsh's volume has not answered our expectations. Its title is a misnomer. Whatever it be, it certainly is not '*A Popular Life*.' It is a dull book, which few will read through, and from which fewer still will derive the instruction which might have been conveyed. Of the writer we know nothing. Judging from the style of his volume, we conclude it to be his first essay at authorship, and would advise severe and repeated revision, ere he ventures again before the public. There are other faults than style, on which, however, we are not disposed to dwell, as the author appears to be an estimable man, and to have sought throughout his work a worthy object. His choice of a subject is unhappy for his fame. George Fox requires a biographer of a higher cast of intellect, one more profoundly versed in the mysteries of our nature, and better prepared to give impartial judgment on the various and apparently conflicting types of the religious character. The preparation of such a work, by a man so endowed, would augur well for the coming age, and we know no theme to which his powers might more appropriately or more usefully be directed.

ART. II.—*An Historical and Critical View of the Speculative Philosophy of Europe in the Nineteenth Century.* By J. D. Morell, A.M. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London : Johnstone. 1847.

HISTORY is confessedly one of the most difficult departments of literary composition. The history of opinions furnishes a more difficult task, and more severely tests the abilities of the historian, than that of events. And the history of philosophic opinions, especially, seems to call for more rare and varied qualifications, in order to its successful treatment, than any other kind. To be thoroughly competent to such a task, the historian must unite an extensive and well-arranged erudition with a keen and sound judgment, and some good measure of aptitude for original speculation and self-analysis. He should be familiar with the most profound and subtil speculations of the most profound and subtil intellects ; and not merely of the period which he proposes to treat, but of preceding ages, that he may be able to recognise the features of antiquity under the plausible disguise of novelty. He must have made their thoughts his own by meditation, and yet be able to reproduce them without any mixture of his own, for the information of his readers. With a supreme love of truth, he should combine a tolerant and catholic temper ; otherwise he will be either an unsafe guide or an unfair judge. Endowed with a faculty of abstract thinking that can firmly grasp the most attenuated generalization, and keep it steadily in view, he needs also a degree of what may be styled dramatic imagination, by means of which he may transport himself, as it were, into the interior of other men's minds, comprehend their feelings (or their insensibility), and look at things with their eyes ; for without this, he will be in danger of distorting their doctrines, and will be prepared neither to appreciate their merits nor to understand their mistakes. Lastly, to this rare combination of gifts must be added, the faculty of perspicuous, condensed, and exact expression ; failing which, the historian may possess much knowledge, but will impart little.

It was, therefore, a somewhat bold undertaking, in a work which (as the preface to the first edition informed us) was 'n the production of an experienced writer,' but contained 'the fi thoughts which the author' had 'yet ventured to intrude u public notice,' to furnish an account of the progress and de lopment of philosophy in Europe from the age of con Descartes to our own ; and especially to g to tl x of critical examination all the leading s century, from the so-called profound :

Brown, and yet more marvellous analyses of Mr. James Mill, to the gigantic cloud-castles and logic-built universes of the German idealists, and the eloquent brilliancies, lofty assumptions, and alluring comprehensiveness of Victor Cousin and the eclectics.

In the execution of this task, Mr. Morell has displayed a very high degree of learning and ability. To the praise of impartiality he does not aspire, for the work is polemical throughout; but he has honestly aimed to give a fair representation of the views which he opposes; and has, we think, succeeded on the whole in so doing. In this second edition, the most striking defect of the first has been remedied, by the insertion of references to the original works commented upon; so that the reader is no longer obliged to take what the author says, for granted, but may examine and judge for himself.

Already a favourable verdict has been pronounced by the public on these volumes. Our notice of the first edition was on its way to the printers, when we were induced to suspend our criticisms by the intimation that a second and improved edition might soon be expected. Without altogether coinciding in the author's exalted estimate of the importance of a widely-diffused cultivation of philosophy, we rejoice in the indication thus afforded of the interest felt in philosophical questions among the countrymen of John Locke. We are glad that we have men amongst us capable of producing such a work, and are happy to bear testimony, that the present edition is an improvement on the former in other points besides the important matter of references.

The preface to the first edition informed us that the work was designed 'not so much for philosophers, as for the mass of educated and thinking minds in our own country.' Indeed, the extent of ground traversed is so great, as to necessitate a general and popular treatment of many topics, rather than one thoroughly searching and scientific. Above half of the first volume is occupied with a very condensed survey of the various systems which dawned and set during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is, strictly speaking, only introductory to the main topic indicated in the title-page. But the work would have been incomplete—especially for the class of readers above alluded to—without some account of the father of modern German philosophy. Mr. Morell has attempted to present to the English reader the substance of Kant's system, divested as far as possible of its ponderous and disgusting phraseology; and his account, though brief, is the clearest and best yet published in our language.

For most readers, the chief value of these volumes will consist, not in the criticisms of English writers, or the discussion

of metaphysical questions, (though under both these heads they contain much valuable matter,) but in the introduction which they furnish to the philosophy of modern Germany. No small number of intelligent and educated readers have heard a great deal, and, perhaps, fancied a great deal more, about 'German Philosophy,' without having the smallest accurate notion of what those words denote. German philosophy is to them a mysterious region of clouds and dreams, overhung with fogs of mysticism, gaping with bottomless abysses of scepticism, and peopled with all sorts of logical monsters and 'chimeras dire.' To such readers, an exposition of the leading German systems, in readable, if not always intelligible, English (as near an approach to 'plain English' as the subject and the limits allow,) will be valuable and welcome. Not the less valuable, we are tempted to add, to a large proportion of readers, if it makes them content to postpone the further study of the modern Teutonic lights, until they have become more fully acquainted with the elder sages of Greece and of England.

Our limits forbid anything like a complete examination of a work which is in itself but a review. The points upon which we shall offer a few remarks, in the spirit of free but friendly criticism, relate rather to the general principles pervading the work, than to the details of its execution.

In his Introduction, Mr. Morell begins by explaining what philosophy is; and proceeds to vindicate it against objections, and to show that its rise is the inevitable result of the progress of human intellect; or, to borrow the language of Cousin (to whom our author pays a much higher deference than we could desire,) 'que la philosophie est un besoin special, certain, permanent, indestructible, de l'esprit humain.' 'Le jour,' says M. Cousin, 'où un homme a réfléchi, ce jour-là la philosophie a été créée.' 'The first man,' says Mr. Morell, 'that *reflected*, was the first speculative philosopher—the first time that ever thought returned to inquire into itself, and arrest its own trains, was the commencement of intellectual philosophy.' This is true in the same sense that we might say, that the first day that the expansive force of steam was observed to lift the lid of a tea-kettle, '*ce jour-là*' steam-boats and locomotives were invented. But we could wish for a more precise and satisfactory definition of philosophy than is here furnished. In a mere biographical history of opinions, a rigid definition might be superfluous. In a systematic work, avowedly on a philosophic basis, we naturally look for it. The definition to which our author seems most inclined is, that 'it is the science of *realities*, in opposition to mere appearances; the attempt to comprehend things as they *are*, rather than as they *seem*,' (p. 4). But (not to mention other



objections that might be raised) does not the latter clause of this definition contradict the former? 'Science,' we submit, is *knowledge*, not 'the attempt to know.' In the commencement of the following section, the author speaks of philosophy as 'the striving of man's reason to comprehend the great problems of the world within and the world without, to probe their real nature, and assign their true origin.' This is still far too vague to be satisfactory. It might serve for a general description of the efforts of the human intellect in pursuit of truth, wherever, in any branch of study, inquiry soars above the dregs of detail, and the dusty beaten path of observation, into the free atmosphere of cogitation and general reasoning.

Let not our readers imagine that we are raising a mere verbal question. If an author finds himself at a loss to define his subject at the outset, he would do well to suspect some obscurity, and perhaps incorrectness in his ideas. An accurate definition of what philosophy is, might furnish some criterion of what it can do. Perhaps, too, it might tend somewhat to lower those exalted ideas of the province and dignity of philosophy in general, and eclectic philosophy in particular, which we cannot help thinking Mr. Morell owes rather to the eloquence of M. Cousin, than to his own sober reflection and judgment. The French professor avowedly regards religion as but an earlier stage in that mental progress of which philosophy is the goal and consummation; 'the cradle' of that wisdom, which displays in philosophy its mature developement. From the former we are to learn the alphabet of truth; but it is the latter who holds the volume and expounds its mysteries. Such sentiments do not surprise us, when we remember that with the French philosopher religion is synonymous with popery. With Mr. Morell, however, it is a very different thing; and we should have been glad had he guarded his readers more distinctly against the ultimate tendency of M. Cousin's views of philosophy. Of that tendency, every student of Cousin's writings ought to be aware.

We have no sympathy with the objection (discussed, vol. i., pp. 23, *ff.*) that philosophy is superseded by revelation. With much that Mr. Morell has advanced in refutation of it, we cordially agree. Much less do we for a moment imagine that religion has anything to fear from the progress of a sound philosophy. But, on the other hand, it appears to us going a great deal too far to assert (p. 26), that 'the authority of revelation itself must, to a considerable extent, rest upon philosophic thinking.' 'All religion,' argues Mr. Morell, 'reposes upon the idea of God. Without this idea, revelation itself has no weight, inasmuch as its authority is solely derivable from the fact of its coming from God.' There is here some indistinctness

of expression, if not of thought. The actual (objective) authority of revelation—its right to claim obedience—rests on the fact, duly attested, of its coming from God. Its subjective authority, its practical sway over the mind and conscience, of course depends not on 'the idea of God' (for the bare *idea* could never afford the basis for any thing but speculation), but on our conviction, our belief, that God exists. The simple question, then, is, are we indebted for this belief or conviction, to 'philosophic thinking?' Or, if it has presumed to spring up in the mind from some other source, are we to hold it in abeyance, till dubious philosophy, with her transcendental balance, has weighed the validity of its claims? We fearlessly affirm, that it rests on an independent foundation, as secure and immovable as any of the conclusions of philosophy.

After showing (what, of course, all must allow) that revelation must, of necessity, *assume* the existence of a God, and therefore cannot logically demonstrate it, Mr. Morell proceeds with his argument thus:—

'All revealed religion, accordingly, rests upon the pedestal of natural religion; all natural religion, again, rests upon the existence of a God; and the certainty of his existence must be derived from the relation of the laws of nature to those of the human mind. If these laws be not established, natural religion fails of a foundation; and if the foundation of natural religion sinks, the whole authority of revealed religion sinks, with it, to a nonentity. Revelation, therefore, so far from putting a check upon philosophical investigation, in reference to these topics, renders it, in fact, only so much the more necessary, and so much the more valuable, in proportion as the superstructure, which, by the aid of revelation, we build upon it, becomes to us of the deeper importance.'—pp. 28, 29.

There seems some lack of perspicuity here. *Which* are the laws that need to be established—those of nature, or of mind? and what is meant by their being 'established.' The writer cannot mean to propound the idle truism, that unless these laws are actually in force, our argument from them is invalid. Nor can he mean, that they must all be scientifically expressed, and philosophically demonstrated, before we can conclude that we read the handwriting of Deity in creation. In that case, it would still, in this nineteenth century of the Christian era, be illogical to believe in a God; since many of the laws both of nature and of mind are still debated, or unknown. If, as we conjecture, the meaning be, that the *harmony*, or correspondence of these two sets of laws must be established, in order to render valid the argument from the seen to the unseen, from nature

to God ;—in other words, that the grand question be answered, *whether the subjective laws which invincibly govern our belief, do, in fact, correspond to the objective laws of nature, and the reality of things without us* ; then this is the very fundamental problem of all metaphysics, which philosophy, in every attempt to solve, invariably and inevitably takes for granted.

In his appendix (vol. ii., pp. 639—652), Mr. Morell has expressed himself in a way so much less open to objection, that we cannot but wonder that he has not modified the passage from the text. The distinction, which in the latter seems lost sight of, between religion and theology—practical belief and speculative science—is expressly laid down in the appendix. Religion, Mr. Morell justly remarks, ‘may exist without a theology at all, properly so called ;’ and, it may be added, theology will never teach religion. We fully agree with Mr. Morell so far, that philosophy, using the word in a loose sense, is essential to theology, as a science. Theology is the philosophy of religious truth. Indeed, if by philosophy we mean merely ‘intense application of reason,’ (p. 650) what science is there to which it is not necessary ? But we would reclaim quite as earnestly against the substitution of theology as against that of philosophy, for religion. We are among those who believe that theology is a progressive science, if, indeed, it can claim to be a science ; but we believe religion to be unchangeable, the same in all ages, though capable, subjectively considered, of varying degrees of strength and purity in different individuals. The voice of religion is the voice not of a disputant, but of a teacher. Its evidence is analogous to that (though far more cogent), on which we act in all practical matters. It dwells in the region, not of ideas, but of facts. It teaches us that to reason is a less exalted thing than to love and to work, and its authority rests on a more substantial basis than the good or ill success of human reasonings in systematizing or explaining the truths it teaches, and the duties it ordains.

The masterly outline which Mr. Morell has given of the natural-religious argument, is worthy of high praise. It is in his best style. Yet it seems to us, that he has not sufficiently discriminated between the actual carrying on of a process of reasoning, and the analysis of that process. Obviously, it is the latter only which comes within the province of metaphysical philosophy. The validity of the process in no wise depends on our ability to analyse it. It is only recently that anything like a complete system of the logic of induction has been attempted. Archbishop Whately and Mr. J. S. Mill are at variance on the theory, not only of induction, but even of syllogism. The

validity of the processes, however, has survived the controversy,—is still unimpeachable. The most perfect system of logic could never render a good syllogism or a complete induction, one whit more valid or convincing. Who would dream of asserting, that unless the laws of induction can be philosophically ‘established,’ inductive reasoning ‘fails of a foundation,’ and astronomy, geology, or any other science based thereon, ‘sinks with it into a nonentity?’ Yet natural theology is just as much an affair of induction as geology, though its scope and discoveries are infinitely more sublime and important. What claim, then, can philosophy put in to be esteemed essential in one case, in any sense or degree in which it is not essential in the other?

We can understand Mr. Morell’s estimate of the importance of philosophy only in one of two ways;—either by supposing that he applies the term philosophy to any process of close logical thought, on the most exalted topics,—in which case we have no dispute with him, except as to the propriety of the term; or else, that he regards the philosophical analysis of a process of thought as essential to the validity of its results; in which case we strongly demur to his position.

A familiar instance may illustrate the question. Our conviction of the existence and general attributes of God is of the same kind with many other practical convictions, differing chiefly in the infinite importance of its object. Take, for example, the conviction which a man who has never left England, nor conversed with a traveller from India or New Zealand, entertains of the existence of the inhabitants of those countries, and of the obligation resting upon him to be just and benevolent towards those unseen beings, as well as towards ‘his brother whom he hath seen.’ The objections and difficulties of philosophical scepticism would apply as logically, though they would not be felt as forcibly, in this case as in the other. And the answer in both cases would be the same.

‘Philosophic thinking,’ it is true, may be so far a requisite basis of faith in *certain individual* minds, in regard to all matters belonging to the domain of ‘Practical Reason,’ as it furnishes a reply to the difficulties which a false philosophy had started. But how, after all, does a sound philosophy dispose of those difficulties? Not by a direct disproof, but by showing that, fully carried out, they are as fatal to the conclusions of philosophy as to those of common sense. Not by bringing to light some new ground of belief, but by analysing the process by which convictions are formed in common minds, so far as to show that it is a healthful and conclusive one, unless all belief be hallucination, and the human mind itself a lie; and that, to be consistent, you have but two alternatives,—either to acknow-

ledge the trustworthiness and divine authority of revelation, or to disbelieve *everything* but your own existence, and to doubt even that. And if the sceptic actually intrenches himself in this last position, philosophy has never yet forged the weapons that can dislodge him from it.

If these remarks seem to have extended to a disproportionate length, it must be borne in mind that they are not restricted in their application to the particular passages which have immediately suggested them. The question to which we would direct the attention of our readers, and the readers of the work before us, relates to no subordinate inquiry, but to the entire spirit, design, and expectations with which either the history of philosophy should be written, or the study of philosophy pursued. Such arrogant claims as are advanced by some modern systems are injurious, we are persuaded, not alone to those systems themselves, but also to the progress of true philosophy. Philosophy, the moment she claims infallibility, has laid aside her proper character, and forfeited all claim to our confidence. Professing to be σοφία, she ceases to be φιλοσοφία. The spirit of the true philosopher resembles that of the true Christian: 'not as though I had already attained, either were already perfect.' The attempt to exalt philosophy above religion, and make speculation, instead of faith, the soul's guiding star, as it is utterly unsuited to our present condition and faculties, so it is fatal to a sound and healthy state of mind, intellectual or moral.

There is indeed a sense in which it might be correctly said, that religious truth is 'the cradle' of philosophical; that revelation is but a temporary forestalling of the discoveries of speculation or intuition, and faith the preceptress to whose care reason is for a time entrusted, during its infancy or minority. To walk by faith is the characteristic of an immature state, awaiting a higher development. At first, the largest part of a child's knowledge is matter of faith. We might say, nearly the whole of it, if the term faith be used in so wide a sense as to include our instinctive confidence in the involuntary experience of sensation and consciousness, and in those primary intuitions, which, whether the offspring of the mind itself, or of inspiration, are certainly not the product of *reasoning*, but the basis of it. In this sense, knowledge must for ever rest on a basis of faith. If, for example, you doubt the testimony of memory,—for the truth of which you cannot by possibility have any evidence but what itself supplies,—you must discredit all the processes of reasoning, and be condemned to eternal and universal ignorance and unbelief. But we speak now of that portion of knowledge,—a very large portion, even in the mind of the most experienced sage,—which

is derived from the testimony of others. This is in the strictest sense matter of faith. At every stage of the child's intellectual progress, some portion of his knowledge is removed from the basis of testimony, and placed on that of his own reasoning, or personal experience. Not only are his erroneous beliefs corrected, but the exercise of faith, even with regard to what is true, is gradually superseded by more direct knowledge; just as the approach of sunrise, that scatters the gloom and mists of night, renders useless the lamp that had guided the traveller amid the darkness. We have but to suppose a continuance of this same process, and some of the deepest mysteries of revelation may hereafter present, in the daylight of familiar contemplation, the aspect of almost self-evident truths,—no longer the limit, but the starting point, of our most exalted reasonings.

All this is readily granted. Now we know in part; and when that which is perfect is come, that which is partial shall be done away. But it is equally true, (and this is just what philosophy, or rather the professed philosopher, is so apt and willing to forget,) that the present *is* a state of mere childhood. Individually, and perhaps as a race, we are still in our infancy. Human reason is not destined to attain its full and mature development within the space of threescore years and ten. Those high discoveries which should supersede revelation by experience, and faith (in a measure) by direct knowledge, are reserved for another stage of our history than the earthly. And the so-called sage who forgets this, is about as wise as the traveller who should fling his lamp into the quagmire, and ~~trust~~ to his logical acumen to 'construct' (as the Germans would say) a probable, possible, or demonstrable path through the darkness of night, and amidst real and actual morasses, pitfalls, and precipices.

From this digression, which is not altogether a digression, either, we return to Mr. Morell's Introduction.

After an ingenious section, on which we cannot stay to comment, proving that the rise of philosophy is inevitable, Mr. Morell comes to consider 'the Primary Elements of Human Knowledge' (vol. i. pp. 48—63). And here we are met at the threshold by a mistake on which we must bestow a few words, not only out of regard for our author, but because it has long appeared to us one of the most fruitful of metaphysical errors; and (if we may express such a conviction without incurring the charge of presumption,) one which has vitiated the speculations of some of the most acute metaphysicians. The error is that of confounding Generalization with Analysis. 'The most ordinary ideas of mankind,' says Mr. Morell, 'are the most

complex, and the effect of the *united process of abstraction and generalization* is gradually to simplify them until we arrive at the ultimate elements of which they consist.' (p. 48.) Again, (p. 49.) 'in generalizing our knowledge, so as to deduce the ultimate elements of which it consists, there are two methods which may be employed. Either we may make a classification of all objective things around us, as being the *material* of our thoughts and feelings; and having reduced them to their most universal heads, regard these as the required elements; or, on the other hand, we may analyse our consciousness, and having reduced the mental processes we find there to the smallest possible number, assume these as the elements from which all the multiplicity of our thoughts proceeds.'

Passing over some points on which we feel inclined to comment (such as the assumption that 'objective things around us,' are 'the *material* of our thoughts and feelings,') we wish to call attention to the main error which we think these statements involve. Now, if there be a distinction in metaphysics which it is of importance to see clearly and grasp tenaciously, we should say it is the distinction between analysis and generalization. It is matter of astonishment that it is so often lost sight of. 'Generalization' is defined by Archbishop Whateley as 'the act of comprehending under a common name several objects agreeing in some point which we abstract from each of them, and which that common name serves to indicate.' It will make no difference if any one prefers to say, 'under a general idea,' instead of 'under a common name.' Evidently, this is a process of *classification*. Indeed, the two terms are often used as convertible, and are so employed by Mr. Morell. Analysis, on the contrary, is the *taking to pieces* some complex object, and resolving it into its proximate, mediate, or ultimate elements. Classification may be, and mostly is, founded on some sort of analysis. Analysis may, and often does, lead to classification. But the two processes are not merely distinct, but opposite. Analysis proceeds upon the perception of difference; classification on that of resemblance. Analysis, rightly conducted, brings real accession to our knowledge; classification does but arrange our knowledge in a more convenient form. Generalisation gives us a greater command over our knowledge of particulars; but if carried far, a danger arises of our mistaking words for ideas, and abstract notions for realities. And the further it is carried, the more vague do our ideas necessarily become. Analysis, on the contrary, breaks down our knowledge into parts; it leads us away from the general to the particular; and the further it is carried the more definite do our ideas become. Yet Mr. Morell evidently speaks of these

processes as either identical, or at all events leading to identical results. What he represents as the effect of the united processes of abstraction and generalisation, 'gradually to simplify' our ideas, 'until we arrive at the ultimate elements of which they consist,' is really the result of abstraction, employed as the instrument of analysis. But generalisation gives not the elements of our complex ideas, but new ideas, framed from those elements.

But let us pursue Mr. Morell's account of the 'primary elements of human knowledge' a little further. After referring to the categories of Aristotle and Kant, he comes to explain those of M. Cousin, 'who, with singular depth and clearness, has criticised the labours of Kant, and by the application of all the rigour of modern analysis, has reduced the whole of the Kantian categories to *two fundamental ideas*,' (pp. 53, 54). These two fundamental ideas are those of *action* and *being*. As we despair of exhibiting this sublime analysis in its true splendour by any exposition we could give of it, we quote a brief passage from M. Cousin himself.\*

'La raison, dans quelque sens qu'elle se développe, à quoi que ce soit qu'elle s'applique, quoi que ce soit qu'elle considère, ne peut rien concevoir que sous la condition de deux idées qui président à l'exercice de son activité, savoir : l'idée de l'un et du multiple, du fini et de l'infini, de l'être et du paraître, de la substance et du phénomène, de la cause absolue et des causes secondes, de l'absolu et du relatif, du nécessaire et du contingent, de l'immensité et de l'espace, de l'éternité et du temps, etc. En rapprochant toutes ces propositions, en rapprochant, par exemple, tous leurs premiers termes, *une analyse approfondie les identifie*; elle identifie également tous les seconds termes entre eux; de sorte que de toutes ces propositions comparées et combinées, il résulte une seule proposition, une seule formule, qui est la formule même de la pensée, et qui vous pouvez exprimer selon les cas, par l'un et le multiple, le temps et l'éternité, l'espace et l'immensité, l'unité et la variété, la substance et le phénomène, etc.'

Notwithstanding the acknowledged infallibility and omniscience of the reviewer's chair, we cannot suppress the feeling of great diffidence in attempting to point out the errors of such men as M. Cousin, and other eminent writers who appear to us not free from the confusion of which we have spoken. Doubtless, it would be more for our reputation as philosophers, were we to soar into the clouds, and pour forth our rapturous admiration of 'the rigour of modern analysis' as here exemplified.

\* Cours de Phil. Introduction à l'Hist. de la Phil. Leçon 5me. (at the commencement.)



Yet, at the risk of being set down as sorely devoid of Teutonic '*Tiefe*,' we cannot help asking, *How* does 'a learned analysis,' or any analysis at all, identify the ideas contained under these two sets of terms? By what process of analysis, for example, is the idea of unity identified with that of infinity? Is the former more closely connected, even, with the latter, than with the idea of finiteness? The truth is, under the words—'one, unity,' we include two distinct ideas; that of single, a unit, and that of entire, a whole, (whether made up of parts, or indivisible). An atom, or a mathematical point, is a unit; God is one. In the first sense, unity actually implies finiteness; in the second, though it may co-exist with infinity, it surely does not logically imply it. Again, how are the ideas of 'substance' and 'immensity' identified with each other? Whether any logical magic lurks in the phrase '*absolute* substance,' we do not pretend to say, since we are at some loss to divine what relative substance would be. But we venture to think that the earliest idea which the mind receives of substance, is closely connected, not with infinity, but with its opposite, and is expressed in the word 'thing.' The most natural and spontaneous conception of infinity, on the other hand, (we do not say, most correct) is probably the very opposite of substance,—that of *boundless nothing*.

Waiving, with the utmost humility, all right to be oracular, we leave it to our philosophic readers to decide, whether this vaunted analysis is, properly speaking, any analysis at all; or whether, in truth, it is anything but a classification of thoughts (into the utility of which it concerns not us to inquire) founded on the very simple logical fact, that 'every name which denotes an attribute, divides, by that very fact, all things whatever into two classes, those which have the attribute, and those which have not;' which division 'is not merely a division of such things as actually exist, or are known to exist, but of all such as may hereafter be discovered, and even of all such as can be imagined.'\* In other words, that whatever category the mind forms to itself, implies a universal category diametrically opposed to it. If this be granted, it will follow that we have here nothing less than an instance on a gigantic scale, of the confusion between generalization and analysis, before commented upon; and that to speak of 'M. Cousin's ultimate reduction of the primary elements of all our knowledge,' is to confer a grandiloquent misnomer.

On this topic we will only add, that any one who chooses to pursue it, may discover abundant examples in the writings of Dr. Thomas Brown. Perhaps such an

\* J. S. Mill's *Syst. of Logic*,

gest the question, whether the admiration so often accorded to that philosopher for his analytic subtilty, be not rather due to his sparkling imagination, and quick perception of analogies and resemblances. He could weave a brilliant tissue from his own marvellously active brain ; but we question if he was fitted patiently to unravel the web of nature.\*

Human knowledge being reduced to its primary elements, the reader might suppose that even the most rigid modern analysis had done its work. No such thing. Let him proceed a few pages further, and he will find Mr. Morell arriving at the conclusion—

‘That the three great and primary elements of all our knowledge are, firstly (first?), the idea of our own individual existence, or of finite mind in general ; secondly, the idea of nature ; and, thirdly, the idea of the absolute and eternal, as manifested in the pure conceptions of our impersonal reason. Every notion of our intellectual life, we believe, may be traced to one of these sources, and we regard them, therefore, as the primitive elements of all our knowledge—starting points from which every true system of philosophy must take its rise.’—p. 63.

Were this classification propounded by some stripling logician, we should not hesitate a moment to condemn it as a manifest cross-division. Abashed by the great names which may be advanced in support of it, we feel much greater hesitation in indulging, still more in expressing, such a conclusion, yet equally at a loss to avoid it. Moreover, by speaking of the *sources* of our knowledge, Mr. Morell leaves room for a question whether, after all, he has in view a classification of thoughts, as such, or of things ; or whether, by possibility, he confounds the two. ‘Elements of knowledge,’ as we have already seen, denote, in the philosophy adopted by our author, the most general ideas to which our knowledge can be reduced. But these vague abstractions can never be the sources of the particular knowledge, from which, on the contrary, they are generated. The real sources of our knowledge, the actual roots or fountains of

\* ‘Generalization’ is often employed to denote induction, the process of inferring general propositions from particular. Of course this must be carefully distinguished from the generalization spoken of above. The latter is a formal process of classification ; inductive generalization, a material process of inference. Yet the confusion of these two has been almost as fruitful of logical disputes, as the confusion we have attempted to point out, of metaphysical error.

At p. 192, vol. ii., in the account of Hegel, Mr. Morell appears to confound generalizing up to a first principle with tracing to a first cause. This error is, in fact, an essential part of Hegel’s system.

our conceptions must be, not ideas, but actually existing things; the soul itself, for example, or divine inspiration, or the external world. If, then, the question be, to classify existing things, the division into 'self, and not-self,' or again, into 'mind, and not mind,' is exhaustive, including all existence, actual or possible, finite or infinite, absolute or conditioned. 'Finite mind in general,' would then be a subdivision under one of these heads. If, on the other hand, the problem be to classify *knowledge* (whether ideas or propositions), the division into absolute or necessary, and conditioned, or not necessary, or again into mutable and immutable, seems equally exhaustive. To intermingle the two processes, and present us with a threefold division, into nature, the soul, and the absolute, does appear to our dull apprehension laying a foundation, on which no solid superstructure can ever rest. \*

Accordingly, in adopting M. Cousin's excellent classification of philosophical systems, Mr. Morell has found it necessary to disencumber himself as speedily as possible of this unwieldy third element, by merging it in one of the other two. A procedure which certainly tends much both to his own comfort and to his reader's instruction, by leaving him at liberty to present the progress of philosophy under its fourfold aspect of idealism, sensationalism, mysticism, and scepticism.

We have exhausted our limits, leaving untouched many topics that would have invited remark. The work itself is but a review, glancing at many subjects, the full discussion of which would demand a work five or six times the size. Nevertheless, within these comparatively narrow limits, many of the deepest questions of metaphysics are treated with great clearness and reach of thought, and much information is both evinced and conveyed. We regret that we have not space for any remarks on our author's treatment of the various great schools of the nineteenth century. There is much acute reasoning in his account of 'Modern Sensationalism in England,' especially in connexion with the necessarian controversy; and some admirable criticisms on the Scottish school, particularly on Stewart and Brown. In his exposition of the German systems, we could wish that Mr. Morell had either not criticised at all, confining himself to simple history and interpretation, or else that his criticisms had been far more searching. We might say the same in reference to eclecticism, of which we deem our author more than sufficiently enamoured. For example, in the account of

\* We cannot help expressing the pleasure with which we have found the views we have here ventured to express, countenanced by a very able, though somewhat harsh, critic of Mr. Morell, in the *Prospective Review*.

Kant, while some minor objections are stated, no attempt is made to probe and sift the system itself. Its main assumptions Mr. Morell seems to regard as beyond question. Are they so? Is the human intellect really constructed on the precise and formal model laid down by the sage of Königsberg? These nicely balanced categories, arranged with such suspicious and artificial looking exactitude, three under each head, are they the true alphabet of human thought? Or has the love of system, the fatal snare of capacious intellects, exercised here, too, its wonted influence, in exalting some secondary phenomena to the rank of primary, and keeping some things which are really essential, out of view? Are even the famous distinctions between reason and understanding, and between the matter and the form of thought, based on perfect, or on imperfect mental analysis? Again, in the concluding remarks on Hegel's system, the *second* of a list of objections is, that there is 'a confusion between the logical process of thinking, and the real process of things themselves.' A confusion, truly! This strikes us as not unlike saying, that one objection to Locke's system is, that there is a tendency to overlook other sources of ideas besides sensation and reflection; when the denial of any such sources is the very basis of the system. This confusion is, if we at all understand the matter, the very essence of Hegel's philosophy. When we find such an objection merely ranked as second in a list, we cannot help being reminded of the lawyer who, after commencing a list of reasons for the non-appearance of a witness, with some reason which we have forgotten, proceeded: 'Secondly, my lord, the witness is dead.' When the next edition of Mr. Morell's work is called for, we would earnestly urge him to consider whether his admiration of the genius of the continental philosophers, and, perhaps, the labour which an acquaintance with their systems necessarily involves, have not led him to attach more than due value to the fruit of their elaborate cogitations, and to probe their defects with too sparing a hand.

One word we must be allowed in reference to the very important point of style. A philosophical style should be a model of perspicuity, purity, precision, and manly vigour. We are very glad to trace an improvement in this respect in the new edition. But Mr. Morell must permit us to say that his style, though in some points worthy of commendation, is not so good as we think he could make it in point either of clearness, propriety, or brevity. We subjoin in a note two or three examples out of many which struck us in reading.\* Our readers will not, we

\* Vol. i. p. 3. In the sentence beginning, 'The first man,' does the author mean that it was inevitable that the philosophic process should go on in the mind of that same primitive philosopher? If so, why? Or,

hope, suspect us of any ill-natured pleasure in criticizing; but we confess to a jealous and watchful fear, lest the prevailing study of German should exert a seriously hurtful influence on our own noble language. Much as we admire the German language, we cannot but think that all the benefits likely to be derived from its cultivation would be dearly purchased at such a price. The language of a nation is the reflection of the mind of the nation, and one of its most precious inheritances. Whatever corrupts the language, inflicts an injury on the national mind. And thoughts that will not bear being thoroughly transplanted into our language, are not likely to take deep root amongst us, or to bear much useful fruit.

To conclude. We have derived much pleasure and instruction from Mr. Morell's 'View of the Speculative Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century.' The work supplies a deficiency in our literature which no other work in our language can pretend to fill. And there are probably very few men in England who could have done it better. We close the volumes, however, with the feeling awakened by their opening pages, of the importance of a clear idea and precise definition of what we mean by philosophy. If by philosophy we understand the *science of knowledge*—or, rather, the attempt to construct that science—to examine the grounds of our convictions, the processes of our arguments, the nature of our ideas, and the compass and certainty of our knowledge—we agree with our author that this is a legitimate and natural employment of our faculties, 'un besoin de l'esprit humain.' In this sense, the only basis of philosophy is psychology. The science of knowledge must be measured in its progress, limits, and value, by the science of mind. But if by philosophy we are to understand the 'striving of human reason' to solve insoluble problems—to

that from that time philosophy must obtain among men. How so, if our friend 'the first man,' never happened to publish his theories? The obscurity in expression here seems to arise from indefiniteness of thought. At p. 5, we are told, 'the philosophic spirit, *when once begun*, ever strives after a perfected system, in which every phenomenon within or around it (?) shall be accounted for.' At p. 564, where it is said that a certain theory would 'reduce creation to chance, religion to folly, and all mankind to atheism, the phrase 'reduce to' is used in three senses at once. Page 161 would present an improved appearance if 'the bud' of atheism, 'showing its colours in their deepest dye,' were treated with the pruning knife. Is there not here a confusion of three metaphors? Vol. ii. p. 22, 'died in the *very ascendancy* of his genius,' is scarcely English. 'Multiplicity of antagonisms,' (p. 438), is an outlandish phrase, not at all to our taste. But, above all, we entreat Mr. Morell to abjure that vile Americanism, 'to progress.' Why should this ugly interloper supplant 'advance,' or 'make progress?' Yet not content with this, Mr. M. has something still worse (shade of Johnson!) to 'progress onwards.'

dispense with the light of revelation—to prove by reasoning, fundamental facts, incapable alike of proof or disproof, but which we must receive on pain of being plunged into boundless Pyrrhonism—or to bring the infinite, the absolute, and the eternal, within the compass of the baby-mind of man—then we must confess that we do not estimate very highly either the merits or the prospects of such philosophy. As well might men try to sound the ocean with a skipping-rope, or to light the universe with a taper. On the ground on which the cause of philosophy is placed by the sceptical historian, Mr. Lewes, we should be quite willing to accept the challenge in its favour; but on that assumed by the eclectics and the Germans, we must give up the cause as hopeless. The genius expended in the construction of the elaborate systems which Mr. Morell has with so much ability endeavoured to interpret to the common-sense intellect of English readers, does but confirm, we venture to think, Bacon's remark, that a swift racer, if once on a wrong track, will go wrong much faster and further than an ordinary man.

ART. III.—1. *The Divine Authority and Permanent Obligation of the Sabbath.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., Congregational Church, Glasgow.

2. *Traces and Indications of the Primitive Sabbath in many of the Institutions and Observances of the Ancient World.* By the Rev. John Jordan, Vicar of Enstone, Oxon.

3. *The Sabbath not a mere Judaical Appointment, with examination of the more prevalent Fallacies by which it has been attempted to show that the Sabbath-Law has been Abolished or Relaxed.* By the Rev. Andrew Thomson, B.A., United Presbyterian Church, Edinburgh, Glasgow: Maclehose and Bryce.

WE have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of the controversy which has recently been agitated in Scotland, and into which has been infused more than the ordinary amount of bitterness and wrath, on the subject of Sunday trains. We have been especially interested in its origin on the more general question of the maintenance of the Sabbath. Had the question, as it is now, been simply a religious one, it could have been calmly waited upon with the religious calm which was the result of the controversy.

exist, and does exist, in the minds of those who are perfectly at one in their views of the sanctity and moral obligation of the first day of the week as a Christian Sabbath. This diversity and opposition of opinion upon these incidental and secondary questions, has given rise to the notion among the unthinking, or the prejudiced, that there exists great uncertainty among Christians respecting the obligation of the Lord's-day. And the secular and irreligious portion of the periodical press has not been slow to circulate and corroborate this impression.

It was never more necessary for Christians to unite in attesting their solemn adherence to this Christian institute, as a day—a whole day—for rest from labour, and for spiritual service. And the originators of this series of tractates upon the various aspects of this great subject, have shown themselves to be men 'that have understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do.' Such a series of tracts is well fitted to counteract the evil to which we have just alluded; and to place the whole question of the Sabbath on a clear and certain basis.

There have been certain incidental and irrelevant elements in this controversy, considered as affecting the sanctity and obligation of the Sabbath, which we will with all brevity point out.

I. The alleged discrepancy betwixt the sentiments of the English and Scottish people respecting the observance of the Sabbath.

This alleged difference has been largely referred to, to rouse the zeal of the Northern people against any alteration of their national habits of reverence for the Sabbath. And it is beyond all question, that there is a wide diversity in the manner in which the Lord's-day is outwardly observed on the different sides of the Tweed—a diversity very much to be accounted for by the form and issue of those religious struggles through which the two nations have respectively passed. Nationally considered, the reformation in Scotland was much more thorough, that is, produced a much more conspicuous change from the principles and forms of popery, than in England. We do not say that the religious leaders in the former nation penetrated more profoundly into scriptural truth, or argued more conclusively against Romish pretensions. But in Scotland the struggle was more in the hands of the people, and consequently impressed the national mind with its own stamp; while in England the ruling powers with whom it had in great measure originated, kept the movement in their own hands, put an earlier check to its progress, and subjected it more openly to the restraints of monarchical authority, than was ever pretended to, or conceived of, in the other nation. There was, therefore,

in Scotland from the very beginning of the reformation, a more widely diffused conviction of the sanctity and spiritual obligation of the first day of the week, as a Sabbath, than at any time prevailed in England.

But subsequent events operated still more powerfully to perpetuate this diversity. During the struggle between the first Charles and the parliament, and during the reign of the Protector, the religious portion of the community in England held as sound scriptural views of the obligation of the Lord's-day, and maintained as spiritual an observance of it, as Scotland ever witnessed, with much less of that stern severity of spirit, and gloomy moroseness, which the direful struggles of that northern people, added to their natural temper, gave to their observance of it. But it may be said, that this brightest and best period in the religious history of England, was produced by the presence and labours of the Scottish commissioners and Scottish armies in that country. So these Scottish commissioners, with pardonable self-importance, have recorded for the faith of future generations; and subsequent historians have obsequiously attested their claim. We take the liberty of estimating that influence at considerably less than it has generally been reckoned; and we rest our judgment on the entire train of English history from that day to this. Let it be remembered that the *religious* portion of the English people, even from the time of Henry VIII., held sentiments on the subject of the Sabbath, never very widely different from those which prevail in Scotland;—that it was the religious mind of England that produced the great puritan struggle which the peculiar conjuncture of Scottish affairs only aided in bringing to a crisis;—that no one wishing to retain a character for common sense will pretend, that the majority of the Westminster Assembly of divines learned their religion from the Scottish commissioners; or had the tone of their religious sentiments perceptibly altered by their presence, although they were visibly influenced and guided in the preparation of a platform of church-government, and a directory of worship, by these practised and zealous strangers. But the doctrine of the Westminster divines is, and has from that period been, the standard of the Scottish national faith upon this and every other religious topic.

Since there was this identity of sentiment in the two countries at the time the national faith of Scotland was fixed by these standards, whence the visible diversity of sentiment and practice now? At the Restoration, anti-puritan, anti-presbyterian, anti-evangelical principles rose into the ascendant upon the ruins of the Commonwealth. The religion of the dominant party greatly consisted in running as far as possible from the spirit,



sentiments, and practices of the religious party over which they had at last triumphed. Nonconformists from the restored national church were by persecution diminished in number, enfeebled in spirit, almost extinguished. And though better times have succeeded, this anti-puritan party has never been dislodged from its power; its influence is still great; and the spirit then and ever since so actively antagonistic to the simplicity and spirituality of Christian institutions, has given mould and temper to the religious sentiments and observances of the English nation. And thus it will be until the growing power and importance of nonconformists shall either regenerate, or overthrow, the dominant sect in that country.

The Scottish people, on the other hand, amid all their terrible persecutions for the national faith and worship, held fast their religion. Whatever rank and power the prelatic party at any time acquired, the nation was not under their influence, or of their views. And thus it continued, until the arm of oppression was exhausted, and Scotland's rights were finally secured.

While it is, therefore, quite true that, betwixt the two nations, considered as *nations*, there is a wide diversity of sentiment and practice; it is equally true, that among the religious, i. e., the evangelical and pious portion of both nations, there is not, and there never has been, any such diversity—except it be, that the manner and mood of observance by the one, have been somewhat more cheerful and radiant, than of the other,—a diversity explainable by the difference in the natural temper and mental habits of the two peoples.

But in the continual reference, during the recent controversy, to these national diversities, the distinction we have now made was entirely overlooked. The notion was apt to be engendered, that the religious in the two nations are divided respecting the obligation of the Christian Sabbath. This is quite an error. They are not, and never were divided. And, allowing for the full extent to which the views of Dr. Paley, Dr. Whately, and others, have been adopted, we may, without fear of contradiction, affirm, that the great body of truly religious men in both kingdoms are of one mind as to the spiritual obligation of the first day of the week—the Lord's-day, as a day of rest and spiritual observance.

Another most pernicious effect of this alleged difference was the waking up of a spirit of pride and rivalry betwixt the two peoples; inducing citizens of the one nation, from merely national partiality and pride, to indulge a laxity of sentiment and discourse, into which they would not otherwise have fallen; and citizens of the other, to boast themselves of the national strictness, with all its formality and hollowness and pretence; thus complicat-

ing and concealing the real merits of the subject, as a question of scripture doctrine and institution. But the Christian Sabbath, it should be remembered, is no national institute, dependent for its observance on certain national tastes and habits. Like the gospel, of which it is a characteristic institute, it is 'for man' universally, and will suit the meridian of Paris as much as that of Edinburgh; can be celebrated amid the refinement of France, with as genuine devotion and scriptural exactness, as in the wilds of Caffraria, and the mountain retreats of oppressed and tortured Tahiti. This talk about the national habits of the Scotch, is an offensive excrescence upon a great scriptural argument.

II. Another most unhappy feature in the recent discussion, has been the confounding of the obligation of the Christian Sabbath as a law of God, with the political arrangements which may be made for its observance by the nation.

The grand excess and error in the entire history of Sabbath-observance in Scotland, has been the assumed right on the part of the civil government, to enjoin the national observance of the Sabbath. It is part of the national constitution. The Scottish people have this idea so deeply rooted in their mind, that they can scarcely recognize the general and voluntary observance of the Sabbath to be a good over which to rejoice, so long as the day is not uniformly kept, and the profaners of it not restrained by legal penalties.

Now, whatever be the right and duty of civil government in appointing and regulating the observance of a Sabbath, it is not difficult to see that it is a question quite distinct from another and more important one, viz., What is the duty of every man who acknowledges the Scriptures to be the word of God, and professes himself a Christian? It can surely be supposed, that men holding that civil government should enjoin and enforce the observance of the Sabbath as a religious institution; and men, holding that the day should be enforced by the national authorities, merely as a cessation from business, on sanitary, commercial and moral grounds; and men holding that the national authorities should leave the observance of a day of rest to the choice of each individual as he may be actuated by interest, love of life, religion, or other motive—should with all their differences, be perfectly agreed in this; that if any man be a genuine follower of Jesus Christ, *he* must by all means 'Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.' *This is the law of the Sabbath*, viz., the obligation every Christian is under to keep the sacred day. The church of Christ may be placed under a civil government that will do nothing toward the right observance of the Sabbath. Yet the obligation of the Sabbath

is not on this account relaxed, or the spiritual privilege of the Sabbath thereby diminished. The service which Christians are called to render is, duty to God; the privilege with which they are enriched, is a blessing from God; and the one is to be rendered and the other to be enjoyed, independently of all human enactments, and even in the face of them, should they controvene the Divine behest. In a word, the observance of the Sabbath as an institute of the Christian religion, is co-extensive with the knowledge and reception of the religion itself.

Again, the church of Christ may be placed, as it is in our own empire, under a civil government disposed to legislate upon the Sabbath, and to take it, and every Christian institution, under its superintendence and control. Is it not equally the duty of Christians, under these circumstances, to refuse direction from such an unauthorised party, and make it evident that the Christian church holds its rights from the King of kings and Lord of lords; and that Christians cannot homologate any act infringing upon the divine authority, to which alone, in such matters, they own themselves to be subject? Should not their zeal for the honour of the Sabbath appear in following Jesus Christ's regulations for its observance, and in contravening all others which come into collision with them. Happily, at this moment they are under no such necessity. Government interference does not come into collision with our spiritual convictions. But if it did, the law of the Sabbath would remain in all its integrity, notwithstanding; and if Christians were faithful to their principles, their observance of it would be unaffected by all such presumptuous interference.

The laws of this country respecting the keeping of the Sabbath, are either obsolete and inoperative, or they fall in with the religious principles and habits of the people, and are therefore not thought of or known. Yet, although on the matter under consideration, we have no grievance to complain of, no requirement to elude, no penalty to fear, no favour to ask at the hands of our rulers, there is no doubt on our minds that it would have been infinitely to their own advantage, and for the honour of the Christian religion, if they had left the Sabbath to rest on its divine authority, and to be advanced without the aid of the secular arm. These laws are enduring, only because they are contemptible and forgotten. But the terms in which they are written, the rights they arrogate to earthly rulers, are offensive and blasphemous; and the penalties they affix, were they inflicted, would be the worst forms of tyranny. The whole system from which this legislation proceeds, is evil. We regard it with undisguised suspicion and dislike, as an attempt to appropriate the prerogatives of the Holy One, and overrule the

dictates of conscience towards God. From the secular authorities we look for protection in our secular estate; but we shall neither invoke them, nor can we endure them, to use the sanctions of their authority and the resources of their power, in maintaining or enforcing Christian institutions. This would be to misrepresent the character of the Christian religion; to degrade it to the rank of a merely political machine; and to put into the hands of the civil magistrate a weapon the most dangerous to human liberty; and which, more than any other, he is likely to use for oppressive ends.

It may be competent to a civil government to appoint a certain period of rest from all labour and traffic; to determine that it shall be one day in seven, and that day the *first* of the seven, as being already recognised, and used thus, for religious reasons, by a large portion of the community. But whatever advantages might be expected to flow from such a civil regulation, compliance with it could never be viewed as an observance of the Sabbath. Even if, in addition to such political considerations, its divine institution were adduced to insure its observance, compliance with this regulation, at the instance of the civil government, would still be only a political act, and not an act of religious worship. And should any from spiritual reasons,—‘from conscience towards God,’ render the observance enjoined, would not the honour of this obedience be profanely divided betwixt the God who had a right to demand it, and the men who have presumptuously pretended to supplement and seal divine authority with *theirs*? It is, therefore, manifest that the Sabbath, as a Christian, spiritual institution, derives no advantage from being enforced by secular authority. Without this accompaniment, its obligation is perfect, and its high claims more distinctly apparent.

For want of such views, compliance with the regulations of the national authorities has been reckoned Sabbath observance. The honour demanded for the Sabbath has consequently been of an external, ritual sort; and that only has been counted profanation, which infringed upon the established forms and usages. But let the claims of the Sabbath rest on the individual conscience, and the Christian will observe the Sabbath, whether the national authorities favour, oppose, or neglect it. His duty is not derived from them, and is performed without reference to them. It is not as the law of the land—a national usage, an established form of religion, that he observes it, but as part of the worship of Him who seeth in secret, and must be worshipped in spirit and in truth. But these distinct and dissimilar notions have, in the recent controversy, been mixed up and confounded, to the serious detriment of the claims of the Sabbath as a

spiritual institution. Even when no direct and explicit allusion was made to the civil government, as an enforcing power, there has been, what was quite equivalent, an appeal to the national will, as expressed in its religious habits. The idea of Sabbath observance that has always been uppermost, has been of an outward, general, national compliance with prevailing religious usages. The desirableness of a day of cessation from labour, and the expediency of the civil government appointing such a day, upon grounds on which it is competent to rest its injunctions, we are far from questioning. But we denounce it as a pernicious error, we lament it as an unmixed evil, that this should be attempted under the name of Sabbath observance; and when it is secured to the satisfaction of the national authorities, or of those who consent to their act, that this should be gloried in as an honour done to the Christian Sabbath. Those who spend the first day of the week otherwise than the scripture requires, are undoubtedly profaning the Sabbath; but those who comply either with national usages, enforced by an authoritative public opinion, or enforced by such a public opinion along with the sanctions of civil authority, are not observing the Christian Sabbath. And it is a ruinous confounding of things spiritual and secular, to say they are. This pernicious sentiment has been very active in the recent controversy, in the zeal to secure a certain national uniformity of conduct; and to prevent, if not by force, yet by certain public arrangements, departure from the established national usage. Oh, that Christian men would see, that whatever is gained in outward decency of form and ritual by such means, the influence and claims of the Christian Sabbath as a spiritual institution, are proportionably damaged!

III. Another unhappy feature of this controversy has been, the nature of the practical question from which it originated.

The conduct of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, in shutting up their line upon Sunday, forms a most ineligible battle-ground on which to maintain the claims of the Christian Sabbath. These respectable gentlemen may be supposed to have reasoned after this manner: We have received our appointment from constituents, whose confidence we possess, whose approval we reckon on, (and have, in the course of this discussion, received). We stand in the position of trustees for the proprietors of this railway—ourselves, during our term of office, being the real proprietors. It is not consistent with our religious principles to traffic on the Sabbath-day. We therefore discontinue this part of our business, as we do every other on the first day of the week. Our predecessors in office acted differently, but we are not bound by their acts. It might be convenient for many of our customers, and profitable to the

concern, were we to traffic as has hitherto been done; but we must, on higher considerations, 'Remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.' That it may sometimes be a work of necessity and mercy to travel on the Sabbath-day, and justifiable to provide the means of travelling, under such circumstances, we do not deny. But we cannot, on account of the rare and incidental exception, set aside the divine rule. And when a case of necessity and mercy is presented to us, we shall judge of it, and act according to our conviction of duty, and the merciful spirit of the Sabbath-day!

If these premises be true, viz., that the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway was strictly private property, and they the proprietors of it, we see no ground which any have to censure their conduct. Their consistency with their principles is perfect; their conduct, so far as it goes, such as becomes Christian men.

But their conduct was faulty from defect. Their principles required the abandonment of *all* traffic. Unhappily for their consistency, they only abandoned the carrying of passengers; while as traders they continued the carrying of the mail. We can conceive of only three grounds on which this apparent inconsistency can be defended with any appearance of reason. First, that they (as the company) were under contract to the government, and had no power or right to violate their engagement. But it may be replied, this contract must soon expire, and if they be true to their principles they will not renew it. But they have not refused the renewal of the contract. We never heard that they intend to do so.

Secondly, It may be argued in defence, that it was a clause in the act of parliament assigning powers to this company, that they should be obliged to carry the mail every day of the week, should the Post Office authorities require them. But does not this defence interfere with the claim to look upon the line as private property? Parliament made provision for the *national* accommodation; and seem to have looked upon the railway as, in some sort, a public or national work. But, besides, it was still open to these gentlemen to have moved their constituents to petition parliament to expunge a clause which bound them down to do, what they have declared in the most public and solemn manner, is contrary to their conscience, and an act of sin.

But, thirdly, it may be argued in defence, that parliament will not relax this law, or refrain from requiring the transit of the mail on Sunday; and, therefore, they have no choice. From this sentiment we enter the most uncompromising dissent, as false and pernicious, and as offering (unwittingly we

are persuaded) a grievous slight and disparagement to the authority of God, and the integrity of Christian institutions. What! Cannot Christian men refrain from doing evil, because a civil government commands them to do it? Must they traffic—profane the Sabbath—do what they declare is contrary to God's will, because secular authorities enjoin it? No choice! Can they not bear the penalty of obeying God rather than men? Can they not show that a conscientious conviction of duty admits of no excuse, and can enter into no compromise? This glaring defect in the consistency of these gentlemen, has not been concealed, but rather exaggerated, by the opponents of their measure; and as it cannot be defended, it renders their conduct a most unfit field for the discussion of the moral obligations of the Sabbath.

A variety of other considerations, of which we shall leave our readers to estimate the worth and weight, operated to inflame a large portion of the public mind against the resolution to which these gentlemen thought it their duty to come.

It was keenly argued, that every railway is held in trust for the public. That if the provisions for the protection of the rights of the public are not very special, it is only because it was supposed, that the interests of the proprietors and the accommodation of the public would be found to harmonize. But of the character of railways as public *national* works, there can, it is alleged, be no question: since parliament claims to examine and judge of their commercial importance, and their prospective benefit to the community, to modify their plans, to limit their financial powers, to fix the rules of their traffic, and to require that the public shall be carried at a certain rate per mile, and in a certain form of carriage, etc.

It was strenuously maintained, that if railway proprietors were not bound to increase the facilities which had been afforded to the public of travelling on Sunday, it was unjust and oppressive to diminish them, or take them entirely away. That as they were now the mail-carriers, and the old mail-coaches were removed, it was only justice to continue to supply to the public those facilities which through the means and for the advantage of railways, had been withdrawn.

Now, whatever were the merits of these arguments, they prevailed in many minds. The moral obligation of the Christian Sabbath was presented to them in a light fitted to prejudice them against the institution; as if it enjoined men to take away from others by the strong hand of power, what they counted, (falsely, perhaps, but still sincerely,) to be prescriptive advantages and rights. They felt that any course of evil which they were pursuing should be exposed to their reason as pernicious;

and that they should not be driven from it, by what they were disposed to call the violence of power. It is easy to see, that the conduct which awakened such sentiments in the breasts of a large portion of the public, was not the most likely to convince, conciliate, and convert the disobedient to the obedience of the just.

Nothing in the recent history of religious controversy has affected us with deeper regret, than that a course of conduct, however sincerely conscientious, and in its spirit and design most Christian, but which is open to such plausible objections, should have been set up by a large portion of the religious community, as the rallying-point for the maintainers of the sanctity and obligation of the Christian Sabbath.

But another and better principled class, true and spiritual advocates of strict Sabbath observance, were led to regret the course of the directors of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, on quite different grounds. Nothing seemed to this class more plain, from scripture, than that the performance of acts of necessity and mercy is part of true Sabbath-observance. Before the railway was opened, many an errand of mercy was performed by means of the conveyances which then existed. They judged that if it be lawful for a Christian under the pressure of certain circumstances to travel, it is lawful for a Christian to provide the means of travelling in these circumstances. Accordingly, they would have been gratified, had duly moderated facilities for travelling on Sunday been afforded on this well grounded and sufficient plea. Nay, they deeply regretted, that an injury was done to the interests of religion; that a misrepresentation was given of the nature of the Sabbath as a divinely merciful institution, when no recognition was taken of the exceptional circumstances, to which the Great Author of the Christian religion himself gave such prominence in his discoursing of the Sabbath-day.

The mouths of these sincere Christians were, in a manner, shut during the controversy. They could not, for the reasons indicated, support the side of the directors. They could not join in the unscrupulous and, on the part of many, anti-Christian opposition to their act. A considerable portion of the best friends of the Sabbath were thus thrown out of the field, because the sanctity of the Sabbath was associated and identified with a certain course of action, which their judgment and conscience assured them was not a true representation and embodiment of its divine claims.

By this somewhat lengthened record of the leading circumstances of a painful controversy, which agitated and, for a time almost entirely engrossed the religious mind of Scotland, we



have intended to show that, amid much discoursing about the Sabbath, the real, scriptural question was obscured by the dust and vapour raised by accidental and irrelevant circumstances in the controversy. But it was the belief of the public, that this great Christian institute was under discussion. Its triumph or defeat was thought to depend on the success or discomfiture of the rival parties in the strife. Heats, prejudices, and misrepresentations abounded on every hand, driving men into various and opposite errors. Many were found asserting, in behalf of the Sabbath, claims over the conduct of a secular community, to be administered and maintained by the civil magistrate, such as belong to a matter of civil police, to a level with which they in their unwitting zeal reduced this divine institution. Others, in their zeal to reject shackles which they plainly saw to be of human fabrication, were apt to put from them the obligations of divine authority. It is high time that the controversy should be conducted on a broader basis, and under more favourable circumstances. We, therefore, hail the issue of this series, as a most timely and apt intervention for the defence and inculcation of this sacred day. The following is the list of the proposed series, additional to the three named at the head of this article :—

IV. The Adaptation of the Sabbath to the Temporal Well-being of Men, and more especially of the Working Classes, with application of the argument to Sabbath Railway Travelling. By Rev. David King, LL.D., United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.

V. The Adaptation of the Sabbath to Man's Intellectual and Moral Nature. By Rev. James Hamilton, B.A., Presbyterian Church of England, London.

VI. The Influence of the Sabbath on Domestic Piety. By Rev. William Glover, A.M., Church of Scotland, Edinburgh.

VII. Biographical Notices on the subject of Sabbath Observance, showing its influence on the piety of individuals. By Rev. John Hannah, D.D., Wesleyan College, Didsbury, near Manchester.

VIII. Indirect Influence of the Sabbath upon the Intelligence, Liberties, Commerce, Trade, Social Order, and General Prosperity of Kingdoms. By Rev. Edward Steane, D.D., Baptist Church, London.

IX. Sin and Evils of Sabbath Mails. By Rev. Andrew Symington, D.D., Reformed Presbyterian Church, Paisley.

X. Other Prevalent Forms of Sabbath Desecration. By Rev. Peter MacOwen, Wesleyan Chapel, Islington, London.

XI. The Blessing Promised on the Sabbath Sanctified, and the Penalty Annexed to the Neglect or Profanation of it. By Rev. Stewart Bates, D.D., Reformed Presbyterian Church, Glasgow.

XII. The First Sabbath after the Creation—after the giving of the Law—after the Resurrection of our Lord. A Sabbath at Sea—a

Sabbath in the Sick-chamber. The Heavenly Sabbath. By Rev. R. W. Hamilton, D.D., LL D., Congregational Church, Leeds.

XIII. The Spirit and Manner in which the Sabbath ought to be Observed. By Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts.

XIV. Concluding Practical Address. By Rev. J. A. James, Congregational Church, Birmingham.

It will be seen that the fourth, by Dr. King, and the ninth, by Dr. Symington, have direct bearing on some of the circumstances referred to in this paper. There is a great array of talent and worth engaged for the production of these popular treatises; and, judging from the specimens before us, they will be worthy of the names which they respectively bear.

In Dr. Wardlaw's we have an abridgment of portion of his valuable work on the Sabbath, containing a thorough establishment of the two main points, expressed in the title.

Mr. Jordan's contains a vast amount of information compressed into small compass, in illustration of his theme.

Mr. Thomson partly travels over the ground occupied in the first tract; and then refutes prevailing fallacies on the moral obligation of the Christian Sabbath, with much candour, ability, and sound argument.

In bringing these observations to a close, we must deprecate any misconception of our spirit and design. Parties whose conduct we have undertaken to review, are actuated, we have every reason to believe, by as pure a zeal for the Sabbath as ourselves. *We* are jealous (perhaps excessively so) of every effort or expedient for its better observance, which is not simply addressed to the reason and conscience of men. *They* may be prepared to admit as aids and additaments certain public arrangements which exert a degree of gentle concussion upon men's minds. *We* glory in the divine preciousness of this day to the soul awakened to the knowledge and experience of spiritual blessings. *They* would somewhat more freely boast themselves of its historic sacredness, as the birthright secured to us by the steadfastness, the sufferings, and blood of an heroic ancestry. Not, however, until the Christian Sabbath be made to rest on its own and only sure basis, as a spiritual, Christian institute: not until it shall be reckoned as the peculiar privilege of Christ's followers; not until they cease even in appearance and indirectly to impose its external observance upon men whose heart is not right with God: not until the followers of Christ are prepared to observe it faithfully, and spiritually, whether it be generally observed or not, whether other men traffic or not, whether others travel or not; not until at all hazards, under all forms of loss and worldly disadvantage, in the face of every temptation and abounding facilities to violate its sanctity, they

will remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy ; not until Christians have learned to do without acts of parliament, have learned to despise them, and indignantly to reject them, as having any part in the maintenance of a Christian and spiritual institution — can justice be done to the Divine claims of the Sabbath: the Christian church acquire any honour in its maintenance: or any fit preparation be made for its general, cordial celebration. Alas! we are as yet far from this position. There is prevailing an un-Christian propensity to impose by man's authority upon others, what the authority of Christ has imposed upon ourselves: and thus to create a false appearance of Christian obedience and service, where there is nothing of the reality. There is a low-spirited disposition on the part of many Christians, by the aid of worldly enactments which shall bind all, to make their own spiritual obedience as little singular, expensive, and inconvenient as possible. There is a cowardly covering up and concealing of their want of stedfastness and genuine principle, by requiring that the *opportunity* of sinning shall be taken out of the way of all, and thus themselves shall be kept from disobedience and apostacy. This is a mean, decrepit, feeble, paltering form of religion. Its expedients are like itself. It is a religion without substance, without honour, without power. We know of no means so capable of preventing this evil, or of checking its growth, as that the maintenance of Christian doctrines and institutions should be left to those who own and submit to them, without any patronage or aid from the secular power; and that they should illustrate, commend, and exemplify them by the heavenliness of their spirit and the sanctity of their lives.

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ART. IV.—*Memoir of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary, M.A., Translator of Dante, with His Literary Journal and Letters.* By his Son, the Rev. Henry Cary, M.A., Worcester College, Oxford. 2 vols. London: Moxon. 1847.

THE life of a scholar, sincerely attached to literary pursuits, though free from the anxieties resulting from dependence on them for subsistence, and of an author, who occupied an honorable station among his contemporaries, though he cannot be placed in a very prominent rank; can scarcely be expected to possess a deep, and general interest. Still, to a

large circle of justly attached friends, such memorials as these volumes contain, are pleasant, nor to the literary world are they without use. We therefore turned over their pages in the hope of finding some characteristics of the literature of a former period, some notices of the writers of that, and of the present day; and some pleasant traits too, of a most amiable man, and refined and elegant scholar, such as was Cary, best known as the admirable translator of 'Dante.'

Henry Francis Cary, the eldest son of Captain Cary, was born at Gibraltar, in 1772. From his earliest years he seems to have been remarkable for a facility of acquiring languages,—having, when only between eight and nine years old, 'attained to a proficiency in Greek and Latin, unusual in so young a child,'—and also, for a most affectionate disposition. After remaining a short time at Rugby and Sutton Coldfield, his scholastic education was finally completed at Birmingham Grammar School. While there, and before he had completed his fifteenth year, young Cary composed and *published* his first poetical effort—an ode addressed to General Elliot, the gallant defender of Gibraltar. This poem seems to have excited some notice. It was lauded in the 'Critical,' at that period the leading review; and, more gratifying still, it was, through the agency of one of his schoolfellows, introduced to the celebrated *coterie*, at Lichfield, where it received the approving smile of 'the muse,' as Mr. Sylvanus Urban, and her lackadaical friends were accustomed to term her, whom the present age simply designates as Anna Seward. An introduction, and an invitation to correspond, swiftly followed; and, as the writer of these memoirs justly says, 'it is not a matter of surprise that a youthful poet should be won over by the blandishments and the praises of one who then occupied a distinguished station in the world of letters.'—such as it was, we add,—so forthwith she gave young Cary 'all the encouragement that her own eminent position enabled her to give,' and kindly superintended both his studies and his poems.

This influence was especially unfortunate in the case of Cary. The texture of his mind and feelings,—indeed, of his whole character, was sufficiently soft and refined, to render the enervating processes of the Lichfield school absolutely injurious. Thus, instead of bracing his powers by familiar converse with our fine elder poets,—to whom, nevertheless, his heart longingly turned,—he was encouraged to write odes and sonnets for insertion in that venerable receptacle of 'gentle dulness,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and induced to submit to have each vigorous expression and word weeded out of his compositions, that they might, forsooth, meet the *genteel* taste

of 'the muse' and her votaries. We have often wondered how this coterie came to honour even the sun and the moon with their poetical compliments, seeing that they are everyday objects. But the pseudo refinement which went near to place half our vocabulary in an *index expurgatorius*, could still, as is often the case, indulge a sufficient latitude as to opinion. And thus we find the poor lad encouraged to look up to Rousseau as his 'Magnus Apollo,' to admire his Heloise, and his Confessions, and to exult in 'the congeniality of our minds, particularly in matters of religion!' as he assures 'the muse' in one of his letters. Happily, the moral feeling of young Cary seems to have preserved him from becoming a *practical* admirer of Rousseau's system; and he grew up a decorous and sober young man.

In 1790, Mr. Cary entered a commoner at Christ Church, Oxford, where he pursued his studies unremittingly, and devoted especial attention to Italian literature. In a letter addressed to Miss Seward, as early as 1792, it is interesting to observe with what urgency he advocates Italian poetry, and especially 'the wonders of Dante's Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso.' At the end of his college career, the selection of a profession was placed before him. His own choice was the army,—not from any military taste, says his biographer, but as a way of indulging his taste for travel. The decision of the father, however, pointed to the church; and, after an interval of anxiety, the son consented to put on the trammels of clerical life, and was ordained, and appointed to the vicarage of Abbots-Bromley, in Staffordshire, in 1796.

From this period to 1805, Mr. Cary's years glided on quietly and pleasantly in the society of his wife and family. The extracts from his literary journals prove him to have been a very extensive reader; but it seems strange, to us, how he should have suffered so much time to pass away without engaging in any literary occupation, save a translation of a portion of Dante, which, however, was not printed until the year first mentioned. The following incident is amusing:—

'An old school and college friend, the Rev. Thomas Pye Waters, of whose amiable eccentricities future letters will give a sufficient account, was driven by his necessities to publish a volume of sermons by subscription, but not having energy to write them himself, called on others, and amongst them on Mr. Cary, to contribute from their own original stores. The volume made its appearance in print early in the year 1800; three of the discourses were from my father's pen, viz., one on Industry, another on the Sabbath Day, and a third on the Works of Nature.

'Connected with the first of the three, I remember an amusing in-

cident that occurred many years afterwards, about 1813. The writer of the sermons was then reader at Berkeley Chapel, in London, the pulpit of which was, according to the custom in proprietary chapels, filled on alternate Sundays by two popular preachers. On our return home one Sunday after morning service, the sermon, as often happens, proved the subject of conversation. Mrs. Cary expressed her admiration of the discourse; but her remarks were only answered by a smile, that *subrisus* which Mr. Digby has remarked as so very expressive in his friend's countenance. At length, when pressed for his opinion and the reason of his smiling, he said, 'I was thinking of the clerk's estimate of the different degrees of importance belonging to the preacher and reader respectively.' He then told us an anecdote, of two strange clergymen being expected at a London chapel: when the first arrived, the clerk, who would proportion the quantum of respect to the dignity of the person whom he addressed, inquired, 'Pray, sir, are you the gentleman that preaches or the man that reads prayers?'

'On reaching home, the above volume of Waters's was produced from its resting-place, and the admired sermon of the morning proved to be the one on Industry above mentioned: and an admirable sermon it is, only too didactic, too moral for these times.'—Vol. i. pp. 119, 120.

Notwithstanding the humor of this, we think the Rev. Mr. Waters could scarcely have possessed a very high sense of honor, to receive charitable contributions from his clerical friends, in the shape of sermons, and then pass them off to his subscribers as his own.

Early in 1805, the first volume of Mr. Cary's translation of Dante's '*Inferno*' appeared, and it was followed by a second volume in the succeeding year.

'In this edition the original is printed with the translation, a plan which, while it enables the reader to test the fidelity of the English version, at the same time much facilitates the study of the most difficult of Italian authors. There is probably no metrical version in our language of any poet, ancient or modern, which would so well bear, in point of faithfulness, at least, to be thus put side by side with its original.

'The success of the publication was not at all answerable to its merit; and the translator had to endure the mortification, common to the most gifted authors, of seeing the fruits of many years of toil received with coldness and indifference. In the '*Critical Review*,' indeed, favourable notice was taken of the translation; but as the article was written by his friend Price, who had already frequently expressed his commendation of the work, praise from such a quarter could not afford much encouragement; and the circulation was chiefly confined to a small number of personal friends, and perhaps a few Italian scholars. Even his friend, Miss Seward, not content with expressing her dis-

taste for the subject of the poem, charged the translation with obscurity and vulgarism.'—*Ib.* pp. 226, 227.

This was, however, no more than might have been expected ; the 'muse,' who pertinaciously placed Ossian above Chaucer and Spenser, was little likely to appreciate the stern dignity and force of the bard who made—

“ Both heaven and hell copartners in his toil ;”

nor the fine nervous English, in which his translator so appropriately clothed his style. A long finical letter, pointing out all its sins against genteel phraseology, was the result ; and we can scarcely blame the biographer for bestowing paper and print upon it, since it produced a most admirable reply, which is also inserted.

In the year 1807, Mr. Cary sustained a severe blow in the death of his youngest daughter. 'Mind and body fell prostrate,' and it was not until after an interval of four years that he was able to continue his literary journal, and complete his translation of Dante, which he began fifteen years before. This literary journal, which is inserted in full in the work before us, presents a very miscellaneous course of reading ; indeed, we are inclined to consider it far too desultory to have been greatly beneficial. Thus, although for amusement's sake, we might allow the relaxation of a 'novel by Charlotte Smith,' or 'the last new poem ;' still we are at a loss to conceive of a course of study in which Herodotus alternated with Moliere and Dante ; Cicero with Clarendon ; or Burnet with Marino and Froissart. After all, we incline to think 'retired leisure' scarcely so advantageous to the literary man, as that stern necessity which *compels* him to pursue the path which his genius has marked out for him.

In the year 1808, while still suffering from his loss, Mr. Cary removed from the country with his family, and some time after became reader at Berkeley Chapel. In the spring of 1813, he resigned this office, and prepared for the publication of his long delayed work.

'His translation of Dante,' as his Journal informs us, 'had been completed on the 8th of May, 1812 ; the intermediate period was almost entirely occupied in appending notes to it. Nearly eight years had elapsed since the publication of his version of the *Inferno* : but the work had attracted very little notice, by no means sufficient to induce a publisher to embark in the expense of printing the whole. My father, therefore, though his means would ill afford such an undertaking, resolved on publishing his translation at his own expense ; but, from the same cause, was under the necessity of having it printed

in a cheap form, one little calculated to attract the notice of critics or the public. The whole was completed in December of this year, 1813, and in its title-page purports to be 'printed for the author, by J. Barfield, 1814.'—*Ib.* pp. 277, 278.

The price was exceedingly low for the period,—only twelve shillings for the three volumes; but the sale lagged heavily. Ere long, however, the death of his only surviving daughter, a young lady of great promise, who had only attained her sixteenth year, cast a blight over his prospects, which the most signal literary success would have been inadequate to remove. The subjoined sonnet, composed a few months after her decease, pathetically exhibits the depth of his sorrow:

'SONNET ON THE DEATH OF HIS DAUGHTER.

'Thrice has the dart of death my peace bereaved;  
First, gentle mother, when it laid thee low,  
Then was my morn of life o'ercast with woe,  
And oft through youth the lonely sigh was heaved.  
But in a child I thought thou wert retrieved;  
She loved me well, nor from my side would go  
Through fields by summer scorched or wintry snow:  
How o'er that little bier at noon I grieved!  
Last when as time has touched my locks with white,  
Another now had learnt to shed fresh balm  
Into the wounds, and with a daughter's name  
Was as a seraph near me, to delight  
Restoring me by wisdom's holy calm.  
Oh, death! I pray thee next a kinder aim.'—*Vol. ii. p. 6.*

The following year, while with his family at Littlehampton, 'one of the most important incidents' of Mr. Cary's life occurred,—his becoming acquainted with Coleridge:

'Several hours of each day were spent by Mr. Cary in reading the classics with the writer of this memoir, who was then only thirteen years of age. After a morning of toil over Greek and Latin composition, it was our custom to walk on the sands and read Homer aloud; a practice adopted partly for the sake of the sea-breezes, and not a little, I believe, in order that the pupil might learn to read *ore rotundo*, having to raise his voice above the noise of the sea that was breaking at our feet. For several consecutive days Coleridge crossed us in our walk. The sound of the Greek, and especially the expressive countenance of the tutor, attracted his notice; so, one day, as we met, he placed himself directly in my father's way, and thus accosted him: 'Sir, yours is a face I *should* know: I am Samuel Taylor Coleridge.' His person was not unknown to my father, who had already pointed him out to me as the great genius of our age and country.

'Our volume of Homer was shut up; but as it was ever Coleridge's custom to speak, it could not be called talking or conversing, on the



subject that first offered itself, whatever it might be; the deep mysteries of the blind bard engaged our attention during the remainder of a long walk. I was too young at that time to carry away with me any but a very vague impression of his wondrous speech. All that I remember is, that I felt as one from whose eyes the scales were just removed, who could discern and enjoy the light, but had not strength of vision to bear its fulness. Till that day I had regarded Homer as merely a book in which boys were to learn Greek; the description of a single combat had occasionally power to interest me; but from this time, I was ever looking for pictures in the poem, endeavouring to realise them to my mind's eye, and especially to trace out virtues and vices as personified in the heroes and deities of the Homeric drama.

'The close of our walk found Coleridge at our family dinner table. Amongst other topics of conversation, Dante's 'divine' poem was mentioned. Coleridge had never heard of my father's translation, but took a copy home with him that night. On the following day, when the two friends (for so they may from the first day of their meeting be called), met for the purpose of taking their daily stroll, Coleridge was able to recite whole pages of the version of Dante, and, though he had not the original with him, repeated passages of that also, and commented on the translation. Before leaving Littlehampton, he expressed his determination to bring the version of Dante into public notice; and this, more than any other single person, he had the means of doing in his course of lectures delivered in London during the winter months.'—*Ib.* pp. 18, 19.

Coleridge amply fulfilled his promise: his tenth lecture being on Dante, he took occasion to notice Mr. Cary's translation; and so persuasively did that 'old man eloquent' recommend it, that after having remained a dead weight on the bookseller's shelves for four years, it was eagerly sought after; a thousand copies were immediately disposed of, and a new edition called for.

The fame of Mr. Cary was at length established; and soon after we find him applied to, to edit a quarterly magazine. This plan was not proceeded with; but, on the appearance of the 'London Magazine,' he became a regular contributor, and also, through it, acquainted with the most popular literary men of the day. Here is a glimpse of one of the 'Magazine dinners,' as they were called:

'At the first of these Magazine dinners, as they were called, held at Mr. Cary's own house, I remember that, among others, Lamb, Kelley the farce-writer, and Clare were present. The conversation, which never flagged, consisted of a strange mixture of learning, wit, and puns, bad and good. The graver talk of the more serious guests was constantly interrupted by the sportive and light jests of Kelley, or a palpable and, to all appearance, school-boy pun of Lamb's; which,

however, was frequently pregnant with a deep meaning not at first observable. At times, the light artillery of the punsters got the better of the heavier ordnance, and all gave in to the joyousness of the moment. Among the rest, I remember that a quotation from one of our elder dramatists provoked a round of puns on the names of various herbs; the last two introduced had been 'mint and anise,' when Lamb sputtered out, 'Now, Cary, it's your turn.' 'It's *coming*,' was the prompt rejoinder. 'Then I won't make another pun to-day,' stammered Lamb.

'To a looker-on, as I was, the most interesting of the party was the peasant Clare. He was dressed in a labourer's holiday suit. The punsters evidently alarmed him; but he listened with the deepest attention to his host. With the cheese had been placed on the table a jug of prime ale, imported for the especial use of Clare. As the servant was removing the glasses, Clare followed him with his eye, let his own glass go without a sign of displeasure; but when the jug was about to follow, it was more than he could bear, and he stretched out both his hands to stop it: the tankard was enough for him—he could dispense with the refinement of a glass.'—*Ib.* pp. 94, 95.

It was in the 'London Magazine' that the short lives of the later English poets, and those delightful notices with extracts, of the French poets of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appeared, in addition to many lighter compositions. He also, about this time, translated the 'Birds' of Aristophanes, which was published in 1824. In June, 1826, Mr. Cary received an appointment, for which, of all others, he was best qualified, that of assistant keeper of the printed books in the British Museum; and here he continued, pleasantly turning over many a curious volume, and in the society of his literary friends, the chief of whom were Lamb and Coleridge, until the close of 1832, which saw the publication of his translation of 'Pindar,' and the severest trial which could possibly befall him,—the death of his affectionate wife.

The first effect of this melancholy blow 'was apparently a stunning of all sensation,' which, after a few days, was succeeded by 'a look of mere childishness, almost approaching to a suspension of vitality.' Delirium subsequently came on, and change of air and scene being recommended by his medical attendants, the trustees of the Museum gave him six months' leave of absence, which was employed in a journey to Rome and Naples, returning by the Rhine and through Holland. During this journey, the memoranda of which are given, Mr. Cary, notwithstanding his heavy affliction, was not unmindful of his duties at the Museum, for we repeatedly find notices of curious works, chiefly Italian, inserted with the added query, 'Are these in the British Museum?' On his return, he resumed the duties of his office, sustaining, however, in the autumn of 1834, another

trial in the death of his friend and companion, Charles Lamb. The lines written by him on receiving back a volume which Lamb had borrowed, with the leaf folded down at the account of Sir Philip Sidney, are very graceful and feeling; but surely a less sceptical allusion to another world would have been more appropriate in verses which celebrated Sidney—a poet and a scholar indeed, but who deemed it his highest honor to be a Christian.

In the spring of 1837, the resignation of Mr. Baber, chief keeper of the printed books in the British Museum, took place, and Mr. Cary naturally expected to succeed to the vacant office. To the surprise, however, of himself and his friends—indeed, of the whole literary world—Mr. Panizzi, his subordinate, was appointed. An indignant letter to the Lord Chancellor, to whose agency it was tolerably well understood Mr. Panizzi owed his appointment, was the first notice taken of this unjust proceeding by Mr. Cary. But the appointment was made; and the strangely wayward, and capricious, though gifted man, who then held the office of Lord Chancellor, with that pertinacity which he so frequently displayed, though, alas! seldom in a worthy cause, refused either to assign a reason for his conduct or to answer Mr. Cary's repeated letters. The circumstance that Mr. Cary's liberal politics had been a bar to his advancement in the church, might, we should have thought, have pleaded with Henry Brougham in his favor; but the Italian *protege* was the last new favourite, and we need not remark how commanding an influence the *last new* anything exercises over his mind. At the distance of ten years from this angrily agitated question, we may be allowed to say, that the advantages of Mr. Panizzi's appointment, so ostentatiously insisted upon, are as problematical as ever. The benefits which he was to confer on the world of letters are as yet unknown; while the advantages, which the students in the reading room were to derive from his superintendence, are quite as much so. The catalogue has not yet reached D; so that, unless Mr. Panizzi's life is lengthened out to more than a double span, he will never behold the completion—not of a classed catalogue, that most valuable boon to the many laborious readers to whom time is wealth—but one which merely places books of all sorts and sizes in alphabetical order. The appointments at this great national institution have, indeed, been proofs of the mischief of irresponsible management. Public opinion has, however, spoken of late with a loud voice, and in later instances we perceive that voice has been listened to.

On Mr. Cary's indignant resignation, he 'recurred to a plan which he had entertained many years before, of writing a history

of Italian poetry from the earliest period.' This task, for which of all others he was best suited, was, however, laid aside, its extent being too great to afford a prospect of completion in the lifetime of a writer already arrived at the age of sixty-five. He accordingly entered into an engagement with Mr. Smith, the publisher, to edit a series of English poets in a cheap form.

'This may seem a very trifling employment for one capable of so much; but he was able to bring to his task an accuracy of taste and a degree of critical acumen which could be surpassed by few; and I have little doubt that if the pains he took with his authors, and the uniform system he has followed with them, were generally known, future editors of the same authors would not hesitate to adopt his text for future editions of the same works. His plan was to make use of that text which had received the author's own last revision, and on no account to restore older readings which the author had himself rejected, nor adopt the (so-called) emendations of subsequent editors. Added to this, he observed one uniform system of spelling, except the metre or rhyme obviously required a different mode. The most remarkable of his rules was this, that in the past tenses of verbs the final *e*, where the present tense ends in *e*, should never be cut off, but should be so where the verb in its present tense ended with a consonant, and the last syllable was not separately pronounced; a rule which, if I mistake not, Cowper had before observed.

'To the poems of each writer he prefixed a short life. In this series he edited the poetical works of Milton, Dryden, Pope, Young, Thomson, and Cowper. The continuation of the work was interrupted by want of sufficient encouragement.'—*Ib.* pp. 290, 291.

In 1841, after many ineffectual attempts of his friends, among whom Mr. Rogers was honorably distinguished, to procure him some situation or pension, Mr. Cary was at length placed by Lord Melbourne on the pension list, for £200 per annum. This, in addition to the property inherited from his father, rendered his circumstances comfortable for the short remainder of his days, which he divided between visits to his son at Oxford, to the sea-side, and in the pursuits of literature.

His visit to Sandgate in 1843 was his last. He returned to town, continued tolerably well during the winter and spring, but died on the 14th of August, 1844, after a very short illness. From any remarks on Mr. Cary in his ministerial character we purposely abstain, since what we consider wrong we must attribute to the system, as indeed inseparable from a church establishment. Our task has been with Mr. Cary, the scholar, the gentleman, and the poet, whose original compositions were always characterized by much grace and sweetness, and whose translations are almost unrivalled for clearness and spirit.

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ART. V.—*The Image Worship of the Church of Rome proved to be contrary to Holy Scripture and the Faith and Discipline of the Primitive Church.* By J. Endell Tyler, B.D. London: Rivington. 1847.

To one who has studied the Bible and read the records of the primitive church, there is no anomaly in the history of mankind more strange than the pretension of Romanism to identify itself with Christianity. We were going to say, that by a sort of transmigration of souls and of gods, the whole *dramatis personæ* of Olympus passed over to the church, and thenceforth existed under Christian forms. But this would not be correct; the forms as well as the divinities were pagan. The change was merely one of nomenclature. By the spurious Christianity of the dark ages, paganism was not exterminated, but incorporated. The result was a hybrid system, as different from the gospel as possible. Had the Christian teachers retained their integrity, and been faithful stewards of the truth, instead of well-meaning traitors, admitting an irreconcilable enemy into the house of God, and fancying he was converted into a friend by changing his name and his garb,—the world would have been conquered by the church. But so thoroughly was she invaded, so basely did she surrender, so servilely did she bow to the yoke, that the thing which she called orthodoxy became the antithesis of Christianity; and she was obliged to denounce truth as heresy, in order to cover the guilt of her departure from the faith.

The author of the work now under our notice, has published two other highly useful volumes. The first on the *Primitive Worship of the Church of Christ*, and the second on *The Romish Worship of the Virgin Mary*. The three volumes form an excellent history of the apostacy on the subjects to which they relate. They abound in indubitable facts, clear statements, and sound arguments; and though the author is a strict and even a high churchman, he is a sound protestant, and writes in a very temperate spirit. It is impossible for any mind with the least candour to resist the evidence which he adduces against the doctrines and practices of the church of Rome. It is a good idea to fix upon a particular subject, such as the worship of the Virgin Mary, or the worship of images, and, in connexion with it, to trace the progress of innovation and corruption from the earliest times. This unity of object makes a more distinct impression upon the reader's mind; and when the history of a great popular error is fairly and candidly written by one to whom the facts of the case are well known, conviction is more likely to be carried to the conscience, than by an abstract argu-

ment. We believe Mr. Tyler was led to write these works in order to guard his church against the insidious encroachments of Romanism, under the guise of Tractarianism. The Puseyites have evinced a dangerous hankering after Mariolatry and image worship. They have furnished some of the most beautiful hymns extant in honour of the Virgin; and not a few of them have shown a strong disposition to beguile their congregations into the still more stupid idolatry of image worship. We hope, therefore, these works will have a large circulation among churchmen. The two former volumes were published by the *Christian Knowledge Society*; why they have not also adopted this one, we do not know. We hope it is not because one of the general councils of the united church of east and west is therein convicted of the grossest ignorance, superstition, fraud, and intolerance.

When we hear learned and influential advocates of Romanism defending their doctrines, and trying to explain them away, in order to obviate the charges of protestants, and to accommodate the system to the meridian and the time, we are conscious of a painful feeling of perplexity. Do these men really hold the doctrines which they solemnly deny? Or do they see no harm in a wilful misstatement of well known facts? Bishops Baines and Wiseman have given astounding instances of this bad faith, in regard to the present subject. But we reserve their statements till we shall have briefly sketched the rise and progress of image worship, and ascertained, beyond doubt, what is the doctrine to which these doctors were sworn.

Nothing can be more decisive and emphatic than the condemnation of all religious use of images in the Old Testament. An attempt is made to evade the force of the second commandment, by alleging that it forbids only the making of idols in opposition to Jehovah; and that according to a stupid distinction made by the second Council of Nice, the prohibition refers not to the 'worship' of the body, but the 'service' of the soul. But these men were wilfully deaf to the law of the Lord. 'Take ye, therefore, good heed to yourselves,' says Moses; 'for ye saw *no manner of similitude* on the day when the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire; lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female,' Deut. iv. 15, 16.

Pope Gregory II. represents David as bringing the brazen serpent, with the holy ark, into the temple, which was not built till after that king's death. This serpent, like the cross, was the symbol of a great deliverance; but instead of stirring up the people's minds, by way of remembrance, it became, like the cross, an object of worship. The children of Israel burned in-

cense to it. Therefore, in breaking it to pieces, Hezekiah did what was 'right in the sight of the Lord.' If Roman catholics went and did likewise, what cartloads of holy lumber would be borne out of their churches!

Bellarmino and others contend that the cherubim were placed over the mercy seat to be worshipped by the people. But they forget that they were in the most holy place, which the people never entered; and that there is no record of their having ever been worshipped. If they were, we may be sure they would have shared the fate of the brazen serpent or the golden calf. They also assert that Jacob worshipped the top of Joseph's staff, resting an argument on a mistranslation, which if correct, would only prove that Jacob did civil homage to his son's sceptre, according to the dream. This is the sense in which Chrysostom understood the passage. But the reading varies according to the different Hebrew pointing; and it is difficult to decide whether we should say he worshipped, 'leaning upon the top of his staff,' or 'towards the head of the bed;' in either case, God must have been the object of his grateful adoration. This St. Augustine distinctly asserts.

If no images were allowed in the symbolic and ceremonial worship of the old dispensation, of course we need not expect them under the New Testament economy, when the true worshippers were to worship the Father in spirit and in truth. As little trace do we find of the practice in the primitive churches for several centuries, during which the Christian pastors anxiously laboured to preserve their worship from the least mixture of pagan impurity;—no easy task, when we consider the propensity of the corrupt and ignorant mind of man to worship what is visible, and to be the slave of his senses, even in things that are least earthly in their nature.

The history of the first five centuries of the Christian era, is marked by a total absence of any intimation that pictures or statues were admitted into the churches as objects of worship. The worship paid to images by the heathen is everywhere condemned in language so unreserved and so universally comprehensive, and with such illustrations and reasonings, as must have required exceptions and distinctions to be made, if there were *any* religious use of images recognised as allowable. The style of the early fathers on this subject is utterly incompatible with the existence in their churches of the images of our Saviour or the Virgin Mary. If there were any such, the heathen assailants of Christianity would have retorted, and said: 'Physician, heal thyself.' And, moreover, so soon as images began to appear in churches, they were strongly condemned by the highest authorities of the time. The only images of the invisible God which these men

acknowledged, were Jesus Christ, and the renewed soul of man. The Carpocratian heretics were the first to introduce the image of Christ as an object of worship; having set it up with the images of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and others.

The *rationale* of image worship is well expressed by Clement of Alexandria (about A.D. 180), as follows: 'Moses, long before, had expressly enacted that no statue or image must be made, either graven or molten, or of clay, or painted, that we might not give ourselves to objects of sense, but pass on to objects to be contemplated by the mind. For the familiarity of sight, always at hand, lessens the majesty of God, and makes it cheap; and to worship the intellectual essence through matter, is to dishonour it through sense,'—Strom. lib. v. cap. vi.

Origen, and other fathers, who flourished about his time, in exposing and ridiculing the folly of image worship among the heathen, addressed to them, just such arguments as protestants do now to Roman catholics; for it is evident that the heathens defended their practice on exactly the same grounds as their modern imitators:

'What sensible person,' demands Origen, 'would not laugh at a man, who after such and so many dissertations on God or gods, looks to images, and either offers up his prayers to them, *or beholding them, refers it to the Being* contemplated in his mind, to whom he fancies that he ought to ascend, from that which is seen, and which is the symbol of him.'—'But the Christian, even the unlearned, is persuaded that every place of the world is a part of the whole, the whole world being God's temple; and in every place praying, closing the eyes of sense, and lifting up those of the soul, mounts up beyond the whole world, and does not stop even at the arch of heaven, but in his soul rising into the place above the heavens, led by the Spirit of God, and being as it were beyond the world, sends up his prayers to God.'—Cont. Cels. lib. vii. cap. 44.

How applicable is the irony of Arnobius to the subterfuge of Roman catholics, who say as the heathen did—'We worship not the image, but that which it represents.' He represents them as objecting thus:—

'You are mistaken, and are in error; for we do not consider materials of brass or silver or gold, or other things of which the statues are made to be *of themselves* gods or sacred divinities, but in these materials we worship and venerate those gods whom the holy dedication brings in, and causes to dwell in the images wrought by the craftsman. No bad or contemptible reason why any one, whether dull or most wise, could believe that the gods, leaving their own abode, that is, heaven, do not refuse or avoid to enter into little earthly habitations! Nay, moreover, that by the rite of dedication,



they are compelled to acquiesce in an union with images! Do gods take up their abodes in gypsum and tiles—nay, are your the minds, spirits, and souls of tiles and gypsum? and do they order that the vilest things may become more sacred, suffer themselves to be shut up, and lie hidden within the restraint of an obdwellling?"

When we read the following passage, we are irresistibly to think of the thousands of miraculous images of the Virgin Mary throughout the world. 'Let us suppose that there ten thousand images of Vulcan in the whole world. Is it competent for one person to be in those ten thousand at one time (p. 137.)

In the same manner reasoned all the Fathers, down to the sixth century. Towards the end of the fifth, Pope Leo I. in similar language, condemning the folly of those who imagined God could be worshipped through any object of sense. But it was difficult to keep ill-instructed converts from bringing their heathenish superstitions into the church with them. Tutelary household gods, seemed necessary to their peace. Their superstices were favoured by the practice which began to grow round early, of introducing the statues and pictures of martyrs and other distinguished men, into the places of worship. These objects were admired, then venerated, then adored, with the sanction of the authorities, just as they are by the more or less intelligent of the people now.

The abuse had become so gross at Marseilles, that Seleucus, the intelligent and zealous bishop of that place, had the images all taken out of the churches, and destroyed. On this account as we learn from Pope Gregory's 'Letters,' the flock scattered abroad, the idolators walked no more with him. Gregory praised him for having forbidden the images to be worshipped; but blamed his 'indiscreet zeal' in breaking them. He said they should have been removed with 'due veneration.' They had come, it seems, to be regarded as 'the books of the ignorant.'

'You must,' writes Gregory (A.D. 600), 'call together the dispersed sons of the church, and show them, by proofs of Holy Scripture, that it is unlawful for anything made with hands to be worshipped; since it is written, 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God and him only shalt thou serve.' And then you must add, that paintings of images were formed for the edification of the unlearned, that being ignorant of letters, they might by seeing the story, learn what has been done; and that because you saw it passed into worship, you were moved to order the images to be broken. . . . If any one desires to have images, by no means forbid him; but all means forbid images to be worshipped.'—Lib. xi. Ep. 13, p. 10

The letters of this pope show, that corruption had made great progress among professing Christians at this time. He was so intent on magnifying his office, and in enlarging his power, that he gladly availed himself of every weakness and error of the human mind to promote this object. He was the patron of superstitions and prodigies of all kinds. His 'Sacred Keys from the body of the holy apostle St. Peter, wont to shine forth with many miracles upon the sick,' were sent as presents to all those who could aid him in the establishment of his supremacy. The evil gained ground fast. Pagan corruption rushed into the sanctuary like a torrent. Celebrated images enriched rapidly the churches and monasteries where they were enshrined. False miracles were invented with an industry which surpassed the most sanguine expectations of the father of lies. Mahometans were scandalized, heathens jeered in triumph. About the year 730, the Emperor Leo III. published an edict against image-worship, and used the power of the sword for its abolition. This led to the most disastrous consequences. The popes inflamed the popular resentment; the people renounced their allegiance, and trampled on the statues of their sovereign.

His son Constantine carried on the work with equal zeal, but more moderation. He called a council of Eastern bishops, who, to the number of three hundred and thirty-eight, assembled in Constantinople. They with one voice decreed, that 'every image, of whatever materials made, by the evil art of painters, is to be cast away from the church as strange and abominable.'

Leo IV. followed in the steps of his father, notwithstanding the violent opposition of many of his bishops. He was supposed to have been carried off by poison, to clear the throne for his wife Irene, who was a sovereign after the pope's heart, with whom she entered into a close alliance. The result was, the summoning of the second council of Nice, as ignorant and bigotted an assembly as ever misnamed itself a council. There new and old Rome laid aside their jealousies, and combined against the truth. There was no discussion allowed. Those bishops who had opposed the worship of images, were obliged to purge themselves from the guilt of heresy by a solemn recantation, before they were allowed to take their seats. Authorities, on the other side, such as Eusebius, were mentioned only to be repudiated and cursed. After quoting a number of spurious passages from the alleged writings of the Fathers, and a number of imaginary miracles wrought by images—some of them too ridiculous for a child to believe—the wily representatives of the pope, resolving to commit the Orientals irretrievably, suggested

that an image should be set up and adored by the whole council, which was done accordingly.

The decrees of this assembly met with great opposition in the West, especially in England and France. But the tide of error rolled on resistless. It was an age of profound ignorance and barbarism. The papal power was predominant, and an idol-worship as gross as ever defiled pagan lands, overspread the face of Christendom.

We shall conclude by extracting a few authorities, to show the course of error on this subject,—what the real doctrine of the church of Rome is, and what its modern advocates would falsely represent it to be, in spite of the evidence of our senses, which in all Roman catholic countries, but too painfully testifies to the pernicious character of the teaching.

The contradictory nature of the authorities will furnish an apt illustration of the *unity* of the church, and the harmony of her doctrines. It is said, indeed, that the use of images is only a matter of discipline. But if so, how did it happen that those who refused to bow down to them were anathematized, and burned as heretics, as they might have been by law in England, before the Reformation?

‘COUNCIL OF ELIBERIS, A.D. 306.

‘It is decreed that no images be admitted into churches, lest the object of religious worship come to be painted on the walls.’—Conc. Gen. tom. p. 997.

‘POPE GREGORY THE GREAT, A.D. 598.

‘By all means admit images to be placed in the churches for the edification of the unlearned. But show by proofs of Holy Scripture, that it is unlawful to worship anything made with hands; for it is written, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.’ By all means forbid images to be worshipped.’—Epist. Lib. ix. Ep. vi. vol. ii. p. 930.

‘SECOND NICENE COUNCIL, A.D. 787.

‘Anathema to those who quote against the sacred images the words used in Scripture against idols.

‘We venerate, worship, and adore the sacred images.

‘Let no one be offended by the idea of worship; for it is said, ‘Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.’ The expression ‘ONLY’ is applied solely to the second word, ‘serve,’ not to the word ‘worship.’ We may therefore *worship* the images, provided we do not serve them.

‘All persons who profess to honour the sacred images, but refuse to worship them, do dishonour them, and are guilty of hypocrisy.

‘ ‘ But we must not worship the images with *latría*,’—the supreme divine worship due only to God Almighty.’

‘ THOMAS AQUINAS, A.D. 1260 ; BONAVENTURA, A.D. 1270 ;  
LYNDWODE, 1425 ; NACLANTUS, A.D. 1567 ; DOTTRINA CHRIS-  
TIANA, A.D. 1837, &c.

‘ ‘ To the image the same worship is due, which is due to the person of which it is the image. The cross and the image of Christ, must be worshipped with the self-same supreme worship, ‘*latría*,’ with which Christ himself is adored.’

‘ ‘ The faithful in the church do not only worship before the image, (as some, for caution-sake, affirm,) but they do worship the image itself, without any conceivable scruple whatever. Nay, they must worship the image with the worship of right due to the prototype or original being. So that, if the original being is to be worshipped with ‘*latría*,’ (supreme divine worship,) the image must also be adored with the same ‘*latría*.’—See pp. 66, 67, 76, 83.

‘ ROMÁN RITUAL OF THE PRESENT DAY, A.D. 1847.

‘ *Roman Breviary* (Sept. 14th and May 3rd.)

‘ Hail ! O thou Cross ! our only hope ! To the pious do thou multiply grace ; and for the guilty, blot out their sins.

‘ O thou Cross, do thou save the present congregation assembled for thy praise.

‘ ‘ The King is exalted to the sky, while the noble trophy of the Cross is ADORED by all the worshippers of Christ for ever.’

‘ *Roman Pontifical* (Rome, 1591, p. 671.)

‘ ‘ LATRIA ’ (the supreme divine adoration) ‘ is due to the cross.’

‘ *Roman Missal* (Antwerp, 1641. p. 201.)

‘ ‘ Adoration of the Cross.’

‘ ‘ The priest at the middle of the altar uncovers the cross, and says, ‘ Behold the wood of the cross ! Come, let us adore ! ’ The priest then, kneeling, fixes it in front of the altar, and putting off his shoes, approaches to ADORE the cross, kneeling thrice before he kisses it. Then the clergy, and then the laity, two and two, approach, and kneeling thrice, ADORE the Cross.’—See pp. 83, 84, 85.

Let the reader compare these authorities past and present, to which all Roman catholic bishops are bound, with the solemn declarations of Drs. Baines and Wiseman, before the protestant people of England, and ask himself, what must be thought of the honesty of such teachers ?

‘ *Bishop Baines*, 1827.

‘ ‘ Is it possible that any one of you should persuade yourselves, that the most ignorant catholic could be capable of adoring the ivory

image which you see upon that altar? Anathema to the man who gives to an image divine honours, or prays to it.'

'Dr. Wiseman, 1837.

'If I stood before the image of any one whom I had loved and had lost, fixed in veneration and affection, no one would surely say that I was superstitious or idolatrous in its regard. SUCH is PRECISELY ALL that the Catholic is taught to believe regarding images or pictures set up in churches.'—Lect. xiii.

ART. VI.—I. *The Address of Sir Henry Pottinger to the Cape Frontier Farmers, on the 12th of July, 1847. Extracts from the Cape Newspapers.*

2. *The Proceedings of the Aborigines Protection Society for 1847.* London: 1847.
3. *The Caffre War. House of Commons' Papers, 1837.*
4. *Caffre Correspondence. 1847. No. 786.*
5. *The 'London Gazette,' 10th September, 1847.*

THE appointment of the successor to Sir Henry Pottinger in the government of the Cape of Good Hope, announced in the 'Gazette' of the 10th of September, carries back the affairs of South Africa exactly to the position in which they stood eleven years ago. This fact is well worth attention, in all its bearings. It is nothing less than the open abandonment of a great endeavour to reconcile the progress of British power with the principles of a humane system, successful as far as that system was fairly carried; and not completely successful, only because it was long ago shaken to its very foundations by the gross neglect of the Colonial Office. It is, moreover, a formal return to the system of simple force and conquest, hitherto always costly and cruel, and often unsuccessful.

This remarkable fact occurs, too, under the colonial ministry of Earl Grey, the warm advocate of African philanthropy, and a speaker at the meetings in favour of the Niger expedition. The humane system thus formally abandoned, originated with a committee of the House of Commons, which devoted three sessions almost exclusively to the consideration of South African, and especially Caffre affairs; and the present Under-

Secretary of State, Mr. Hawes, was a member of that committee, whilst his colleague, Mr. James Stephen, wrote a paper in the 'Edinburgh Review' for January, 1836, to expose the opposite system of violence and conquest in Caffreland.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies, in 1837, was Lord Glenelg; but Lord John Russell was a member of the *cabinet* which, after very anxious deliberation, adopted Lord Glenelg's humane and wise views; and among the members of the present cabinet which has deliberately abandoned those views, is Sir G. Grey, a philanthropist, and in 1837 Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Here, then, is a complication of men and measures only to be unravelled by an unsparing scrutiny into both. Fortunately the new Parliament has members eminently qualified by their knowledge of the particular case of the Caffre frontier, and by their general, colonial, and Indian experience, to do parliamentary justice to that case. Mr. Bagshaw, the member for Harwich, Mr. Charles Lushington, and Colonel Thompson, were all upon the aborigines committee of 1835-6-7\*; and proper efforts to rouse public attention to the subject cannot fail to secure its full examination in the present session. The famous instance of the Caribbs of St. Vincent's saved by the energy of Granville Sharp from military execution in the last century, shows what one zealous man can affect in the cause of humanity.

In the mean time the history of the subject must be gleaned from the loose details furnished by colonial newspapers, and by a few despatches of 1846 from the late governor of the Cape, Sir Peregrine Maitland, laid before Parliament in the spring, by Earl Grey, who has indiscreetly adopted the practice of his predecessors in keeping Cape affairs, in a great measure, secret.

Sir Henry Pottinger has issued an address, which places the present state of things on the Caffre frontier in a clear light, and sends him to his more tranquil government of Madras, shorn of much of the glory with which he was justly adorned when proceeding last year to the Cape. His glaring errors must be exposed not so much for the sake of his successors, who will respect him as little as he has respected his predecessor, as in order that his rash and unfounded judgment respecting our barbarous neighbours, may be met at once by direct denial and by refutation.

The war begun in April, 1846, *by us*, is still raging on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony. Its influence is said to

\* The other members of the committee were, Mr. Hindley, Mr. Serjeant Jackson, the late Sir Rufane Donkin, Mr. Handley, Mr. Hawes, Sir George Grey, the late Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Mr. Johnstone.

have spread as far as the populous tribes at Natal; which remote reaction of frontier disasters is a new event in South African politics. Sir Henry Pottinger, who, after professing, in England, rigorous impartiality between all parties, opened the government with a declaration of hostility, and of almost unprecedented violence against the Caffres, has seen the affairs of the frontiers grow worse and worse during his short command. His first act was followed up by a most imprudent refusal of a personal conference with the Caffre chiefs. Ill-planned military expeditions followed; and he is now visiting on those unfortunate men the damage to his own reputation, which he perceives to be irrecoverably lost. The Caffres are neither conciliated nor conquered. The colonists are in despair. Under these circumstances, a body of the latter, in July last, declared to Sir Henry Pottinger their determination to emigrate to the *North East* (the direction of the emigration of many thousands of Cape colonists since 1836), unless their families should be protected.

To this threat, formally conveyed to Sir Henry Pottinger, he has made a very singular reply, of which two versions are published in the newspapers. One version is in these words:—

‘I will never relinquish my trust until I have effectually subjugated the Caffre tribes, and secured the permanent tranquillity of the colony. I am persuaded that Her Majesty’s government still labour under the most erroneous impressions with regard to the great questions at issue, and the true character and conduct of the parties immediately concerned. *I have devoted a large portion of my time to the task of disabusing the home government of those false impressions, and endeavouring to show that the task imposed upon me is nothing less than the suppression of numerous bands of robbers.*’ When my plans are matured, and the time for action has arrived, the public shall not be apprized thereof.’

Another version of this address is as follows:—

‘The Caffres continued their accustomed depredations, and the settlers were loud in their complaints at the insufficiency of the means of protection which the government afforded them. With reference to this matter several deputations had waited upon Sir H. Pottinger, which, it appears, were at first unsuccessful in obtaining an interview. One, however, was at length granted, when his excellency excused himself by stating, that such was the press of matters with which he was overwhelmed, that he was frequently compelled to decline visits even of the Commander of the Forces and the Lieutenant-Governor, though calling on business. Sir Henry’s observations upon this occasion are highly important, as they bring before us at a glance the present state of our relations with the Caffre tribes, and indicate the measures which it is intended to pursue. He said he could

assure the deputation that no man could have the interest of the frontier more at heart, and could be more laboriously employed for its welfare, than he; and that no individual could tell him more regarding the position of the farmers, their sufferings and losses, than he had already written to Her Majesty's Secretary of State, so that *the voice of the colonists would be heard at home*. Too much was, however, expected from him; and the frontier press had not done him justice. The late affair at Burn's Hill had been magnified and misrepresented. People appeared to think that the name of governor or high commissioner was sufficient to enable one to do anything. It must be clear to every one who had looked into the subject, that he was not dealing with a nation, but with hordes of robbers, and that it was in vain to expect a total cessation of robberies, or permanent peace, *until the Caffres were entirely subdued. The chiefs had no power over their followers, except for evil*; and until they were brought to that state of subjugation, that we could punish them immediately upon the commission of any offence, there would be no permanent peace. The Gaika tribes were the worst, and Sandilla the worst of all; the southern tribes were not so bad. He (the high commissioner) could conclude a peace to-morrow, if he chose, but that would not be a peace which would bring permanent security to the frontier. *Expense was no object*; efficiency was what he required, and this he was gradually acquiring; and when all his arrangements were complete, the country would be informed of it. But he had a difficult task, and too much ought not to be expected of him. He must, however, be allowed to do his work in his own way, and according to the means at his disposal. He did not wish to conceal what must be known, that *when Sir Peregrine Maitland left the colony he made it appear that the Caffres were entirely subdued, and that peace would soon follow. Such, however, was not the case*; the Caffres were not yet sufficiently humbled to enable him to establish a satisfactory peace with them. A false step in politics, said his excellency, was as bad as in war; and *had the wiser measures of Sir B. D'Urban not been subverted, the present state of things would, in all probability, never have taken place*, and the force which would now be required to be kept up on the frontier would be much larger than the British government expected. His excellency assured the deputation that he required no urging on; he *felt that his public character was at stake*, and no exertions which he was capable of would be wanting to bring matters to a satisfactory issue. The foregoing observation of Sir Henry Pottinger appears to have given very general satisfaction.'

The dates of Sir Henry Pottinger's declarations betray their rashness. Within a week of his arrival at the Cape, he took the side of those of his predecessors, whom Parliament had already condemned; and pronounced, off-hand, the Caffres to be 'irreclaimable,' a term well known to Cape history, whenever the frontier tribes were to be encroached on by the local government. Thus this new governor, who had in En-



gland ostentatiously professed to be ignorant of that Caff history, nevertheless ventured to settle one of its most controverted points, without having enjoyed on the spot the means of knowing personally the leaders of the tribes to which we have made war, and even without seeing the sever experienced men of different opinions, who for more than thirty years have been familiar with Cape-border affairs. He has not ended by recommending the revival of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's vain attempt of 1836, to rule the Caffres by force, an attempt founded on the assertion so adopted by Sir Henry Pottinger. To justify this recommendation he declares, contrary to the best recent evidence, that 'the Caffre chiefs have no power over their followers except for evil.' The testimony of Sir Peregrine Maitland, given at the very moment he made war against the Caffres, and so given under circumstances which relieve from all suspicion of partiality, is a complete negative to the declaration. In Sir Peregrine's manifesto of war, he expressly stated that the Caffre chiefs had readily agreed to prevent a plunder by seconding his measures to that end; and that the Caffres long faithfully kept their engagement. It was only, he added, when the police, which *we* were pledged to keep up, was withdrawn from the frontier, that Caffre marauding revived. He withdrew the troops from the Caffre frontier, because they were wanted to quell disturbances made by white men to the north-east, long, even more grossly neglected than that frontier by the Colonial Office. The best hopes of African civilization ever conceived, and the wisest measures for its advancement ever planned, have been disappointed in that quarter through official ignorance in Downing-street.

A volume might be written to the same effect. The Caffres, both chiefs and people, do not differ from other pastoral barbarians eager for progress. A civilized neighbour should encourage their virtues by a humane and vigorous policy, and not aggravate their vices by alternate feebleness and brutal violence.

The measures of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, cited and approved by Sir Henry Pottinger, were measures of vindictive conquest, holding out the miracle of rapid civilization in return for enormous oppression. These measures were reversed by the home government as both unwise and unjust, being calculated to occasion great expense to the British treasury, as well as to rouse the angry passions of the Caffres. They had already led to new and dangerous border outbreaks, when the restoration of their country to the Caffres secured nine years of peace to the colony. This act was the result of grave deliberation. The subject was examined with much care by a committee of the House of Commons and by the Cabinet. Such a restoration of

conquest was perhaps unprecedented in colonial history. The usual course had been, for the home government to express strong disapproval of colonial aggressions on our barbarous neighbours, but to keep the lands which had been unjustly seized. Whether the border-system acted thereupon for nine years, was not too complex, may be doubted. The Caffres, however, are not to be charged with an obstinate adherence to all its points. On two solemn occasions—first, under Sir George Napier; secondly, under Sir Peregrine Maitland; they deliberately agreed to reasonable changes.

One false principle damaged the benevolent settlement of 1837; namely, the principle of perpetual separation which it involved of the Caffres from the colonists, instead of aiming at their peaceful, political, and social amalgamation. The idea of severing barbarians from any civilized neighbour, in order to protect them from his bad influence, was then carried to a most absurd extent by many. It is the basis of Mr. James Stephen's theory in the 'Edinburgh Review': and it was developed in the following year by the House of Commons so far as to discourage treaties with them. It constituted the main ground of opposition to the systematic civilization of New Zealand in 1838. It was carried to the climax of error in its application to the unhappy Niger expedition. But so mischievous an opinion must have been corrected by the happy results of humane and just policy on the latter frontier, in 1837, if the philanthropists whose efforts had introduced that policy, and the House of Commons which had warmly sanctioned it, had not for nine years abandoned the whole case to the Colonial Office.

Other events in South Africa of immense importance, namely, migrations of the colonists to the amount of ten thousand; their sanguinary wars with native African tribes under the most disastrous circumstances on both sides; the acquisition and settlement of Natal, a colony as extensive and more valuable than Scotland, have meanwhile been going on; and parliament knows less of the matter than of the routine of the military parades in Gibraltar. The inevitable consequence of such indifference is, that the Secretary of State has all this time, also, laboured under most deplorable ignorance on the subject. But to have followed up the parliamentary proceedings of 1835, 1836, and 1837, respecting the Caffre frontier with an utter parliamentary silence until 1847, is an example of bureaucratic daring never equalled. It is only to be accounted for by the experience of impunity; and the same misfeasance of official duty will continue until steps be taken in the new parliament to unrip the past, and to secure future safety by exposing the delinquents.

It was a memorable instance of the effect of parliamentary inattention to great colonial subjects like these, that the Governor of the Cape, Sir P. Maitland, could not get an answer from the Colonial Office, to his urgent call for counsel upon this. This is a fact which has come out in the last papers laid before parliament. With a proper communication of such intelligence many disclosures might be expected.

Earl Grey was to turn over a new leaf. On the contrary he has at once adopted the rash opinion of Sir H. Pottinger in favour of Sir B. D'Urban's measures of 1835, as with equal precipitation he sanctioned Sir P. Maitland's unjust war of 1816. The appointment of Sir Harry Smith, the successful Indian general, settles that point. He was the lieutenant of Sir B. D'Urban in the execution of those measures; and a semi-official article in the 'Times,' of the 16th of September opens a train of most painful reflections on this appointment, fully explaining how Earl Grey was induced to make it. The true state of things on the Caffre frontier in 1836 was obviously kept out of his sight; and he shared the ignorance of parliament respecting those things.

'A great nation,' says this article, 'is set at nought by a heathen tribe, alleging for its outrages full justification, and a good cause.'

After anticipating an easy victory over the Caffres, the writer admits, that the more arduous task remains of—

'Mediating between the just claims of the colonists, and the rights of a barbarous, but defenceless neighbour, without conceiving anything childishly to *preposterous* sympathy with the propensities of uncivilised natives. A defensible frontier must be had. If it is pleaded—and the plea is plausible—that it would ill become the British nation to proceed on the right of conquest, and to wrest violence from a barbarous tribe its hereditary or acknowledged possessions, *let adequate compensation be made for any such territorial acquisition as may be deemed necessary for future peace.* The most violent philanthropist would hardly say, that the laws of nature are harshly strained if a civilised people demanded imperatively an effective barrier against an uncivilised and irresponsible neighbour—at some cost to the latter, it might be, but with the compensation that could be devised for the surrender.

'If it be true, as alleged on various occasions, that the stern policy of Sir Benjamin D'Urban did not, in reality, secure the property of the colony, or control the expense of the crown more efficiently than *the recent alternations of concession and war*, such fact can only prove that the system for controlling the Caffres remains yet to be covered.'

The writer of these crafty lines then declares without scruple

that a fearful conflict under Sir Benjamin D'Urban's lieutenant, Sir Harry Smith, must be submitted to by us, and by our feeble neighbours, before the nobler works of conciliation and justice, which it is here ventured to talk about, *can be begun!*

But suppose the facts of the case are misrepresented in this statement. Suppose the Caffre frontier to have presented no '*recent alternations of concession and war.*' Suppose the one single concession of 1835 and 1836, under Lord Glenelg, to have produced substantial peace for nine years; and the war of 1846 to have been brought on by a disregard of common prudence in the Colonial Office in Downing-street from 1837 to 1847. Suppose, moreover, that the abandonment of the war now, would secure peace as the abandonment of the conquest of 1836 did. Suppose all these points to be correct to the letter, and capable of being established before a committee of parliament—then a very different conclusion, indeed, must be arrived at than that which justifies Sir H. Smith's new career of Caffre slaughter.

Sir H. Pottinger says he has been busy in preparing for fresh campaigns utterly to subdue the Caffres, without reckoning the cost of human life or of British treasure. His successor is sent out to *begin* by conquering Caffreland at all hazard. Even if he shall succeed, how fearful will the price be! He may fail—a more fearful alternative—which it is far wiser to contemplate than to despise.

Sir H. Pottinger has sadly crowned his career of African error. Before his successor arrives at the Cape, he will have done a large part of that successor's bloody work. On the 26th of August last, he proclaimed Sandilli, **A REBEL**:—Sandilli, the son and successor of our old ally Gaika, Sir John Barrow's young hero of 1797, and whose *independence* of the crown of England is as clear as the Queen's right to that crown is, whatever questions of war and peace may be opened between us. As, too, the Caffres are a corn-growing, cattle-herding, people, the new doctrine of Lord Stanley and Earl Grey as to our indefeasible title to new countries in a contrary case, does not apply here. The offences imputed to Sandilli are—1. His refusal to deliver up a thief when summoned so to do. 2. Sandilli's refusal to make compensation for excesses he had encouraged. 3. Sandilli's encouraging his followers to repel her Majesty's troops by force of arms. 4. The failure of the commissioner to bring Sandilli to reason. After enumerating these grievances, Sir Henry announces his determination as follows:—

'Taking it into my deep and lengthened consideration, that such

contumacious and headstrong behaviour cannot be longer overlooked, without endangering the general peace and tranquillity of the whole colony, and particularly both sides of the frontier, by disturbing the system which I have been for months past most anxiously and sedulously endeavouring to introduce and perfect; and, moreover, reflecting that where people dwell (as is the case with some of the colonists and a part of the Gaika Caffre tribes,) on either side of an imaginary line of demarcation, it is alone by mutual rigid adherence to their engagements, by the strictest observance of good faith, and by crime being speedily and effectually punished, that the success of the desired system can be possibly secured, or even anticipated, have determined, in the Queen's name, and in virtue of the power confided to me as her Majesty's high commissioner, to have recourse to the only method that now remains to call Sandilli to account for his contumacy, and to vindicate the offended dignity and honour of the British government. I do, therefore, hereby proclaim the said Gaika Caffre chief, Sandilli, to be a rebel, and denounce him as no longer under the protection of her Majesty's government, and I hereby further invite and call on all classes and conditions of persons residing in this colony, to be aiding and abetting in carrying out my intended measures against the said rebel chief into effect, by assembling in commandos, to be headed by leaders appointed themselves, at Shiloh, on the                      day of the ensuing month of September, and thence to enter, supported by her Majesty's regular troops and the colonial native levies, the country of the said Sandilli. And I do hereby further proclaim and promise as an inducement to all persons to come forward, that all cattle and other booty captured by such commandos, belonging to or found within the country of the said Sandilli, or any others who may take part with him, shall become the *bond fide* property of, and be retained by, the captors, and that no claim shall hereafter be made on the part of the government, or on any other pretence, for an account of, or for restoration or relinquishment of cattle or other property so captured. And I do hereby further proclaim, that all the other Gaika, T'Shabie, and Tambookie Caffre chiefs, the bushman Madoor, and their followers, who have declared their wish and intention to remain *neutral*, and to abide by their engagements during the approach of hostilities, are, and shall be understood and taken to be, under the protection of the Queen of England, so long as they shall act up to and be guided by the above-mentioned declaration; and I do hereby strictly, solemnly, and unqualifiedly, enjoin and command all persons *bearing allegiance* to her Majesty to refrain from molesting said neutral (or friendly) Caffres, and to consider the protection of their persons and their lives, and property, to be a paramount duty.'

The confusion of Sir H. Pottinger's mind is evident upon the face of this document. The Caffre chiefs, and others who engage to be *neutral*, are to be respected by those who owe the Queen *allegiance*—foreigner, and subject, being c

rectly placed in opposition to each other. But Sandilli, who, of course, is independent like the rest, is to be hunted down as a *rebel*. The temper betrayed by this misapplication of words and things, is shown more strongly by another circumstance calculated to rouse the indignation of all who examine the subject fairly.

Even the most violent advocates of the system of illegal force give up Sir H. Pottinger in respect to it. After adopting his confusion of ideas, and expressing confidence, that the home government will approve of his 'reducing a refractory *subject* of Britain to the domination of law,' the writer quoted\* proceeds thus:—

'This is said of the general outline of Sir Henry's policy, for of one part we find it impossible to approve. He has re-established the old 'commando' system, and proclaimed that all cattle and other booty captured by commandos in the country of Sandilli, or his abettors, shall be retained by the captors. This dry land privateering has been found by experience at the Cape to be even more demoralising and mischievous than sea privateering. It converts honest graziers into predatory moss-troopers. Let the property of the insurgent and marauding Caffres be confiscated for the public use of the colony—let the levies be encouraged, by pay and other rewards, to persevere in the dangers of bush warfare—but beware of encouraging, in a bold and thin-sown population, habits of exacting redress by their own hands instead of looking for it to the law and the constituted authorities.'

So Earl Grey and Mr. Hawes, and their score of predecessors, since 1837, have produced this result, by leaving the business of their posts to subordinates, whose sympathies for whites and blacks may be measured by the recklessness with which they abandon the interests of both by turns to 'the chapter of accidents.' Hence the most abominable practices of former days are revived in the Queen's name, although they are too bad for the least scrupulous of our speculators upon colonial government. It is very well for a private gentleman like Mr. Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, to pursue a system of humane policy, the heads of the Colonial Office have not time to attend to the means that would easily extend a like system from Hudson's Bay to Hong-Kong. Consequently, their ignorance, which is shared largely by their subordinates, exposes the British name to dishonour, and the wretched tribes we ought to protect, to every ill to be inflicted by the abuse of power.

This is a state of things which brings home to the Colonial Office the gravest charge.

\* 'Daily News,' Nov. 11, 1847.

In 1837, that office received the Caffre frontier from Parliament, full of promise. In 1847, it brings that frontier back to parliament in the depth of misery; the intermediate time having been spent in utter disregard of prudence respecting the transition—always so full of difficulty—of a barbarous race towards civilization, in intimate relations with a stronger and more advanced people. The two periods 1837 and 1847 present the Colonial Office acting upon two directly contradictory lines of policy. In the midst of the obscurity in which the facts of the case are shrouded, several explanations may be conjectured for this surprising extent of mal-administration.

Earl Grey has done two excellent things as colonial minister. He has reformed and popularized the government of New Zealand; and, without sacrificing the natives, he has substantially promoted its colonization. Again, he has concurred earnestly, however disjointedly, in the great attempt to abolish convict transportation. But Earl Grey has now passed fifteen months as colonial minister without beginning the general colonial reform expected at his hands, or even cleansing the Colonial Office of its corruptions. The same principles and practices prevail in that office, and are defended by its representatives. Mr. Hawes, in the House of Commons, as have so long rendered it a common bye-word. It judges, as usual, without hearing complainants, and, therefore, necessarily administers the sworn justice of the crown with iniquity. It treats, as usual, colonial appointments as a 'privilege,' not a duty; and, therefore, necessarily often sacrifices the public service to the exigencies of party and patronage. It perseveres in the old system of official secrecy, and, therefore, continues gross official neglect and blundering. Hence probably, it is, that Earl Grey upon South African affairs has adopted the old course of the office. At one time all is philanthropy, when the philanthropists bestir themselves; at another time all runs as violently the other way, if the philanthropists can but be quieted. Sir Thomas Buxton, backed by public opinion, succeeded, in 1838, in a great act of humanity towards the Caffres. Afterwards Sir Thomas Buxton and his friends were unhappily misled by errors which the Colonial Office had the means of correcting, to waste their strength upon the Niger expedition; and the office, relieved from the pressure of the philanthropic reforms, resumed its mal-administration,—its gross neglect of the Caffre frontier and of the whole South African interior. This would sufficiently account for the mischief done there.

But, Earl Grey may have been out-voted in the cabinet on this occasion; although, besides his permitting far too much of the old secrecy in the management of his office, his adopti-

of its false doctrine respecting the right of the Aborigines in the soil, exposes his authority on the subject to unpleasant doubt. He has adduced some loose remarks of the late Dr. Arnold in support of the novel position, that if uncivilized people have not *cultivated* the land, they may justly be ejected from their homes at our good pleasure. This is only a copy of a despatch of Lord Stanley reproduced with a literary gloss, as may be seen by reference to the House of Commons' papers for 1845, No. 1, p. 1. The doctrine is, however, directly opposed to our best colonial precedents, and to the opinions of the ablest writers upon natural law. It is the apology of the Colonial Office for the sin of seizing all New Holland without an attempt to do justice to its natives, after having exterminated those of Van Dieman's Land, and reduced those of New South Wales to the most wretched remnant upon earth. Lord Stanley and Earl Grey are deeply responsible as ministers, for having added their weight to an old iniquity on this head.

As to South Africa, the way to better things should be opened by an energetic appeal to the British public on the whole subject. A persevering effort would stay the present headlong course; and through wiser principles realise the prospect of good, for which surely providence must have intended a region abounding in every blessing of climate and soil, and capable of furnishing the safest and surest means of African civilization, under peaceful British supremacy. Plentiful proof exists, that the native tribes are not only grateful for our friendship, and ready to admit our superiority, but that they are also eager to *amalgamate* with our own people, on just terms; whilst their history of a hundred years, familiar to us, demonstrates that if we persevere in ruling them with the bayonet, they will become the robber-tenants of the wilderness, and the avenger of an independence which they only cling to when we do not respect it. To have thrown away the last ten years, which might have been devoted with infinite advantage to their advancement, merits reproof and punishment; but to visit our official misconduct on them by a war of extermination, will exhibit us to the world in the light of ferocious oppressors insensible to reproach, and whom misfortune only checks.

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ART. VII.—*Facts from Gweedore, compiled from Notes by Lord George Hill, M.R.I.A., and Illustrated with Engravings.* Dublin: Dixon Hardy, and Sons. London: Hatchard and Son. 4to. pp. 37

It is somewhat singular that the two most successful attempts recently made in Ireland to reclaim waste lands, and reform idle and lawless tenantry, have been on properties in the county of Donegal. The first was by Sir Charles Stile, of which there is an interesting account in Mr. Hall's 'Ireland,' vol. iii. p. 20, and the other forms the subject of the publication at the head of this article. Having recently visited Gweedore, we propose to give our readers some account of the physical and social condition of the district before Lord George Hill purchased the property, the measures adopted to effect his object, and the success which has hitherto attended his efforts.

Many of our readers may never have heard of Gweedore. It is in one of the least known and most remote parts of Ireland, but may be readily found by running the eye along the parallel of 55° north latitude until the island of Arranmore is seen. Gweedore lies a little to the north, partly on the river Claudy, and partly on the one which gives the name to the district. The bay is fine and safe anchorage, the island of Gola forming a natural breakwater. The whole district is exceedingly wild. Huge masses of granite rise up on all sides. The coast is studded with numerous little islands; and when the winds are high and the sea rough, the scene is very striking. Letterkenny, the nearest town of any importance, is twenty-eight miles distant. The road to Gweedore lies through a lofty mountainous region, and is so solitary that, for ten miles we saw no human habitation nor any living thing whatever. This mountain road terminates at the head of a deep ravine, at the foot of which lies a beautiful lake, that empties itself into the sea. On the right rises the lofty Arigell, one of the most remarkable mountains in Ireland; on the left, Mr. Russel's beautiful domain skirts the upper edge of the lake, and suddenly bursting on us, after the ride we have described, seemed like an oasis in a desert. Gweedore extends down the flat to the beach on which the wild waves of the Atlantic break and foam.

Before Lord George purchased the property, this road terminated at a spot nine miles off, at a foaming mountain torrent which it is always dangerous to pass. The tenants occupied the Rundale system, without any fences and subdivision. Famine and fever were periodical, and the people were wretched. The following facts, taken from a memorial sent to the lord lieutenant

in the year 1837, by the master of the National School of West Tallaghbegley, with the view of drawing the attention of government to the frightful condition of the peasantry, will be read with surprise. The population was about nine thousand, and among the whole there were only one cart, one plough, sixteen harrows, eight saddles, two pillions, eleven bridles, twenty shovels, thirty-two rakes, seven table forks, ninety-three chairs, two hundred and forty-three stools, ten iron grapes, twenty-seven geese, three turkeys, two feather beds, eight chaff ditto, two stables, six cow-houses, one school, a priest, and no other resident gentleman. They had no pigs, clocks, bonnets, boots, fruit-trees, or vegetables of any kind, except potatoes and cabbage. Omitting what was in the school, chapel, priest's house, and police barrack, there were not ten square feet of glass in the whole district. No one of the females had a change of linen, and the majority possessed none at all. Very few of them had a second bed; and in many cases, whole families lay together indiscriminately on the bare ground. They had scarcely any means of harrowing the soil, except by meadow rakes; and some of the farms were so small, that from five to ten of them could be harrowed in one day with one rake. When a harrow *was* used, as they had no harness, *it was tied to the pony's tail!*

Prior to 1838, this wild mountain district was divided into small properties. There was no resident proprietor—rents were nominal,—nor was there any regularity in collecting them. As no accounts were kept, nor receipts given, no one could tell what was due to the proprietors. A fact or two will best illustrate this state of things.

‘The agent to one of the proprietors came, on a particular day, a distance of fourteen miles, to receive rents. He was told he must return, as the day was too wet and bad. He did not know what the rain had to do with the matter, until he was informed that he would have to go from house to house, up the mountains, and take whatever the tenants would offer. As to coercing the people, this was never thought of, or the proprietors were afraid to try it. This was once done, and the proprietor had to bring with him the whole Yeomanry corps he commanded, simply to protect his own bailiff.’

p. 10.

The wretched system of Rundale being here in full force, may be thus described:—

‘A tenant having any part of a townland, no matter how small, had his proportion in thirty or forty different places, and without fences between them, it being utterly impossible to have any, as the proportions were often so very numerous, and so small, that not

more than half a stone of oats was required to sow one of divisions.

‘Thus every tenant considers himself entitled to a portion of various quality of land in his townland. The man who has good land at one extremity, was sure to have some bad at the other, and a bit of middling in the centre, and bits of other quality in the corners, each bounded by his neighbour’s property, and without fence or ditch between them.’

‘Under such circumstances as these, could any one wonder at the desperation of a poor man, who, having his inheritance in *thirty different places*, abandoned them in utter despair of ever being able to make them out ?’—p. 13.

Subdivision was carried to such an extent, that in one instance, half an acre of land was held by twenty-six persons. Trespasses, disputes, fights, and confusion, were the inevitable consequences of this system, which was, moreover, an effectual bar to all improvement. If the state of things was bad with it, it was even worse within doors. Their cabins sheltered themselves and their cattle too, and were dark, damp, and dirty. They were cleared out only once a year; some ten to fifteen tons of manure having accumulated in them during that period. The cabins were gathered in clusters, which aggravated every spreading disease wherever it made its periodical appearance among this wretched people.

The system of Rundale was not confined to the land, very animals are known to have been *quartered* by a similar complex tenure.

‘In an adjacent island, *three* men were concerned in one horse; the poor brute was rendered useless, as the fourth foot remained shod, none of them being willing to acknowledge it, and accordingly it became quite lame. There were many intestine rows on the subject; at length, one of the ‘company’ came to the mainland, and called on a magistrate for advice, stating that the animal was entirely useless now, and that he had not only kept up decently his proper business at his own expense, but had shod this *fourth foot twice to boot!* The other two proprietors resolutely refused to shoe more than *one own foot!*’—p. 14.

‘The reputation of the district was such, that strangers from adjoining parishes were afraid to ‘cross the border,’ and gentlemen were hardly enough to venture to attend a fair, held in the heart of the district, are known to have been afforded an escort of coast-guard as a protection. Such a precaution was deemed expedient, in consequence of two revenue police parties having been recently beaten and disarmed; and upwards of fifty constabulary also repulsed, and forced to give up collecting tithe about the same time (1834).’—p. 19.

Market-towns being at so great a distance, the people had to travel far for any commodity; and when they did, they usually took some grain to sell, which they disposed of at any rate, rather than return with it. Hence, nearly all the grain was used to make whiskey, which paid a good price, and was a mode of getting a livelihood, congenial to the habits of a people leading an irregular life. Its demoralizing influence on their character was at once fearful and universal.

They are described as naturally a quiet and inoffensive people, when their habits and customs are not interfered with; fond of their families, kind in their manners, brave and daring in danger, or at the call of humanity in times of peril and distress. Several striking examples are given for which we regret we have no space. Fond of being near each other, they disliked living in detached houses. Great talkers—they would sit up half the night, fuel being cheap and abundant. They seldom went to labor until ten o'clock, after their breakfast. Spring and harvest were the only seasons in which they worked hard; the rest of the year was passed in idleness. The mental and moral condition of a people living in this manner, must necessarily have been one of the deepest degradation and ignorance.

We have thus sketched the condition of Gweedore, before it was purchased by Lord George Hill. A wilder or more uncultivated region, inhabited by a more ignorant, rude, or degraded tenantry, could not be found, perhaps, in Ireland. If this almost barren waste has been partially reclaimed, and the tenantry improved in every respect; if comparative comfort and order now prevail, instead of barbarism and misery, then a great problem has been solved, and the possibility of regenerating Ireland is proved. Would that all landed proprietors, in that country, would imitate his lordship's example, and that statesmen would read and study the lesson which his benevolent labours have spread out before their eyes.

But it is time we furnish our readers with 'a brief statement of efforts made on the property, to improve the condition and increase the comforts of the tenantry.'

The first step taken after the property was purchased, was the erection of temporary apartments, in which his lordship and his agent might reside, in order to become acquainted with the tenantry, and personally to superintend the operations to be carried on. Knowing something of the Irish language was a great advantage, and brought about an intercourse to which the tenantry were unaccustomed, and they asserted he could not be a lord at all, particularly as *he spoke Irish*.

Measures were immediately taken to put down illicit distil-

lation. A capacious corn store and kiln were erected, capable of containing four hundred tons of grain. A quay was formed in front of it, at which vessels of two hundred tons can load or discharge. Up to 1841, when Captain Stewart, of H. M. S. *Cornwallis*, wintered in the bay, no vessel could be freighted to Liverpool, the anchorage under the island of Gola being unknown. This gentleman wrote to some friends in Liverpool, and there has since been no hesitation on the part of shipowners to send vessels to the place. A market was thus established for the grain of the district, the price given for it being the same as at Letterkenny, twenty-six miles distant.

‘ There was much difficulty in getting the store built ; the stone it had to be blasted from the solid rock ; and there were no masons or carpenters in the country capable of erecting a building of the kind. So great was the difficulty of getting even a coffin made, that, to secure the services of a carpenter, many of the people gave him annual sheaves of oats, on the express condition of making their coffin when they died. It was necessary to introduce competent tradesmen. They were paid every Saturday night, but on Monday morning it was by no means unusual for a carpenter or mason to desert in the interval. And no wonder. Bread or meat could not be procured, as there was no butcher or baker within a day’s journey. Tea and sugar could only be purchased from hawkers at an exorbitant price. —p. 26.

The store being finished, it was necessary to procure materials to make carts, barrows, etc., for the tenantry, as there were no carts, and no wheelbarrows, on the whole estate. Timber, iron, etc., were brought from Derry, nearly fifty miles distant. The tenants continually applied for these, and other articles, in a spirit of favour. A few were accommodated, and, to prevent jealousy, it was determined that such articles *should be sold*. This lessened the demand for other articles, until, by and bye, a large stock was furnished, at first managed by the wheelwright, until it was necessary to enlarge it, and a person competent to manage a growing concern was employed. Judging from what we see now, when there, few market towns in Ireland possess so large a store, so abundantly and judiciously supplied. Prior to the erection of this store, no crockery could be seen in the cabins ; now they are mostly supplied with the furniture usually visible in an English cottage. We even saw decanters, rummers, and wine glasses ! Some idea may be formed of the business now carried on, and consequently the capital introduced into the district, from the following statement. The first quarter’s sale, ending December 1840, amounted to £40. 12s. 10d. In the corresponding quarter for 1844, the amount was £550 ! In 1839,

grain purchased amounted to £479. 9s. 6d. In 1844, the amount was upwards of £1100! Lord George was not ashamed to have placed over the door of this establishment, G. A. Hill, Licensed to sell, etc. Considering his rank, and previous habits, this act was above all praise, and showed how determined he was to disregard personal feelings, in order to effect his truly benevolent purpose.

His lordship next attacked the Rundale system, and here a greater difficulty presented itself. The prejudice of generations had to be overcome. The conflicting rights of property, which were so confused, that even the tenants scarcely knew what belonged to them, had to be reconciled; and more than all, they had to be convinced that the changes proposed would benefit themselves, as well as improve the estate. It occupied three anxious and toilsome years at Gweedore to effect his lordship's object; for 20,000 acres had to be re-adjusted.

'A surveyor was employed, and maps drawn. . . The tenants were all assembled, and, though they advanced innumerable objections, peaceably consented to allow the new allotments to be made. It was guaranteed that each tenant should have a just proportion of the town land *according to his rent*, and all previous bargains investigated; so that none, if possible, should suffer by the change. For this purpose, they were allowed to choose a *committee of themselves*, to assist in laying out the new farms. . . As many days as were thought necessary were allowed, that they might look over their new farms before they cast lots for them; and whenever a reasonable objection was made, the divisions were *re-considered, and altered accordingly*.'—p. 29.

To remove the tenants from spots too crowded, a few ten acre farms were fenced in, but nothing could induce them to make fences, though they were offered to be well paid for doing so. They thought to tire out Lord George, but, happily, were mistaken. A party assembled one night, and the person employed to make the fences, heard they had gone to tear them down. He ran to the police barrack, got two men to accompany him, stormed the ditch gallantly, it being very dark, and secured prisoners. The next day, the agent being a magistrate, took down informations against all concerned in the outrage. This alarmed them so much, that they agreed to repair the damage, and construct the required fences. After this the division went on peaceably.

The preceding remarks give only a faint idea of the difficulties Lord Hill encountered. He had to settle disputes, in many cases, of twenty years' standing. The wonder is he ever succeeded. But, as is modestly stated in the 'Facts,' complaints and objections 'were all patiently listened to, and if well founded, *redressed*.' In this wild district, the division of

the land never would have been accomplished, without serious commotion, '*had not the people felt fully satisfied that there was every disposition to keep faith with them, and to give them the utmost fair play.*' We put these words in italics, for they contain the secret of the success of the effort; and we believe that in no part of Ireland, and among no tenantry, however lawless, not excepting the 'Tipperary boys,' would similar efforts fail, if carried on with similar patience, and in the same spirit of justice.

Having provided a market for their produce, broken up the miserable Rundale system, and fairly parcelled out the estate, to the satisfaction of the tenants, measures were adopted to improve their social habits. With this view premiums were offered for the encouragement of industry, in the hope that the tenantry would thereby be stimulated to exertion and self-reliance. Giving money gratuitously was as much as possible, avoided. These prizes were offered for neat cabins, *with chimnies*, the walls being plastered and whitewashed inside and outside, and manure heaps removed to a reasonable distance; for bedding and bed clothes, crops, particularly green crops, improved breeds of cattle and pigs, woollens, stockings, butter, for most land prepared, drained and trenched; for best fences, and best kept manure heaps, etc. The results are curious:—

'The first year, not a single individual could be induced to compete for the premiums, the people thinking it all a hoax, and that it was only an attempt to humbug them; being convinced that no gentleman would be so great a fool as to give his money merely to benefit others.'

'In 1840, observing that *any promise made to them was strictly fulfilled*, they acquired confidence, and some thought they might try the thing. . . . There were thirty-six competitors, and the premiums, amounting to £40. 1s. 6d., were so fairly awarded by the judges, that they caused general satisfaction. In 1841, there were forty competitors; 1842, eighty-four; 1843, two hundred and fifty; 1844, two hundred and thirty-nine. Much assistance was given by the London Irish Peasantry Improvement Society, enabling his lordship to continue a system of premiums which had so desirable an effect.'—p. 31.

It is Lord G. Hill's practice to invite gentlemen from all parts to make an annual inspection, report the progress of improvement, and to award the premiums; and their presence and decision serve to convince the peasantry of his impartiality and kindness. We wish we had room for extracts from these reports, copies of which, for several years, lie before us. One sentence, however, we cannot omit, from that for 1843:—

'It was peculiarly gratifying to us,' say these gentlemen, 'to witness the respectable appearance and orderly demeanour of the crowds of persons assembled upon this occasion, and the gratitude displayed

in their looks and manner, even more than by the expressions of the successful candidates; when, after the dinner provided for them by his lordship, his agent announced the decision of the judges, they approached, and received from his lordship's hands the amount of the prizes respectively awarded them.—p. 33.

The following note is both interesting and amusing:—

‘The poor people could not believe that they would be permitted to *dine with his lordship*. When assembled outside the door where the dinner was provided, seeing the surveyor, whom they knew, at the door, they anxiously inquired, if it were *really true* that they were to go in.’—Ib.

There are some admirable regulations precluding tenants from receiving any premiums: such as being convicted of making, or concerned in making, illicit whiskey; convicted of being concerned in any breach of the public peace; not paying up their rent without the necessity of compulsory measures.

A dispensary has also been established, and a qualified medical practitioner introduced into the district. The school-house, erected some time ago, was being enlarged when we were there. It is licensed as a place of worship, and a suitable residence for a clergyman was nearly finished. On this building there is a conspicuous clock, and a large bell is rung at stated hours during the day to let the people know the time, (for Irish peasants have no watches,) and that they may be induced to form punctual habits as to time.

There being no house of accommodation for strangers in the district, Lord Hill, in 1842, built a commodious hotel; and we can vouch for its plain elegance, comfort, and exceedingly moderate charges. The price of every article is printed, and placed in each room.

We subjoin a few particulars resulting from personal observation and inquiry. One admirable regulation is enforced. Sub-letting is not permitted, nor any dividing of land among children, without permission. As children grow up they are encouraged to go out to work, or, with the assistance of their parents, and benevolent landlord, are put in a position to take a small mountain farm, and thus provide for themselves.

The old mill, the only one in the whole district, until the present proprietor erected one of first-rate size and character, is left standing as a remnant of former times. The present mill ground one thousand tons of meal last year, and hundreds were saved from starvation. We were informed that no one had died, on this property, from want. The money sent to his lordship by benevolent societies to assist him, *for he took no rent last year*, in relieving his numerous tenantry, was all laid out in labor, chiefly for their benefit, as in making good bridle roads



to their mountain farms, whereby much toil will be saved, and cultivation greatly facilitated.

Five years ago a post-office was established, and a whole fortnight elapsed without a single letter. In August last, we were informed, the average amounted to two hundred a week. There is a monthly cattle market held, in a suitable place, the centre of the estate, which is always crowded, and much business is transacted. Many of the poor people employ their leisure time in gathering sea-weed to make kelp. Three cargoes had been shipped, up to the close of the summer, amounting to nearly two hundred tons. Fish is abundant, and long we hope to hear of a good fishery being established. Lobsters, and other shell fish, are large and plentiful, and, of course, very cheap. The same may be said in respect to poultry.

It is due to Mr. Foster, his lordship's agent, to say, that he fully enters into his views, and carries out his plans most zealously, and with consummate ability. The gentleman who superintends the agricultural arrangements ably supports them, and the tenantry, satisfied that their welfare has been, and will be, steadily kept in view, cheerfully co-operate, and Lord George promises to be a happy and flourishing district.

If any of our readers should be induced to visit this part of Ireland, they must not expect to see a beautiful domain, well planted with avenues, trim gardens, and blooming hedgerows. There has not been time for these; and, perhaps, the situation of the property, exposed to all the wild winds of winter, will scarcely admit of them. But they will see a savage waste reclaimed, and a once lawless tenantry rising into habits of industry and order;—delivered from drunkenness and its attendant vices, and at whose festivities, even, strong drink is scarcely seen.

We have dwelt somewhat longer on this subject, because it is so new to us, and we hope to our readers, one of deep interest. An experiment of great importance has been tried, which will exert, not only a most beneficial influence on the people of this district, but lead, we hope, to similar attempts in other parts of Ireland. It forms so strange a contrast to the management of most Irish estates, that the sight of it gave us a positive sensation of relief during a recent tour. The great mass of Irish landlords might have done much to improve their estates and their tenantry too, had they chosen. They had far greater facilities than Lord George Hill. They neglected both, and are now reaping the bitter fruits. There are many notable exceptions, but the bulk of them have been careless, extravagant, and oppressive.

We feast and reward successful warriors. The more blood

the victory, the more we applaud. A General who conquers a country by policy, with little fighting, and scarcely any loss of life among his troops, is by no means so popular, as he who has added to our territory by means of profuse slaughter. To our minds, men who sacrifice personal comfort, forego their ease, bury themselves in some wild, remote district, among an ignorant, impoverished, and lawless people, in order to teach them the arts of industry and civilized life, stimulating them to rise in social comfort and independence, are those whom all would far more admire and applaud, if the common standard of character and exploit were not imperfect. In the hope that we may do a little to correct this false taste, we present these details of Lord George Hill's efforts at Gweedore. They have been disinterested. He can never see any adequate pecuniary return for his toil, anxiety, and outlay. He has a richer reward in the improvement and gratitude of a numerous tenantry, who were miserably degraded before he commenced his most praiseworthy enterprise. May his life long be spared, and may his children inherit their father's virtues, and imitate his bright example.

The affairs of Ireland will evidently occupy much of the attention of parliament during the present session. So far as we can judge from the Queen's Speech, coercive measures are to be submitted to the legislature. 'Her Majesty,' says the royal speech, 'feels it to be her duty to her peaceable and well disposed subjects to ask the assistance of parliament in taking further precautions against the perpetration of crime in certain countries and districts of Ireland.' What may be the precise meaning of this language we wait to see. It would be uncandid and unjust to assume that mere brute force were to be tried again. We have an earnest of the contrary in the character of Lord Clarendon, and our faith in his patriotism and political sagacity are strong. Should our hopes be disappointed, no words will express the bitterness of our censure. We are reaping what our fathers sowed, and if we would cure the evils entailed upon us, we must renounce, heart and soul, the system they patronised. Let property and life be protected, but let us attack the disease, not the symptom. Whatever measures are adopted, let the noble example of Lord Hill be borne in mind, and its lessons be enforced by the sanction of a nation. What an individual has done on a comparatively small scale, let parliament attempt within the larger province subjected to its power.

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ART. VIII.—*Letter of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England. Times, October 25th, 1847.*

THE interference of the government with the credit market, recorded in the letter at the head of this article, virtually suspending the Act of 1844—the last, the most scientific, and most approved measure ever passed for the regulation of the currency—is a memorable event in the monetary history of the year now coming to a close. It was called for, as was expressed in the letter, ‘by a pressure upon the commercial interests of the country,’ ‘by a want of confidence necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade,’ by a ‘prevailing distrust;’ and therefore, before we advert to the measure itself, we shall trace the progress of discredit amongst the mercantile classes which gave occasion to it.

In our number for June last, speaking of the crisis then generally supposed to have arrived in our commercial disorder and the beginning of a recovery, we said, ‘numerous bankruptcies, such as took place on former occasions, have not yet happened, but it is feared they will happen.’ Very soon after our words were published the bankruptcies began. About the 20th of June, the extensive sugar house of Marquis, Forbin Jansen, and Co. failed at Marseilles for £460,000, and several other failures in Lyons and Paris ‘created considerable uneasiness in our money market.’ Our notice of the foreign bankruptcy is justified by the remark; but we may add that, under the present system of railway travelling, which brings Vienna and Marseilles as near to London, in time, as were Edinburgh and Dublin half a century ago, and under the present system of holding foreign stocks and foreign railway shares in all the money markets of Europe, the demands of the merchants of one country on those of another are almost instantly met, as it may be most advantageous by the transmission from country to country of some of these paper securities. They constitute a general credit fund common to the whole of commercial Europe, which responds in London, its chief heart, to the slightest movement at the remotest extremity. Any remarks on general commercial discredit would therefore be incomplete, which omitted all notice of stoppages abroad.\* It is our intention, however, to confine our-

\* After the passage in the text was written, we read of the failure of Messrs. C. Rupe and Son, at Amsterdam, which involves bills to the amount of £16,000, forming part of the estate of Messrs. Castelain, bankrupts in

selves to such as have had some marked influence on credit, and been noticed by the authorities of our own Exchange. The first failure we mention, therefore, was that of a foreign house for nearly half a million sterling, accompanied by other failures in France, 'causing uneasiness in our own money market.'

Before the 26th of June, Messrs. Sewell and Co., in the sugar trade, failed for a considerable sum; and before July 2nd, Clayton and Co., bankers at Preston, stopped payment. About the same period, several minor failures in London and the country tended, we are told, 'to keep up a feeling of uneasiness.' These successive little shocks rendered valueless all the paper issued by the bankrupt houses, and excited distrust of the paper of other houses. Additional demands appear to have been made on the Bank of England; its circulation was enlarged, and its reserve and bullion decreased. By the middle of July, 'great uneasiness was felt in the money market;' a fall was established in public securities, which continued with interruptions till the end of October. In the beginning of August, but not till after discredit and bankruptcy had become somewhat alarming, the Bank feeling a drain, and seeing the diminution of its reserves, raised the rate of interest; and from that time till the day on which we write, the trade of the country has been all discredit, stoppage, and bankruptcy.

The numerous failures began amongst the corn-dealers. In the last week of May, the average price of wheat was 102s. 5d. per quarter; it then fell, and continued to fall in the successive weeks as follows:—99s. 10d., 88s. 10d., 91s. 7d., 91s. 4d., 87s. 1d., 82s. 3d., 75s. 6d., 77s. 3d., 75s. 5d., 66s. 10d., 62s. 6d., 60s. 4d., 56s. 8d., 54s. 4d., 49s. 6d., the average price of the week ending September 18th. The following week, the average price was 53s. 6d.; and it has continued rather above that, with a tendency upwards, ever since. In the week ending September 11th, some wheat was sold in the London markets for 44s. per quarter; but confining ourselves to the averages, which keep out of view the highest rise and the lowest fall, the price fell in fifteen weeks from 102s. 5d. to 49s. 6d., or upwards of one hundred per cent. The holders of corn, supposing them to have possessed 1,000,000 quarters, and estimating them at 100s. a quarter in May, then appeared to be worth £20,000,000, and in September they were only worth £10,000,000. Numerous failures, however, took place before the price reached the extreme point of depression, but not before it had fallen considerably and very rapidly.

The trade report of the first week of August, in the *Economic* London, and diminishes their assets to the amount of the differences between that sum and the dividend their estate may receive from the estate of Messrs. C. Rupe and Son.

*mist*, says :—‘ On Monday, at Mark Lane, the price of English wheat receded from 6s. to 9s. per quarter, and that of foreign wheat from 8s. to 10s.’ From Leeds, the report is, ‘ a decline of 10s. to 12s. per quarter.’ ‘ There were great importations of foreign wheat,’ and a ‘ continuance of most favourable weather for the harvest.’ The price had then sunk below 70s. The first house to fail was that of Perrin and Co., in the provision trade, at Liverpool, for £40,000. On August 6th, the house of Sampson, Langdale, and Co., at Stockton-on-Tees, failed; liabilities, £107,000. On the same day, Douglas and Son failed; liabilities, £600,000. Then followed in quick succession, Lesley, Alexander, and Co.; liabilities, £573,000: Coventry and Sheppard, King and Melville, and others, through August and September, till the number of failures in the corn-trade exceeded twenty, with liabilities amounting to nearly £3,000,000. The following list will show the number and amount of the

## STOPPAGES CONNECTED WITH THE CORN TRADE.

Dates.	Name of Firm.	Reported Liabilities.
Aug. 6 ..	Sampson, Langdale, and Co. ....	107,000
..	Douglas and Son .....	600,000
„ 10 ..	Lesley, Alexander, and Co. ....	573,000
„ 11 ..	Coventry and Sheppard .....	100,000
„ — ..	King, Melville, and Co. ....	100,000
„ 13 ..	Giles and Son .....	152,000
„ — ..	Fraser and Co., Antwerp .....	65,000
„ 21 ..	W. R. Robinson and Co. ....	94,000
„ 27 ..	Woodley and Son .....	99,509
„ — ..	Alexander, Dickson, and Co., Beltenbet, Belfast .....	—
„ — ..	Lyon and Finny, Liverpool .....	—
„ 28 ..	J. and C. Kirkpatrick, Liverpool .....	60,000
„ — ..	F. D. Neal and Co., Liverpool .....	—
„ — ..	J. N. Rowett and Co., Liverpool .....	200,000
Sept. 4 ..	Booker and Sons .....	50,000
„ 8 ..	Denny and Co., Glasgow .....	200,000
„ — ..	Saunders, Wetherell, and Co., Stockton-on-Tees .....	30,000
„ 10 ..	Usborne and Son .....	200,000*
„ — ..	Hastie and Hutchinson .....	100,000*
„ 24 ..	Westlake and Co., Southampton .....	—
Oct. 9 ..	E. M. Broadhurst, Manchester .....	—
Total .....		2,730,509
Date unknown ..	Gregg, H. and G., Liverpool .....	—
„ ..	Donnison and Co., Limerick .....	—

\* So reported. Debts of the first subsequently stated to be £59,000—assets £33,000; of the second, £50,000—assets, £29,000. We retain the reported liabilities to shew the magnitude of men's fears.

The aggregate sum involved in these failures is not less than £3,000,000, or about a sixth of the importations of this extraordinary year. There is scarcely a failure for less than £100,000, which is a large sum for a corn merchant. One failed for £600,000, and one for a sum approaching that; and three failed for £200,000. The gigantic nature of the whole operations, extending to various countries, of which these enormous liabilities were only a part, thus becomes apparent, and astonishment ceases that those who undertook them could not guide them to a successful issue.

The cause of the failure of the corn merchants is so apparent, that any illustration of it is only required by the attempts that have been made to involve it in obscurity. These gentlemen gave more for their corn than it was worth. They bought, probably, when the price was verging on 80s., 90s., or 100s., expecting to realise a sum approximating to that; and when the price sunk to 70s., with the probability of a further and rapid fall, they were unable to fulfil their engagements. No facility of discount, no extensive or excessive issues of the currency, which did not suddenly debase it one half, could have enabled them to take up their bills. Some of the houses, like that of Woodley and Son, the chief partner in which was said to have been worth more than £50,000, clear, at the beginning of the year, were strong; but others—great show houses, having no substance, and trading with borrowed capital—were at all times weak, and could not have survived a much less loss than from fifty to eighty per cent. on half a million of money. There can be no doubt whatever that the single cause of the failure of the corn merchants was the great fall in the price of corn between the time when they bought and the time when they were obliged to sell.

As there was no equal and corresponding fall in the prices of all other commodities, much influenced as they are by the price of corn, it is quite unnecessary to refute the assertion that the fall in the latter was caused by a stringent action of the Bank, and a great enhancement in the value of money. That would have affected all commodities. A more doubtful point, and one more worthy of elucidation is, whether the high price in spring were a mere speculative price, or justified by circumstances; and whether the price in September were a mere panic price, or an approximation to the ordinary and fair value of the article. Great pains were taken at the beginning of the year, by a certain portion of the press, to convince the world that the stock of corn was nearly exhausted—that an immense quantity of food would be required for Ireland, and that we were threatened by a famine. The corn merchants entertained that opinion, and acted on it.

They ransacked the world for food, and by their successful exertions they contributed to prevent the famine which the public had been taught to dread. They laboured at the same time to keep prices high. Till the extent of the supply which would be obtained was actually ascertained, by the importation of 4,275,799 quarters of grain, and 3,378,242 hundred weights of flour, in the first six months of the present year, and till there was almost a certainty of an abundant harvest, they succeeded; but then they were defeated by the fine weather and their own importations. Since the price fell in September to 49s., there has yet been nothing like a rise in price corresponding to the previous fall, and there is no probability, at present, of any such rise. The price in May was very nearly double the average price of the whole period since the corn-laws were passed in 1815, and 10s. or 12s. higher than the highest price in 1838 or 1842. It may, therefore, be fairly inferred, that the price in May was in a great measure not warranted by facts, and was in a much greater degree above the reasonable and fair price than the panic price in September was below it. The high price in May, against which the corn merchants said not a word, and which never gave occasion to a single complaint of our monetary system, was the false thing; the price in September, which caused such loud complaints of restricted discounts and bad bank management, was a pretty close approximation to the real and true thing. To what degree exactly the corn merchants, with writers in the press, may have contributed to engender the false thing, we will not presume to say; but it was in a great measure engendered by their unfounded hopes and ill-regulated *imaginings*, and they were properly punished for their error by failure and bankruptcy.

Continually, at present, the inefficiency of human laws is forced on our attention; and therefore it is satisfactory to trace, wherever we can, retributive justice in the course of nature. Speculators in corn and cotton, by raising the price of these two articles, prevented all through the spring and summer cotton mills from working with full activity. Cotton goods were raised in price, and there were fewer to exchange for corn. Its price fell so much the more, and hastened the bankruptcy of the speculators. There were also fewer cotton goods to export with advantage, and gold was exported in preference. That again limited the circulation, and raised the value of money. The difficulties after a time reached the cotton speculators, as well as the corn speculators, and they failed, or were bolstered up by the Bank. What happened to these gentlemen in October was the consequence of their own avarice in May; so that their disgrace

and suffering may be traced to their own conduct. The engineer was 'hoist by his own petard.'

In fairness, we must advert to one or two extraordinary circumstances which, by no fault of their own, might mislead the judgment of the corn merchants. The great cause of the real and expected dearness of food was the failure of the potato crop in particular, and generally of the harvest of 1846. Naturally, these circumstances dictated for all classes the utmost frugality, and a great decrease of consumption. The executive government, however, interfered for the relief of the Irish; who were better fed at the close of 1846 and the beginning of 1847 than they had been for many years, according to the testimony of the government officers. At the same time, the mode of distributing food by paid agents, gave an abundance to those who might otherwise have wanted; and thus the consequence of the government interference was to reverse the order of nature, to lessen frugality, and to increase consumption. The legislature, too, had given its sanction, and really its command, to complete within a given time a certain number of railways. There was, in consequence, a great expenditure on railways in 1846 and in the early part of 1847, and a corresponding increase of consumption. The increased consumption was in both cases the offspring of legislation; it was extraneous to trade; it was unnatural; it was the very reverse of what nature dictated; and helped to lead those, who fancied they were only consulting the natural course of trade, completely astray.

It is scarcely necessary now to state, that the real payment for one product is always some other product. In our number for June, we explained that English manufacturers were suffering from the loss of the crops in Ireland, and the failure of the cotton crop in the United States. The lessened production, accordingly, in our manufacturing districts, in the present year, became in turn a diminution of the means of paying the corn merchants for their imports. At the same time, the labour of the Irish and the labour employed in making railways, though accompanied by greatly enlarged consumption, produced nothing to give immediately for food. Thus, as the government ceased to feed the Irish, and as a stop was put to railway undertakings, there was a great diminution of consumption, a lessened demand in the market, and the cessation of two causes for keeping high the price of food. The corn merchants could not possibly foresee such circumstances, and in so far as these acts of the government increased the demand for food, and raised its price in the autumn of last year, and in the beginning of this, without causing any corresponding production of other commodities to pay that price,



and consequently led to a corresponding fall of price this autumn, the corn merchants may be excused for their miscalculations.

Another circumstance is, that France, Germany, and other countries competed with us for food in the markets of the United States and of Russia. That was very unusual, and confirmed the apprehension of a severe general dearth. Some of these buyers had a national purse at their command, and helped to run up the markets above the ordinary trade level. As we have traced the failures of the corn merchants to their own miscalculation justice to them has required us clearly to state these exonerating circumstances. Making this allowance, their aberration or mistake, for its degree, nearly one hundred per cent., is very remarkable, and we believe almost unexampled. It is still more remarkable, and not destitute of instruction for those who require from governments statistical information on every branch of human business, that the aberration took place at a time when the governments of France, England, and the United States at least, supplied much more complete statistical information than at any former period. Some of that supplied to France, if not designed, was calculated to mislead.

Having now explained the failure of the corn-merchants, and distinctly traced it to their own speculations, we turn to the failure of the general merchants, which occurred about the same period. On August 7th, Messrs. Fraser, Neilson, and Co. West India merchants, and the house of Mr. E. Robinson, in the Mauritius trade, suspended their payments. They were speedily followed by Messrs. Castellain; Gowers, Nephews, and Co. Reed, Irving, and Co.; Cockerell, and Co.; Sanderson, and Co. Lyall, Brothers, and Co., and a great number of houses in London, in our provincial marts, and on the Continent. On the fifteenth of November, the number was not less than one hundred and thirty considerable houses, engaged in the East and West India trade, and in the trade with the Mauritius; some were general merchants, and some were brokers' commission agents and spinners. Several of them were merchant princes, who had dealings with all the world. Many were considered very wealthy; almost all were of a highly respectable standing; and one of the firms was presided over by the governor of the Bank of England, Mr. W. R. Robinson. Some more of those who failed, had been governors of the Bank, directors, or were directors at the moment of failure.

The first of the great failures came on the public like an unexpected thunder-clap on a still, dark night. Terror at once pervaded every part of the mercantile community; but as hours fell after hours, terror gave way to recklessness, and the que-

tion was jokingly asked, What 'tall admiral' was next to fall? All parties began to think of taking care of themselves, and the difficulties of all were enhanced by every one locking up his cash, and making no payments he could avoid.

Only one general cause, similar to the fall in the price of corn, appears to have affected several of these merchants. The houses engaged in the Mauritius and West India trade, suffered from a fall in the price of sugar—the consequence partly of the reduction of duty on foreign sugar in 1846. This fall was from 47s., duty paid, West Indian, in January, to 39s. in May, and to 36s. 6d. in October. On other sugars the fall was in proportion, but it was both more gradual and less in amount than the fall in the price of wheat. It took place, too, in face of a greatly increased consumption, on all of which the merchants should have had a profit—namely, 26,960 tons more in the first six months of 1847, than in the first six months of 1846; or more than one-fifth of the whole. The imports at the same time much exceeded the consumption. Nearly all the sugar of the world was brought to England, the fall of price being partly caused by over-importation. To that diminution of the means of houses engaged in the West India and Mauritius trade, must be added the effects on East India houses, of some trifling alterations in the duties levied on Indian. These petty changes, and this comparatively trifling fall of price may have been the last straw that bore down a previously overloaded house. It would have been dishonourable, however, to be crushed by such trifles, had the affairs of our merchant-princes been in a condition, when exposed to public scrutiny, to exonerate them from all censure.

Unfortunately for the character of our commerce, the reverse was the case. Several of the leading houses had been for years embarrassed, and even insolvent. Some of them were as deficient in capital, and as reckless in their conduct, as mere adventurers.

The following table, borrowed from the 'Times,' gives the particulars of twenty estates :—

Date of Suspension.	Firm.	Liabilities.	Assets.	Estimated Dividend.
		£	£	
Aug. 10...	Lesley, Alexander, and Co. ....	573,502	231,869	8s.
— 27...	W. and J. Woodley	99,509	90,845	18s.
— 13...	Giles, Son, and Co.	152,824	90,911	11s. 6d.
— 21...	W. R. Robinson and Co. ....	94,362	100,390	20s.
Sept. 17...	Reid, Irving & Co.	660,432	846,756	£557,149 Mauritius estate put down without deduction; probable dividend 7s. to 10s. in the pound
— 30...	Lyall, Brothers ...	340,387	151,556	9s. £203,000 due from Lyall, Matheson, and Co estimated at only £60,000. If this firm should pay full, then the dividend from Lyall, Brother would be about 17s.
— 10...	Thomas Osborne and Son .....	59,457	33,527	11s., to be paid in three instalments.
— 25...	Cockerell and Co.	619,393	809,254	20s. A debt of 435,000 from the Calcutta house is put down among the assets without deduction.
Aug. 23...	Castellan, Sons, and Co. ....	69,651	33,603	9s. 8d. (See note, p. 750)
Oct. 3...	Thomas, Son, and Lefevre .....	401,760	441,972	20s.
Sept. 28...	Perkins, Schlusser and Co. ....	127,327	136,048	20s.
— 10...	Hastie and Hutchison .....	50,451	38,796	15s., to be paid in four instalments.
— 11...	Gower, Nephews, and Co. ....	450,832	112,831	5s., exclusive of Mauritius property, which cost £266,000.
Oct. 14...	I. and W. Morley	119,731	89,217	11s. offered.
Sept. 29...	Fry, Griffiths, and Co. ....	90,979	19,231	1s. 3d.
Oct. 13...	Barclay, Brothers, and Co. ....	389,504	298,491	15s.
— 9...	Rickards, Little, and Co. ....	141,676	50,430	6s. 8d.
Sept. 30...	Samuel Phillips and Co. ....	101,474	100,075	19s. 6d.
— 30...	W. T. Fraser .....	33,665	40,297	20s.
Oct. 15...	Laurence Philips and Sons .....	18,368	64,840	20s.

'The above list comprises twenty firms, with an aggregate of liabilities of £4,598,284, which would give an average of £229,414 for each firm. The average dividend furnished by the above estimates may be stated at about 13s. 6d. in the pound.

In several cases, where the bankrupt houses had property, a large part of it was locked up in estates, or other unnegotiable securities. Some examples there were of stoppages, in which the property was more than sufficient to meet all the liabilities, but it could not be realized at the moment without incurring great loss; and the parties preferred suspending their transactions, to making a great sacrifice. But most of them were in so bad a condition, that under any system of currency, under any amount of circulation, they must sooner or later have stopped. '*One half of the firms named,*' said a broker's circular, giving a list of some of the principal failures, '*were absolutely insolvent,* and it would have been madness in the Bank of England, had its coffers been overflowing with bullion, to discount paper on the faith of their names, on any terms whatever.\*' Their insolvency had been of some standing. The corn-merchants, generally speaking, though amongst them there were examples of the other case, failed from a sudden and great change in the price of their stock; the great houses in the general line perished from a long continued atrophy.

These facts must satisfy our readers, notwithstanding the great outcry that was made at the time against the Bank of England, and notwithstanding some errors it committed, that the condition of the currency had very little to do with the discredit of the merchants. Including all the variations of the country banks, the changes in the amount of currency bore no relation to the sudden change in price which ruined the corn-merchants. At all times the currency has fluctuated somewhat in amount; and those who attribute the ruin to a restriction on the bank issues, say not one word against them when speculation makes men mad. If the currency be in fault, it must be blamed for the excessive high price as well as the panic price,—the former being, as we have shown, more out of the course of nature than the latter. It is, however, idle to ascribe the price of wheat in May, to the action of the Bank, and equally idle to ascribe the price in September to any alteration, for none of importance occurred, in its issues.

The great mass of the sum put down as '*liabilities,*' consisted of acceptances, which passed from hand to hand, and were—what silver was in the time of Abraham—'*current money with the merchant.*' A portion only of that amounted to £4,598,284, and probably the whole amount was not less than £12,000,000. Considering the wide extent of the discredit, including the foreign firms, we doubt if the sum were not much greater. To

\* Monthly Circular of Messrs. Laing and Bruce for the Overland Mail of October.

make its effects apparent, we must quote a passage, describing the cases of mercantile bills :—

*'Bills of exchange,'* said Mr. Burgess, in his letter to Mr. Canning written more than twenty years ago, and the practice of using bills has since increased, 'have long ceased to be merely an instrument of commerce to render perfect a mercantile transaction between country and country, and *internal bills* have become gradually more and more a part of our circulation; they have ceased to be so currently used by the manufacturers in payment of small sums under ten pounds as they were thirty or forty years ago, owing to the high rates of stamps upon small sums. Bills above the value of ten pounds form now as *completely a part of the currency as Bank of England notes*. They are used to pay for minerals—for all kinds of raw produce used in manufactures—for all the principal articles of food and clothing and recently in some cases for mere labour. \* \* \* \* In the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire and Lancashire, no man, generally speaking, thinks of paying for any commodities above the nature of ten pounds, otherwise than by a bill after date. This practice is now very general through the northern and midland counties, and is increasing in other parts. A bill at three months is considered in Lancashire and part of Yorkshire, which, as regards bills, is almost half the kingdom, to be in money payment.'

The bills of the merchants, then, are real currency; and to have the bulk of them discredited, to have some £10,000,000 or £12,000,000 at once stamped as worthless, might well paralyse all trade. There were houses in the city with heaps of bills nominally of great value, on which no discounters would advance a farthing. The real fact was totally different from the fact, in 1826 and 1797—the currency of the merchants, not of the banks, was discredited, and the merchants as a body suffered. Their failures contracted business, and prevented the circulation of other currency, dependent on their transactions. On their bills, bankers as the rule, made advances; and as they were discredited, the bankers kept their currency in their tills. The extensive failures of the merchants preceded the contraction of bankers' currency. They caused most of the bank failures such as that of the Royal Bank of Liverpool; they led to straightened accommodation, and were the cause, not the effect of limited bank issues.

The currency of the merchants being discredited, there was a great demand for the currency of the bankers; or money, in which they deal, became unusually dear. So many merchants having failed, all merchants found it difficult to obtain the accommodation they had been accustomed to receive; and, overlooking the remote cause,—mercantile discredit—they ascribed it to the deficiency of bankers' currency, and demanded an

increased issue of notes. They were joined by some theorists, they influenced a portion of the press; and so great a clamor was raised, that the ministers gave way to it; and while they professed to believe that the currency was sound in principle, and soundly administered, they adopted a measure to give relief by setting aside the law, and altering the administration of the bank currency.

That there was no extraordinary action of the Bank between May and September, nor any great efflux of bullion, to give rise to the great discredit of the merchants is evident from the following statement:—

## BANK RETURNS FOR 1847.

(We omit three figures—the sums are millions.)

	MAY.		SEPTEMBER.	
	First Week.	Last Week.	First Week.	Last Week.
Issue.....	22,506	23,290	22,396	22,190
Bullion.....	9,337	10,169	8,958	8,782
Reserve.....	3,572	5,497	4,751	4,703
Mercantile Securities..	16,112	17,041	17,508	20,007
Circulation.....	20,600	19,428	19,049	18,898

The decline of bullion, the most important feature, from the highest to the lowest point was only £1,387,000., and the diminution of circulation only £1,708,000., but when both the bullion and the circulation were the lowest, the amount of mercantile securities was the highest, so that the Bank gave the greatest accommodation, being willing to assist the merchants when its circulation and its own resources were most in danger. We do not undertake the defence of the Bank. Its charter is an outrage on freedom and justice. The legislation regulating the currency is from beginning to end contrary to principle, and one tissue of ignorance and absurdity. But it is of great importance to place the truth fairly before the public, and not to exonerate the mercantile classes by erroneously censuring the Bank. Of its general effects, into which we do not now inquire, for they are not in question, we say nothing, we speak only of its temporary action, and between that and the failure of our merchant princes there was no connection. In a season of prosperity they are disposed to regard it as an admirable institution and frown down all attempts to get rid of it. Their adversity has no more influence than their prosperity, in determining our opinion of that institution; we condemn it at all times, and on principle, not because they plunge at one time into wild speculations, and at another become bankrupts.

For some time past the character of our commercial classes has not been rising in public estimation. In their hands com-

merce has almost ceased to be the beneficial means of equalizing supply and demand through time and space, neutralizing the varying effects of seasons, and giving to all countries peculiar products of different climates, and has become a mere gambling. Against that perversion those who most honour genuine traffic will most loudly protest. The instances manifest to the public of individual mismanagement, are, we are afraid, typical of a general misconduct, which threatens, if commerce be the main stay of the empire, great national disasters. If we are about to quote be well founded, and from what we have witnessed we are afraid it is, and a very searching reform does speedily take place in the mode of conducting business, failures that have already occurred are only the forerunners of a wider spread bankruptcy.

In the circular of Messrs. Laing and Bruxner already quoted it is said, 'the system of *discounting bills drawn and accepted* not for the strictly legitimate purpose of effecting remittances and payments, but *for raising working capital has become a general custom of the mercantile world.*' In the same sense Messrs. Dufay and Co., in their circular from Manchester November affirm, that the examination of the affairs of certain great houses has *destroyed all confidence in English merchants* and that it has been proved that many of them trade on borrowed capital, and some of them have even lived on borrowed capital.

In conjunction with these extraordinary statements, it must be remembered, that in the great majority of cases, for many years past, business has been carried on at a very low rate of profit. The interest on the public funds, which are a good index to mercantile profit, though of course below it, have for several years on the average yielded more than three and a half per cent. Merchants, themselves, are continually on the watch to import cheap commodities, being equally useful in dearer commodities, from all parts of the world, and their excessive competition, very beneficial on the whole to the public, continually tends to reduce profit very low. Of late the principle of free trade has been extensively acted on, and though the opening of new markets always, in the first instance, tends to raise the rate of profit, the additional competition cannot fail to reduce it speedily to a minimum. It is nearly impossible, therefore, that trade can now be successfully carried on as it was between 1797 and 1820, when the rate of profit was comparatively high, chiefly on borrowed capital. And when that capital is borrowed on bills paying a comparatively high rate of interest, subject to stamp duties on renewals, and put in circulation as currency, being, in fact, a false foundation for

immense fabric—not only must it be impossible to carry on trade successfully for a continuance, but the whole must fall to ruin, and crush beneath it the bulk of the community. We all have an interest then, a fearful interest, in the conduct of our merchants, and writers do the public a serious injury—they sin against truth and justice, when they shield the mercantile classes from distrust and reproach, by throwing the blame of their bankruptcy on an act of the legislature, or the mismanagement of the Bank.

Such a conclusion we are aware is not very flattering to our self-love. With that habitual reverence for wealth, which is now a distinguishing national characteristic, we have humbled ourselves before these merchant-princes, and it cuts us to the soul to find out that they are no better than they should be. Not many years ago, a number of literary men gathered around the Edinburgh bookseller, Mr. Constable, who lived in great style, and passed for a man of great wealth. On a sudden he failed, and was found to have been insolvent for years, and to have imposed on the world by prodigious assumption. By those literary men who had flattered him, his name was never afterwards mentioned but with feelings of shame and reproach, that they had allowed themselves to honour a man whose every day life was a fraudulent demand on their respect. What happened—in that individual case, must now be general. The leading spirits of the age have flattered and worshipped the great bubbles that have now burst. They were honoured as the great men of the greatest city of the world. They decided elections, gave the tone to public opinion, and influenced the fate of ministers and of nations. War and peace were in a great measure dependent on them. All at once we see them collapse into helplessness, confess they are little better than impostors, and cry almost as piteously for government help as the Irish landlords. More money is demanded, the community must be taxed to keep up prices for them, and, instead of proudly dictating to ministers and setting bounds to government, they demand its aid. On the pretence that commerce cannot move without it, they are ready to sacrifice the public liberties and increase the authority of the state. It was trade carried on, by men of capital and honour, that taught the world, and inculcated on statesmen, the great doctrine of *laissez faire*, but trade under the management of our men of pretence cannot go alone, and assuming a false character, they betray a great truth, as well as derange the affairs of a great people.

It is not, however, surprising, that the merchants who suffer as a body, and are not much accustomed to take philosophy to



their help, should be willing to lay the blame on the Bank, and raise an outcry for government help and currency reform. Nor is it very surprising that public writers, taking their cue from their customers, the suffering merchants, though like the Bank they cordially approved of the act of 1844, and were delighted with the Bank in 1845 and 1846, should have united with them in blaming the law and the Bank, and in demanding an additional issue of notes. But we are much astonished that the ministers who approve of the act of 1844, who throw the blame on the Bank, who are justly of opinion that commercial discredit can not be traced to the action of the currency, should have yielded to the demands of the mercantile classes and the journalists, and issued their letter of October 25th. We are still more astonished at the language they use, and we believe that they must have been, with their opinions, themselves surprised at the beneficial effects of their measure. Here is the letter:—

‘Downing-street, Oct. 25, 1847.

‘Gentlemen, — Her Majesty’s government have seen with the deepest regret the *pressure which has existed for some weeks upon the commercial interests* of the country, and that this *pressure has been aggravated by a want of that confidence which is necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade.*

‘They have been in hopes that the check given to transactions of a speculative character, the transfer of capital from other countries, the influx of bullion, and the feeling which a knowledge of these circumstances might have been expected to produce, *would have removed the prevailing distrust.*

‘They were encouraged in this expectation by the speedy cessation of a similar state of feeling in the month of April last.

‘These hopes have, however, been disappointed, and her Majesty’s government have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when they ought to *attempt by some extraordinary and temporary measure to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community.*

‘For this purpose they recommend to the directors of the Bank of England, in the present emergency, to enlarge the amount of the discounts and advances upon approved security; but that, in order to retain this operation within reasonable limits, a high rate of interest should be charged. In present circumstances they would suggest that the rate of interest should not be less than eight per cent.

‘If this course should lead to any infringement of the existing law, her Majesty’s government will be prepared to propose to Parliament, on its meeting, a Bill of Indemnity.

‘They will rely upon the discretion of the directors to reduce as soon as possible the amount of their notes, if any extraordinary issue should take place within the limits prescribed by law.

‘ Her Majesty’s government are of opinion that any extra profit derived from this measure should be carried to the account of the public, but the precise mode of doing so must be left to future arrangement.

‘ Her Majesty’s government are not insensible to the evil of any departure from the law which has placed the currency of this country upon a sound basis; but they feel confident that, in the present circumstances, the measure which they have proposed may be safely adopted; and that, at the same time, the main provisions of that law and the vital principle of preserving the convertibility of the bank note may be firmly maintained.

‘ We have the honour to be, Gentlemen,  
Your obedient humble servants,

‘ JOHN RUSSELL.

‘ CHARLES WOOD.

‘ The Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Bank of England.’

The ministers profess that pressure on the mercantile classes is caused by a want of confidence, not by a want of currency, and at the same time they profess to restore confidence by enlarging the currency of the Bank. The inconsistency is trifling compared to the assumption that mercantile confidence is under their controul, and can be restored by some extraordinary measure to be taken by them. Replete as our monetary regulations are with assumption and inconsistencies, such as the celebrated resolution of Mr. Vansittart, that a pound note and a shilling were equal to twenty-seven shillings, none of them are surpassed by the assumptions and inconsistencies of this letter. The Bank directors, however, agreed to act on it. They resolved on the same day that the *minimum* rate of discount on bills not having more than ninety-five days to run be eight per cent. That advances be made on Bills of Exchange, on Stock, Exchequer-bills, and other approved securities, in sums of not less than £2,000 and for periods to be fixed by the governors, at the rate of eight per cent per annum.’ This did not appear very likely to give relief, but relief followed. Although the conditions of the act of 1844 have not been overstepped since the minister’s letter, and there is no occasion to demand an indemnity for setting aside the law, the public funds have risen, money has been easier, confidence to some extent has been revived, and hope has been rekindled. How much these effects have arisen from causes totally different from the minister’s letter, such as the natural end of the disease by the death of all the weak members, giving more room for the strong survivors, we shall not investigate, but we must, to avoid any erroneous inferences, point out the specific mode in which their interference has been beneficial.

The law fixes a very certain and definite limit to the Bank issues in relation to the gold in its coffers. As the gold diminishes the Bank draws in its notes, Bank currency rises in value, a fear is begotten that it will rise still higher. That is entirely and exclusively the consequence of laying down the rule by law, that notes shall only be issued in a certain proportion to the amount of gold in the Bank till. For an individual banker to follow such a rule is extremely prudent, but it is with him all times a question of individual discretion, and it does not follow that what is proper for him to do, should be decreed by the law. On the contrary, an iron rule of law would supersede the banker's discretion, and guide his operations by legislation instead of by his own resources and the wants and means of his customers. The Bank for which the law has established the rule also receives a quasi monopoly of the right to issue currency payable on demand. Thus the quantity of gold in the Bank till, instead of the wants of and means of the people, is made by act of Parliament, the rule for determining the quantity of credit or Bank currency in circulation. From that arises an apprehension that the amount limited by a false rule of law would be insufficient for the purpose of commerce.

We have already had occasion to see the important part that imagination played in producing the bankruptcy of corn merchants. As in that case it enhanced the price of corn, in this it enhances the value of the Bank currency, makes all men eager to get it, and adds to the difficulty occasioned by the discredit of mercantile currency. Merchants could never tell to what extent the gold might go out, and to what extent the money might be stinted and rise in value. The letter of the government put an end to their apprehensions by suspending the false legislative rule of regulating the amount of currency by the amount of gold. It generated the conviction that though the gold should go out, credit currency would not be further curtailed. It placed a limit to the contraction, and removed farther off the artificial limit to expansion.

Be it remembered that the correction applied by the ministers was not of a natural, but of a legislative evil. It removed the false legislation of strictly limiting the currency of banks by bullion, and so impressed on all the conviction that the Bank issues would not be indefinitely narrowed. Its effects, however, were wholly moral, and therefore apt to be overlooked by writers who confine their attention to material results. At the point of fact, the letter of October 25th, was a nullity; permission if it gave was not acted on, the issue of notes has yet exceeded the limit set by the law. Materially then the letter was of no use, but morally it was a benefit. Whether

ministers were aware or not of the mode of operation, their proceeding did restore confidence; not mercantile confidence, not the confidence of discounters in the bills of merchants who trade on credit and live on credit, but confidence in escaping at a time of extremity, by the dispensing power of the executive, from the iron rule of the law. It is another remarkable example of the influence of imagination over those affairs which in general are supposed to lie beyond its sphere. Had ministers been aware how easily and beneficially they could have operated on this faculty, they would hardly have delayed so long their extraordinary measure, and made themselves responsible as by their letter they have, for all the mischief that ensued by the want of confidence which prevailed from the beginning of September to the end of October. They could have remedied it according to their own statement, and did not.

The complete unsubstantiality of our commercial greatness, which the discredit of our merchants both at home and abroad, has revealed, and the insufficiency of our much boasted Bank Act, of which the minister's letter is an avowal, have begotten quite a chaos of discussion. It was supposed, when the Corn Laws were abolished, they had so exclusively occupied the public, that political writers would be at a loss for topics. The apprehension is dissipated for ever. The bankruptcy of 1847 has shown society under a new phasis, and at once convinced us, however desirable and just is free trade, that legislation for the mere purpose of extending commerce, carried on as that now is, in a manner ruinous to the substantial wealth and the morals of the people, will lose its support in the general mind. The abolition of all kinds of monopoly, and of all exclusive privileges and advantages conferred by the law, will be always as advantageous as it is righteous; but neither the abolition of the Bank Charter, nor the abolition of the Navigation Laws, can be recommended on the ground that it will extend the operations of such houses as those of the Gowers, Rae Reid, and Lealey Alexander. Speculation rioting in its resources, and enhancing at one time the price of corn and cotton, stops the wheels of half the mills in Manchester, and becoming bankrupt at another, throws the whole productive machinery of the country out of gear, threatening confusion, outrage, and the sacrifice of liberty. That is too high a price to pay for the chance of enriching a few gambling merchants; and one of the most fatal effects of commercial bankruptcy is, to diminish the political influence of our commercial classes. The discredit of trade tends to restore the ascendancy of the landed aristocracy.

Other subjects connected with these great failures, which have been prominently brought into discussion, are, the govern-

ment of the Bank, which it is proposed to remove from under the control of directors who are merchants, and may be bankrupts; the abolition of the Bank Charter; the establishment of a national bank; the propriety of authorizing the government or allowing individuals to issue, at discretion, promises to pay; the incorrectness of establishing, by law, a standard of value, where there is none in nature but the estimate of buyers and sellers; the whole system of the currency, to reform which, innumerable suggestions have been tossed before the public; the greater utility of joint stock banks than of private banks, which is no made doubtful by several of the former having failed; the influence of our rapid modes of transit on credit, bills being still drawn on the old dates of six and nine months, when the commodities on which they are drawn are brought to market in three, and consumed long before the bills are paid, leaving, in truth, little or nothing to pay them with, but other bills; and many similar subjects, which we cannot find room even to mention. Some reference to the agitation and discussion they are causing, may, however, well be expected in an article professing to treat of the general commercial discredit, which has occasioned them, and is the most startling phenomenon of our day. But we have confined ourselves strictly to that single topic, and have endeavoured to show that mercantile discredit is not the consequence of the monetary regulations to which the great part of the public ascribe it, and that its cause must be sought in the domain of morals, rather than in that of political economy. On the probability of its continuing or recurring, we will not venture an opinion further than to say, that mercantile men generally act like the corn merchants, and gather from all quarters of the globe commodities for sale, thereby leading to abundance and cheapness, while the speculations of each individual can only succeed by comparative scarceness and dearness. These separate aims are in opposition to the general result, and there must, therefore, be many failures. If to this we add, that while the price of commodities is falling, brokerage, freight, commission, and a great variety of fixed charges remain undiminished, a presumption arises against the expectation that credit will again be exuberant for a long period, and commerce uninterruptedly flourish. Looking at the immense army of extravagant men, who, in all our cities, now derive large income from the mere transmission and distribution of commodities, the producers of which derive little more than a subsistence from their labours, it seems irrational to expect that this system, now that its hollowness is exposed, should be restored to its former imposing greatness and splendour.

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## Brief Notices.

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*The Poet's Pleasaunce; or, Garden of all Sorts of Pleasant Flowers, which our Poets have, in Past Time, for Pastime, planted.* By Eden Warwick. London: Longman and Co.

On first opening this beautiful volume, we were somewhat disappointed. The elegance of its exterior, and its ornate embellishments, led us to anticipate, we scarcely know why, a more delicious treat than 'The Introduction,' on which we first alighted, promised to supply. The matter-of-fact habits of the present day are not suited to the old *Reverie*, and Mr. Warwick has not succeeded in reconciling it to modern taste. The quaintness of the Elizabethan style is not a thing of words merely; it requires the intellect of the age, the fine ethereal quality which it enclosed, in order to command respect, or to minister to our pleasure. Apart from these, it is dull and affected prose, destitute alike of point and brilliancy. Now these qualities are of rare occurrence, and, when they exist, their natural medium is the speech proper to the age, to the use of which their possessor has been trained. 'To attempt a conversation between such men as Spenser, Chaucer, Shakspeare, and Ben Jonson, is to hazard an almost certain failure; and we need not, therefore, be surprised that Mr. Warwick's labors are not altogether successful. If, however, our first feeling was that of disappointment, a very different one arose when we proceeded to examine the general contents of the volume. The design of the work is 'to illustrate the extent of homage which our best poets, prior to the present century, have paid to Nature, in flowers—her most delicately beautiful productions.' The volume is, in consequence, a History of the Poetry of Flowers; and the extracts given are arranged chronologically, and grouped according to their subjects. The selections made are, with trifling exceptions, from our elder poets. This is as it should be; and no lover of pure verse, especially if he be a votary of Flora, will regret the preference shewn to our elder bards. 'It is in this respect, and in its chronological and systematic arrangement, that this compilation will be found principally to differ from its predecessors, in all of which the old poets have been neglected to make room for our contemporaries, whose writings are in every one's hands.' The commencement of each chapter is embellished by a flower-border, from the faithful pencil of Mr. H. N. Humphreys, whose knowledge as a naturalist is so happily combined with correct taste, and the power of skilful delineation.

Altogether, the volume constitutes one of the most beautiful of the season, and may take its place, without fear of comparison, by the side of the most costly occupant of the drawing-room.

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*Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book.* 1848. By the Hon. Mrs. Norton. London: Fisher and Co.

'FISHER'S Drawing Room Scrap-Book,' is like the memorial of a generation. It has survived nearly all its contemporaries; but its countenance is yet full of bloom, its voice is soft and pleasant, and its companionship by the fire-side of winter is as agreeable as ever. We do regret the disappearance of the class to which it belongs. It was evidently ephemeral, and its influence was made up of good and evil. (A beneficial result, however, has followed. The public mind has been familiarised with works of art, and its taste has thereby been improved. A world has been created which our artists are now seeking to gratify in connexion with works of sterling literary merit. This is as it should be, and we shall be glad to find that public patronage is sufficiently afforded to induce our most skilful artists to continue their present useful labours. The 'Drawing Room Scrap-Book' does not profess to furnish original engravings. The plates are selected from numerous illustrated works published by Messrs. Fisher, and in the present case are thirty-six in number. They furnish considerable variety of subject, and are distinguished by different degrees of artistic merit. As they have mostly passed under notice in other forms, we need not now attempt to discriminate their qualities.

The volume is edited, like that of last year, by the Hon. Mrs. Norton, the attractive peculiarities of whose muse are distinctly traceable in the literary illustrations. The poet must always labor at a disadvantage when his subjects are selected for him, and we, therefore, wonder at the degree of excellence attained in cases like the present, rather than at being disappointed at any short-comings. The general cast of the poetry is scarcely equal to that of last year, though there are some beautiful exceptions; amongst which we may mention, 'The Queen's Chamber Fontainebleau,' 'The Nun,' and 'The Earthquake.' We need scarcely add that, like its predecessors, the volume for 1848 will be a graceful decoration of any drawing-room table on which it may lie.

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*The History of Greece.* By Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Bishop of Exeter. David's. In Eight Volumes 8vo. Vol. IV. New Edition. London: Longman and Co.

WE have so frequently expressed our high opinion of this work, that we need only announce at present, the appearance of another volume of the library edition, which brings down the history to the peace of Antioch, in the year 387, B.C. The production of such a work, with the contemporaneous appearance of that of Mr. Grote, reflects no trifling honor on the scholarship of our country. We hail them as joint emanations, varying in form, but kindred in spirit, of that more accurate, profound, and generous erudition which is now throwing its light on misapprehended passages of past history. To the scholar we need not recommend Bishop Thirlwall's history, but to all other classes we say, 'You will defraud yourselves if you do not attentively study its condensed yet luminous pages.'

*The Convict : a Tale.* By G. P. R. James, Esq. Three Volumes. London : Smith, Elder, and Co.

THIS is one of the most successful of Mr. James's late publications, and may be read without hesitation by persons of all ages. Its scene is laid in recent times, and its chief characters are sketched with great skill. It does not assume the rank of a historical novel, but is described by the author as 'a very simple story,' told 'in the simplest possible manner.' This is the language of modest appreciation, and if any reader concludes from it that the work is deficient in skilful construction, or exhibits few traces of nice discrimination in the sketching of individual portraits, he will speedily change his opinion. We commenced its perusal with misgivings, arising from the obvious rapidity of its production ; but had not proceeded far, before we saw reason to conclude that it was superior to all its more immediate predecessors, in the power of engaging the deep and earnest interest of a reader. The characters of Edward Dudley, and of Sir Arthur Adelon and his son Edgar, are ably drawn ; while those of Mr. Clive, Mr. Norries, and Martin Oldkirk, are accurate representatives of distinct English classes. Eda, and Helen Clive, are beautiful portraits of feminine virtue, and Mr. Filmer, the Jesuit priest Father Peter, is, we fear, too correct a likeness of a class once more numerous and active amongst us. Mr. James has expended considerable labor on the last portrait, and in the dark policy assigned to the Jesuit, has exposed himself to the censure of the false liberals of the day. To this he refers in his preface, and urges, in his own defence, that his representation of Father Peter does nothing more than embodies principles which he has heard avowed 'by a living man,' and deeds 'which there is much reason to believe that living man performed.' We fear there is too much truth in this, and much, therefore, as we are opposed to the party spirit which attributes to a class the worst qualities of its most depraved members, we are compelled to admit the correctness of the likeness drawn. History throws a fearful light on the policy of this body, the principles of which sanction any violation of truth or sacrifice of individual rights, to advance the interests of the papacy.

The chief interest of the fiction lies in the earlier and latter portions. The foreign scenes rather injure the impression, while some of the most interesting portions of the narrative—as, for instance, the trial and expatriation of Edward Dudley—are slurred over in a manner which bespeaks the haste with which the work has been prepared. The author, it would seem, could not spare time to elaborate with sufficient care this crisis in his hero's fate.

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*The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack for 1848.* London : John Snow. pp. 64.

*The Congregational Calendar for 1848. Published for the Congregational Union.* London : Jackson and Walford. pp. 80.

THESE Almanacks contain a large amount of information in common, and we are not disposed to prosecute the invidious task of comparing



their merits. The former is unquestionably our favorite, and is more adapted, in our judgment, to meet the requirements of the present day. It is *dissenting*, and not *denominational*, and contains a large mass of information, and much sound advice, on all points pertaining to the ecclesiastical policy of the age. Mr. Cassell, by whom it has been prepared, thoroughly sympathizes with the aggressive attitude of dissent; and in reference to the efforts which are being made to dissociate the church from the state, informs us that, 'to contribute in some small measure towards such a glorious consummation, 'The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack' has been constructed.' The work, moreover, is published at threepence, being half the price of its contemporary.

To those, however, who are specially anxious for denominational intelligence, 'The Congregational Calendar' will be the most acceptable. Though its ecclesiastical information is not exclusively congregational, it is mainly such, and considerable diligence and extensive research are evinced in its pages. Why is it that the editor persists in excluding 'The British Anti-State-Church Association' from his list of 'Religious and Benevolent Societies?' We noticed the omission last year, and are sorry to find that he has not learned wisdom by what has since occurred.

*The Inundation; or, Peace and Pardon. A Christmas Story.* By Mrs. Gore. With Illustrations by George Cruikshank. London: Fisher and Co.

THIS is a trashy volume, written, we presume, *to order*, in order to meet the fashion set by Mr. Dickens. We should be sorry to see the holidays of our youths employed in the perusal of such small ware, and counsel the writers of fiction, if they would retain their hold on this class, to show them greater respect, by providing for them works of more sterling merit.

*A Letter from Rome, shewing an Exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism; or, the Religion of the Present Romans to be derived entirely from that of their Heathen Ancestors.* By Conyers Middleton, D.D. *New Edition, with an Abridgment of the Author's Reply to 'A Romanist.'* London: Grant and Griffith.

THE choice of Middleton's celebrated 'Letter' for a reprint at the present time is highly seasonable and judicious. To those of our readers who are not already acquainted with its merits, we seriously urge the immediate purchase of the publication. There was certainly not much need for Middleton to visit Rome in search of paganism. He might have found enough, had he looked for it in the establishment of this country. But to the deformities of his own church his eyes, no doubt, were blinded by gratitude and filial affection; and the only wonder is, that those of the grandmother church were not spared through a kindred feeling.

*Liberty of Conscience Illustrated; and the Social Relations sustained by Christians as Members of the Commonwealth considered.* By J. W. Massie, D.D., M.R.I.A. Published by request. London: John Snow.

DR. MASSIE is an able and an earnest man, who has rendered good service to the cause of religious liberty on many trying occasions. We thank him for what he has done, and most heartily commend to the favor of our readers, this last production of his pen. The publication consists of the substance of lectures delivered at Liverpool, Birmingham, and several other cities and towns, on one of the most important, and at the present moment most engrossing, subjects which can occupy public attention. We greatly rejoice in the extent to which Dr. Massie's labors, as a lecturer were carried, and can bear witness to the deep interest with which his addresses were received. He has done wisely in acceding to the earnest request of friends to publish his lectures, and we trust that they will receive a wide circulation. They evince extensive historical reading, a right appreciation of the worthies of the seventeenth century, a deep sympathy with the friends of religious liberty, a most commendable independence, and a measure of ability which is entitled to great respect.

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*Memoranda Catholica; or, Notes on Ecclesiastical History.* By Anglicus. London: E. Churton.

IN the first Part of this work, the only one we have yet seen, the author has recorded many interesting details of ecclesiastical history; but in a manner too desultory, partial, and unsupported by authentic references, to render them of much service. With the quiet and apparently unconscious assurance of his order, he makes the sacred writers, without putting himself or his readers to the trouble of examining the scriptures, parties to his episcopal notions of church government; and his 'Memoranda Catholica' shew him to be anything but catholic in his views on that subject. He assures us, with as much confidence as if the statements never had been or could be doubted, that the apostles were 'priests;' that the first deacons 'received their office from the apostles;' that James was the first bishop who filled 'the episcopal chair at Jerusalem;' that Jerusalem was 'the parent see;' that Peter occupied 'the episcopal chair at Antioch;' that, some years afterward, 'he established himself in the see of Rome,' and that the meeting of the church at Jerusalem was an ecclesiastical council, Paul and Barnabas having been sent from Antioch 'to consult the parent see.' Our author, we presume, is an Anglican priest, and therefore says nothing about popes and cardinals, purgatory or transubstantiation. But we beg leave respectfully to remind him, that the sacred writers never speak of apostolic priests, an episcopal chair, a parent see, or an ecclesiastical council, without, at the same time, mentioning all the saints of the Romish calendar.

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*The Recreation. A Gift Book for Young Readers.* With Engraving  
Edinburgh: John Murgins.

THIS is a very favourite book with our young people, and—why should we not confess the fact?—not altogether unacceptable to ourselves. It is a fascinating companion during a leisure half hour, and may serve, not altogether unprofitably, to while away some of the gloomy moments of winter. The present volume contains the usual variety of topics, and will be found fully equal to its predecessors.

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*The Vocation of the Scholar.* By Johan Gottlieb Fichte. Translated from the German, by William Smith. London: John Chapman 1847.

AN elegant and spirited translation of a work, replete with the characteristic subtlety and boldness of the German genius, without much of its imagination. Those moralists, who have more confidence in the wisdom of this world than in that 'which cometh from above,' will doubtless find in 'The Vocation of the Scholar' a publication exactly to their taste; nor will a work, which so strongly exemplifies the difficulties with which the most powerful minds incumber themselves, when, disregarding revelation, they endeavour to work out the problem of social improvement, be read without deep interest and pity by the Christian philosopher. It is the production of an earnest, profound, and philanthropic mind, and contains many noble and exalted sentiments; but declares man to be the end of his own existence; and is an evident attempt to make him virtuous without religion, and happy without God.

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*The Triumph of Henry VIII. over the Usurpations of the Church, and the Consequences of the Royal Supremacy; a Paper read to the Philosophical Institute, September 25th, 1846.* By George Offor, Esq. Published at the unanimous request of the President and Members  
London: Henry Campkin.

IN a series of very curious and extraordinary extracts from black letter testimony, Mr. Offor has given, under the above title, an original and deeply interesting, though succinct, history of the rise and overthrow of the papal abomination in this country. Sentiments, however, opposed to the observance of the Lord's-day, and the maintenance of the Christian ministry, disfigure the work. These, with one or two instances of careless writing, will, in the next edition, demand the author's attention. If he cannot conscientiously expunge them, it is due, at least, to the public, that he should examine them more closely than he seems to have done, the testimony of Scripture respecting them. With these exceptions we give the work our hearty commendation.

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*Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Dyer, Sixteen Years Missionary to the Chinese.* By Ewen Davies, author of 'China and her Spiritual Claims.' pp. 303. London: John Snow. 1846.

THE publication of wisely written accounts of missionary lives and labours are calculated to sustain and direct the missionary spirit in our churches. Mr. Dyer deserved this honor, and the description of his course furnished by Mr. Davies, is as instructive and interesting as that of any we have seen. We trust this record of his worth will meet with the acceptance which it richly merits from the Christian public.

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*The Lads of the Factory; with Friendly Hints on their Duties and Dangers.* Religious Tract Society.

THE design of this little work is to teach and enforce moral and religious lessons by example. The class whose welfare is contemplated is a very important and very exposed one. The instruction here communicated, in the form of 'scenes and characters from real life,' possesses general adaptation to their circumstances and wants.

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*A Brief Commentary on the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.* By the Rev. Alexander S. Patterson, Glasgow. pp. 126. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. London: Hamilton & Co.

WE see no particular reason for the publication of this work. It is just such an one as any evangelical minister or layman might write. The sentiments are sound, the style is simple, the tendency, to promote piety, but these, we imagine, are not sufficient qualifications for theological works in the present day, and least of all for commentaries.

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## Literary Intelligence.

### Just Published.

An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times. By John Angell James. 3rd Edition.

The Convict. A Tale. By G. P. R. James, Esq. In 3 vols.

Athanase. A Dramatic Poem. By Edwin F. Roberts.

The Recreation. A Gift-book for Young Readers.

Religious Liberty and the Church in Chains; being an attempt to set forth the grounds upon which a number of the Clergy are at present associated to obtain a restoration of corrective discipline in the English Church. By James Bradby Sweet, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Woodville, Leicester.

Oxford Protestant Magazine. No. IX.

The Philosophy of Geology. By A. C. G. Jobert. 2nd Edition.

The Modern Orator. By C. J. Fox. Part IX.

Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. Edited by W. Smith, LL.D. Part XXII. Photius—Pompeius.

The Young Man's Aid to Improvement, Success, and True Happiness. By Mentor.

Four Lectures on the Contrasts of Ancient and Modern History, delivered at Manchester Athenæum. By F. N. Newman.

The Protestant Dissenters' Almanack for 1848, being Bissextile or Leap Year.

A Voice from the Millions. Reasons for appealing to the Middle Classes on behalf of their Unenfranchised Brethren. By a Norwich Operative.

Posthumous Works of the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Edited by the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Vol. I.

Caldwell's Musical Journal. Part. V.

North British Review. No. XV.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Part X.—Berwickshire—Bokhara.

History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace. No. VII.

The Pictorial Bible. Part IX.

The Story without an End. From the German of Carove. By Sarah Austin. Illustrated by William Harvey, Esq.

The Children's Year. By Mary Howitt.

School Music; comprehending the Child's Own Tune Book for Sunday Schools, with a large and varied selection of Tunes for Day Schools. Arranged for Three Voices. By George Hogarth, Esq., author of "The History of Music," &c., and edited by John Curwen.

The Christian in Palestine; or, Scenes of Sacred History. Illustrated from sketches taken on the spot. By W. H. Bartlett. With Explanatory Descriptions. By Henry Stebbing, D.D. Parts XIII—XX.

History of Rome, for Young Persons. By Mrs. Hamilton Gray. Dedicated to her Child. 2 Vols. Vol. I.

Cathedral Rhymes: suggested by Passages in the Liturgy and Lessons. By the author of "Recollections of Childhood," &c.

The Grace of God the Cause of Ministerial Excellence and Usefulness. A Sermon occasioned by the lamented Death of the Rev. John Ely. Preached at Queen Street Chapel, Leeds, 24th October, 1847; together with the Address delivered at the interment, on Friday, October 15th. By Thomas Scales.

Honor; or, the Story of the Brave Caspar and the Fair Annerl. By Clemens Brentano. With an Introduction and a Biographical Notice of the Author. By T. W. Appele. Translated from the German.

On the Relations of Free Knowledge to Moral Sentiment. A Lecture, delivered in University College, London, on the 13th of October, 1847, as introductory to the Session of 1847—8. By Francis W. Newman, Professor of Latin, &c.

A Series of Discourses on Practical and Doctrinal Subjects. By Rev. William Dow, A.M.

An Essay on the Diseases of the Jaws, and their Treatment. By Leonard Koecker. New Edition, with copious Notes and an Appendix containing Tables of upwards of Three Hundred Cases. By J. B. Mitchell, M.D.

Criticisms. By John W. Lester, Christ's College, Cambridge.

# INDEX.

## VOL. XXII.—NEW SERIES.

- Agitation, Dissenting, 488; Manchester Resolutions on Education, 488, 491; designed to serve the Whigs, 493; their influence on government, 499; how got up, 494; correspondence respecting, 497; fallacies about the Anti-State-Church-Society, 501; about church property, 505; and the injury to true religion of agitation on the subject, 506.
- Akerman, J. Y.: *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, 215.
- Andersen, H. C.: *True Story of my Life*, 342; early history, 344; apprenticeship, 345; musical abilities, 346; journey to Italy, 349; Thorwaldsen, 351; visit to the king, 352.
- Anti-Bribery Society, 513; its object, 534; evils of the last general election, 515, and the registration courts, 516, 528; Anti-Corn-Law-League not immaculate, 518; private history of the Reform Bill, 519; tenant voters, 521; open bribery, 524; electioneering agents, 525, 530.
- Anti-State-Church Tracts for the Million*, 384.
- Bennett, W. J. E.: *Crime and Education*, 248.
- Birks, T. R.: *Christian State*, 535, 551; author's series of propositions, 537; their radical fallacy, 538; the Christianity of a ruler gives him no new authority, 540; embarrassments of the theory—what rulers have authority in the church? 546; who is to judge of their title? 547; what power is an ungodly successor to have? 548.
- Bonar, A. A.: *Commentary on Leviticus*, 228.
- Caffré War, 728; its causes, 734.
- Carus, W.: *Memoir of Simeon*, 430; his conversion, 433; appointment to Trinity Church, 434; treatment of vexed theological questions, 437; of opponents, 439; efforts to get and keep the gospel in 'the church,' 441; last days, 444; character, 446; authorship, 448.
- Cary, H. F., *Memoir of*, 710; translation of Dante, 713; acquaintance with Coleridge, 715; literary contributions, 716.
- Coleman, L.: *Church without a Prelate*, 47; the Pauline description not applicable to diocesan bishops, 49-51; testimony of Jerome, 52; angels of the churches, 54, not distinct officers, 58; state of the

- episcopate at end of first century, 60; statements of Mosheim, 61; Campbell, 62, and Gibbon, 63.
- Commercial Failures in 1847, 750; corn trade bankruptcies, 751; their special causes, 753; unusual circumstances which might mislead, 755; failures of general merchants, 756; list of stoppages, 758; bills as part of the currency, 760; suspension of Bank Restriction Act, 764; its moral effects, 766; deteriorated character of our merchants, 761, 767.
- Congregational Calendar*, 771.
- Coulter, J.: *Adventures on the Coast of America*, 182; rescue at sea, 184; tiger hunt in Peru, 185; Californian robbers, 188; bears, 190; attack on the ship, 192; New Guinea, 195; an Irish chief of savages, 196.
- Criminal Law, Reports on*, 455; difficulty of dealing with convicts after punishment, 457; *objections to reformatory prisons, met*, 457.
- Davies, E.: *Memoir of Rev. S. Dyer*, 775.
- Dick, Dr. T.: *Solar System*, 253.
- Ducoux, D.: *Life of Papin*, 64; parentage, 67,—and protestantism, 76; experiments on air, 69; on steam, 72; letters to the Royal Society, 71, 73.
- Doubleday, T.: *History of England*, 129; origin of Bank of England, 131; commerce a natural not political phenomenon, 133; paper money represents the credit of producers, 136; author confounds natural with enacted laws, 137; Scotch banks, 139; effects of Bank of England Charter, 140; failure of the Act of 1844, 143; folly of a standard price of gold, 146; what are called laws of nations, 150; philosophy of public expenditure, 152.
- Dublin and its Corporation, 329; self-reliance the offspring of self-government, 330; Paving Board, 331; Street Commission, 333;
- Pipe Water Committee, *ib.*; Grand Jury, 335; Ballast Board, 335; conduct of the New Corporation, 340.
- Duppa, R.: *Lives of the Italian Painters*, 126.
- Eccleston, J.: *English Antiquities*, 316; the Roman dominion influential, 317; *extent of the Saxon kingdom*, 318; population laws, 319; William the Conqueror and his followers not of French but Scandinavian descent, 320; origin of trial by jury, 321; inference of the Saxon letter from the Roman—a great reason for non use in courts and records, 322; gradual growth of the constitution, 324; puritan dress, 325.
- Election, the General, 103; decay of the old party distinctions, 104; estrangement of nonconformists from the Whigs, 107; resolution of educational conference, 108; meetings at Leeds and Newcastle, 110; Braintree, Norwich, Bedford, 111; character of seceders, 114; answer to appeals to their gratitude, 115,—and defence, 116; their duty, 120.
- Evans, J. C.: *Digest of Election Bribery Laws*, 252.
- Fichte, J. G.: *Vocation of the Scholar*, 774.
- Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap Book*, 770.
- Fox, George, *Journal of his sufferings, and Labours*, 649.
- Foster, John: *Lectures*, second series, 251.
- France, her Governmental and social Organization, second edition, 252.
- Free Masons' Note-Book*, 8 Leaves from a, 253.
- Gasparin, Count A. de: *Interest of French Protestantism*, 218; liturgy of worship denied to the baptists, 218; number of French protestants, 223; disabilities past and present, 226, 227.

Gore, Mrs.: *the Inundation*, 772.

Gosse, P. H.: *Birds of Jamaica*, 399; Turkey vulture, 400; buzzard, 402; pugnacity of petcharies, 403; humming birds, 404, 409; singular cries of tropic birds, 405, 412; cave swallow, 407; mocking bird, 410; sympathy among birds, 415.

Grote, G.: *History of Greece*, 289; its style, 298; origin of the anti-monarchical feeling, 289; old and new demagogues, 291; origin of the Chaldeans, 294; uniting power of art, *ib.*; defence of Ostracism, 296; reverence for law the great characteristic of the Greek mind, 298.

Gweedore, *Facts from*, 740; its condition in 1837, 740; measures of Lord George Hill for improvement, 744; their results, 746; its present state, 748; signal example thus set, 749.

Hagenbach, K. R.: *History of Doctrines*, 257; its purpose, 258; plan, 259; reasons for the division adopted, 260; variety of interpretation no argument against the truth of revelation, 263; author's erroneous theory of development, 265, 268, 270; sufficiency of scripture, 267, 271; study of the 'Fathers,' 276; the earliest of them corrupt, 281; lax notions of author on inspiration, 282,—and on dignity of Christ, 283; age of polemics, 285.

Hamilton, James: *Mount of Olives*, 511.

Hamilton, R. W.: *Future Reward and Punishment*, 385; universality of moral obligation, 388; difficulties in the nature of moral government not intended to be solved by Christianity, 371; *immortality not conditional*, 393; *harmony of Revelation with Natural Religion*, 395; nature and duration of reward and punishment depend on nature of the moral agent, 396; annihilation of the wicked no retribution, 397.

Hansard Knollys' Society: *The Broadmead Records*, 156; religious liberty under the Protector, 158; and Charles II., 159; proclamation of indulgence, 161; persecutions of the church, 161, 165; devices for safety, 163.

Harvey, W. H.: *Nervis Australis*, 477.

Haug, M.: *Protestant France*, 510.

Hickie, D. B.: *Xenophon's Memorabilia*, 451.

Hoby, Dr.: *Memoir of W. Yates*, 89, 102; parentage, 92; studies as a linguist, 94; his publications, 96; scripture translations, 97, 100; death, 101.

Hughes, T. M.: *Iberia Won*, 247.

James, G. P. R.: *Convict, The*, 771.  
—: *Russell*, 382.

Jordan, J. J.: *On the Primitive Sabbath*, 697, 799.

Kip, W. J.: *Christmas Holidays in Rome*, 299, 310.

*Lads of the Factory, The*, 375.

Lane, R. J.: *Life at the Water-Cure*, 384.

Lewis, T.: *Christian Privileges*, 647.

Lindley, J.: *Vegetable Kingdom*, 167, 180; *School Botany*, 167, 180; *Garaener's Chronicle*, 167, 180; attractiveness of natural productions, 169; necessity of culture, 169; its results, 170; moral aspects of these pursuits, 171; influence on peasantry, 174, middle classes, 175, aristocracy, 176; benefit to ministers, 178.

Lingard, J.: *Anglo-Saxon Church*, 78; *Origin of the Saxons*, 80; Augustine's missions, 82; evil of state-made bishops, 84; Saxon church government, 84; condition of clergy, 85; foreign missionaries, 86.

Literary Intelligence, 127, 254, 384, 511, 647, 775.

Marsh, J.: *Popular Life of George Fox*, 649, 680; his upbringing,



- 653; distress of mind, 654, 656; commences his ministry, 657; persecuted at Nottingham, 659; treatment in Launceston jail, 663; interviews with Cromwell, 664, 666; treatment of the Quakers under the Commonwealth, 667; and in the colony of Massachusetts, 673; intolerance of Dr. Owen, 667; Fox's letter to Charles II., 669; appearance in court of King's Bench, 671; re-imprisonment, 675; Conventicle Act, *ib.*; Fox's resolution, 676.
- Massie, J. W.: *Liberty of Conscience Illustrated*, 773.
- M'Cabe, W. B.: *Catholic History of England*, 200; its boundless credulity, 201; legends about St. Austin, 204; miracles, 208; visions and prodigies the staple of the book, 210; its own publication as marvellous, 214.
- Medical Profession, a New Year's Gift for*, 254.
- Memoranda Catholica*, 773.
- Michelet: *History of Roman Republic*, 124.
- Middleton, C.: *Letter from Rome*, 772.
- Morell, J. D.: *View of Speculative Philosophy*, 681; its style, 695; definition of philosophy unsatisfactory, 683; relation of religion and philosophy, 686; generalization confounded with analysis, 689; Cousin's analysis unsatisfactory, 691.
- Mursell, J. P.: *Methodism and Dissent*, 126.
- National Cyclopædia*, Vol. ii., 646.
- Navigation Laws, Reports on, 616; their origin, 619; designed to cripple freedom of trade, 618; provisions of the Act of Charles II., 620; and of present law, 621; its effects — foreign wars, 625; alienation of seamen, 627; commercially injurious, 628; and unjust, 637; reciprocity treaties, 632, 635; maritime superiority not dependent on laws, 638; but on enterprise, 641.
- Nonconformist Elector*, 354; Whig ecclesiastical policy, 357; power of dissenters shown in the recent election, 362; substantial agreement of Whigs and Tories, 355, 363; fruits of their coalition in London, 367; Leeds, 368; Halifax, 369; Norwich, 370; defeat of ministerial candidates in Lambeth, 372; Tower Hamlets, 373; Edinburgh, 374; dissenting registration, 379; central organization, 380; and alliance with the people, *ib.*
- Ockley, S.: *History of the Saracens*, 248.
- O'Connell, Daniel, 231; victorious because morally superior to his opponents, 233; opposed to violence, 235; latterly sought the ascendancy of his own sect, 236; his enthusiasm for Thomas A'Beckett, 237; reverence for Christianity, 237; family love, 237; humour, 240; perseverance, 241; contrasted with Chalmers, 244; result of his labours, 238; consequences of his death, 236.
- Offor, G.: *Triumph of Henry the Eighth over the Usurpations of the Church*, 774.
- Orphanhood*, 125.
- Osburn, W.: *Ancient Egypt*, 416; interest of hieroglyphic paintings, 419; their interpretation aided by scripture statements, 422; author's theory of identification, 415, 417.
- Patterson, A. S.: *Commentary on 1st Epistle to Thessalonians*, 775.
- Pearsall, J. S.: *Constitution of Apostolic Churches*, 383.
- Peel, Sir R., his *Administration*, 1; that of Castlereagh, 4; Earl Grey, 6; Melbourne, 7; rise of Conservatism, 8; its meaning as used by Peel, 8; his *resignation speech*, 10; his successor, Lord John Russell, and his cabinet, 12—16.
- Penitentiary Congress*, 455; resolutions, 459; separate system, 461.

- Porter, G. R. : *Progress of the Nation*, 645.
- Pottinger, Sir H. : *Address to Cape Frontier Farmers*, 728, 730; Caffre settlement of 1837, 732; recent heartburnings, 734; Sandilli proclaimed a rebel, 735; old system of commandoes re-established, 737; ignorance and secrecy at the Colonial Office, 738.
- Prescott, W. H. : *Conquest of Peru*, 20; *the Incas*, 22; *their laws of property*, 23; *of marriage*, 24; first expedition of Pizarro, 27; second, 31; third, 36; *seizure of the Inca*, 42; *his murder*, 44; *Pizarro's own assassination*, 46.
- Protestant Association of France, central, 570; number of emigrants at revocation of Edict of Nantes, 571; protestantism at Blois, 573. *Protestant Dissenter's Almanac*, 771,
- Quincy, Q. de : *Raffaello*, 126.
- Recreation, The*, 774.
- Reynolds, J. : *Borough of Dublin Improvements*, 328, 336.
- Schiller, F. : *Historical Dramas*, 250.
- Schmitz, Dr. L. : *History of Rome*, 124.
- Schopenhauer, Mad. *Autobiography*, 250.
- Secular Education in Lancashire, plan for, 589, 598; utopian, 602; interferes with natural demand and supply, 607; its expense, 612; benefits of voluntary teaching, 589; duty of parents to educate, 591; Adam Smith on *endowed education*, 592, 596; and *its cost*, 595; amount of existing school accommodation, 600; action and influence of corporations, 609; fallacy of the 'Supplementary Minute,' 614.
- Sinnett, Mrs. P. : *Byways of History*, 463; training of Knights, 464; Franz von Sickingen, 465; real character of the peasants' war, 468, 476; merciless treatment of the people, 470; Joss Fritz, 471; Thomas Munzer, 473.
- Stephen, Sir G. : *The Jesuits at Cambridge*, 508.
- Stuart, Moses : *Commentary on Apocalypse*, 249.
- Taylor, W. E. : *on Popery*, 299, 311, 315; its absolution and indulgences, 304, 313; dramatic style of worship, 305; essentially the same as ever, 312; prescriptive power of Rome, 308.
- Thirlwall, C. : *History of Greece*, 770.
- Thomson, A. : *The Sabbath not Judaical*, 697, 709.
- Thornley, M. : *True End of Education*, 254.
- Tischendorff, C. : *Travels in the East*, 553; site of Golgotha, 562; MSS. in eastern convents, 563.
- Tracts for the Million—Anti-State-Church*, 384.
- Trail, Dr. R. : *New Translation of Josephus*, 245.
- Urwick, Dr. W. : *Connexion between Religion and the State*, 510.
- Vienna, Sieges of by the Turks*, 577; first investment, 580; assault, 581; heroism of Zriny, 582; second siege, 584; city relieved by John Sobieski, 587.
- Wardlaw, R. : *on the Sabbath*, 697, 709; equally regarded by religious Englishmen as Scotchmen, 698; its observance as a religious duty, 698, and as enactment, 703, not to be confounded. Railway travelling, 704; obligations involved in the monopoly of conveyance, 706; and in exceptional circumstances, 707; propensity to impose by civil authority on others, what divine authority enjoins on ourselves, 710.

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| <p>Warwick, E.: <i>Poet's Pleasaunce</i>, 769.</p> <p>Watt, James, <i>Life of</i>, 64.</p> <p><i>Whim, A, and its Consequences</i>, 251.</p> <p>Wildenbahn, C. A.: <i>Paul Gerhardt</i>, 480.</p> | <p>Williams, Sir J. B.: <i>Letters on Puritanism</i>, 383.</p> <p>Wilson, J. Dr.: <i>Lands of the Bible visited</i>, 553, 555, 558; <i>mannas</i>, 559; site of Golgotha, 562; tribes of Petra, 566; <i>Jacob's Well</i>, 567.</p> |
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